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I commenced the duty, with an anxious wish to avoid, as much as possible, all personalities, and to make the inquiry a calm and philosophical one. I was anxious rather to deal with facts than with individuals; but determined, that should it become necessary to particularise individuals, in order to expose any mischievous system which might generally prevail, and form a marked feature in the social condition of the people, not to "break a fly upon the wheel," and mark out those for censure who were powerless to defend themselves; nor yet to hold up men of insignificant position as examples worthy to be followed, who, because of their position, would be little regarded. The letters which form this book will show that, as far as was compatible with circumstances, I pursued this course.

It was natural to expect, from the mode of immediate publication adopted, that I should be liable to immediate criticism, and to instant praise or blame, encouragement or opposition. This very circumstance rendered it difficult to persevere in the original course which I had determined to follow; and it is a subject of some regret to me that, in one or two instances, I was compelled to abandon the field of philosophical inquiry, and, having been forced into personal collisions with individuals, to take measures to substantiate previous statements, and to repel attacks.

It is said by his friends that I unfairly singled out Mr. O'Connell for attack, when there were hundreds of other landlords in Ireland as neglectful, and having as wretched tenants. For three months, under almost weekly, and to me unaccountable, abuse from that gentleman and his party, I never noticed him, save when compelled in defence of my own character to contradict downright false assertions. I was a "scoundrel," a "liar," a "gutter commissioner," an "ugly fellow," and so on for three months, without a single word in reply from me. Finding that this did not alter my course, a letter was attributed to me which I did not write or

LETTERS

ON THE CONDITION OF

THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

BY

THOMAS CAMPBELL FOSTER, Esq.,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

("THE TIMES" COMMISSIONER.)

REPRINTED, BY PERMISSION, WITH ADDITIONS AND COPIOUS
NOTES, FROM "THE TIMES" NEWSPAPER.

"Half a word, fixed upon the spot, is worth a cartload of recollections."—THE POET GRAY.

"If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer, it would be to tell him his fate. If he resolves to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truth, let him proclaim war with mankind—neither to give nor to take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men, they fall upon him with the iron hands of the law; if he tells them of their virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides, and then he may go on fearless; and this is the course I take myself."—DR FOR.

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PREFACE.

THE letters which form this book were written during a tour of five months over nearly every part of Ireland, and were first published at intervals in *The Times* newspaper, immediately after they were written, in the period between August, 1845, and January, 1846.

The letters were originally written in consequence of a commission offered to me, by that great public journal, which I undertook to perform, to lay before the public, in a readable form, my impressions during a tour through Ireland, and to state what, of the many prevailing opinions and anomalies, on careful observation, appeared to me to be the true condition of the Irish people.

In undertaking this duty, I was unshackled and undirected by any further instructions whatever. In the course of its fulfilment, I conceived it to be desirable, not only to depict the actual condition of the Irish people, but to examine into the causes which led to that condition, and to suggest, as I proceeded, what appeared to me to be the most feasible remedies.





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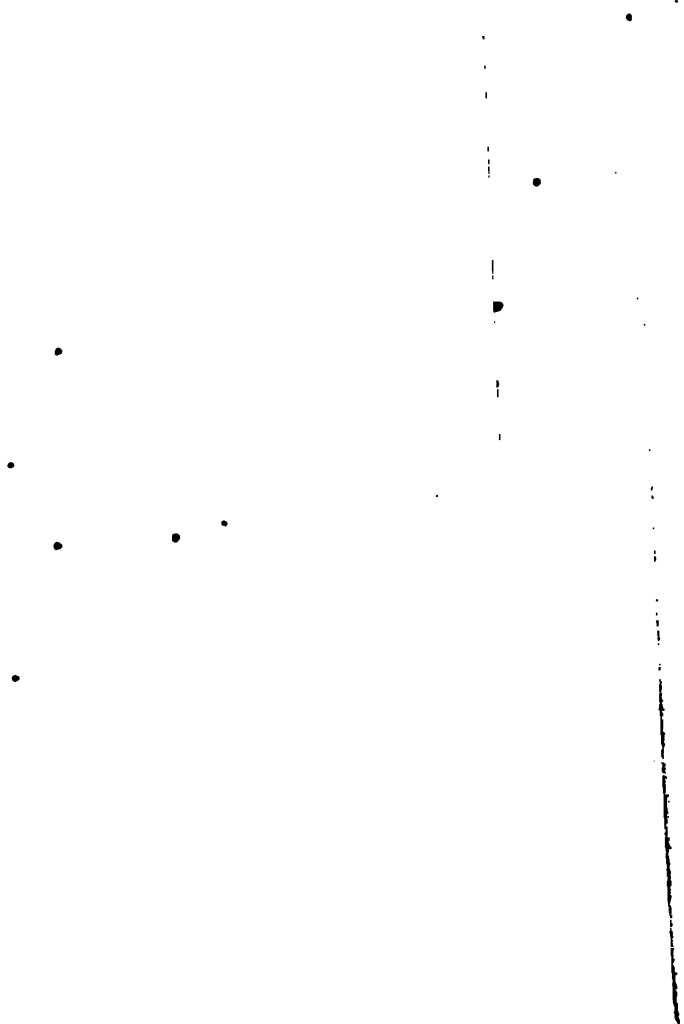
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LETTER I.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

Inquiry as to the Cause of the Disturbed State of Ireland—The Author's Introduction of the Object of his Mission—The Disturbances in Cavan.

CAVAN, August 14, 1845.

THERE is perhaps no subject which has engaged more attention, which has been more discussed and examined into, than the condition of the Irish people. Society has so long in Ireland been in a state of disorganization that Irish outrages excite no surprise, and have become so much matters of course, because continually occurring, that they are read of and spoken of as mere ordinary and every-day events. But though thus viewed, from their perpetual recurrence, they have not been treated with indifference. All persons, of every party, admit that they are symptomatic of social disease, and successive governments have acted on this conviction. There is, perhaps, no country in Europe, certainly no portion of the United Kingdom, in which party spirit runs so high, and so much divides the people. Party flourishes in Ireland with a luxuriance elsewhere unknown. Amongst the upholders of different religious creeds, by opposing political parti-

sans—amongst those who have the greatness and the glory of the United Kingdom at heart, as well as by those who confine their patriotism to Irish nationality—different and opposing theories have been propounded and advocated regarding the causes of the social disorders which oppress and ruin Ireland. In their turns, most of those theories have formed the subject of Government inquiries. Commissions of inquiry have been appointed, committees of both Houses of Parliament have received and investigated evidence on almost every theory that has been advocated, and thousands of pages of evidence have been collected in bulky blue books. “Over population,” “subdivision of farms,” “tenant-right,” “con-acre,” “emigration,” “the cause of crime,” “the necessity of a poor law,” “the state of education,” “rents,” and lastly, “the occupation of land,” have, with many other subjects, been inquired into; and first one and then another has been asserted to be the cause of, or the appropriate remedy for, the mischief which prevails, and which all acknowledge.

“The knowledge of a disease” is said to be “half its cure,” because the appropriate remedy can be applied, and the disease yields to its influence. But if a remedy has been applied, and the disease continues unabated, the logical inference is, that either the disease is not known, or, if known, that the appropriate remedy has not been applied. At one period, Catholic emancipation was urged by the enthusiastic advocates of the equality of civil rights as the remedy which was to put a stop to all the disturbances in Ireland. The ruin of Ireland was predicted by those who opposed the just concession of that equality. But Ireland has not been ruined by that act; nor have disturbances ceased because of it. It was not the remedy. An extension of the franchise was urged with equal earnestness, as the one thing needful, and with equal earnestness denied to be the required remedy. Whatever the franchise, the disturbances

have gone on. Over-population was said to be the cause, and emigration was proposed as its remedy. It must be apparent to every thinking man, that no amount of emigration can ever bring down population—if over-population be the cause—apart from its attendant evils, in abstracting the flower and the strength of the population, and leaving the helpless refuse behind. It therefore must be an inefficient remedy, and so it has proved.* “Educate the people,” cried another section of well-meaning men, “and they will mend; they will acquire a distaste for crime.” Though true in the abstract, this position must be modified by the condition of the men you educate. Education is a weapon in the hands of a desperate man. Education has been tried, but disturbances go on. It is not the remedy. It was surmised that the tenure of land had something to do with the disturbed state of Ireland. Much evidence has been collected on this subject; but the evidence is a dead letter; it has not been acted upon, and few know it, and the disturbances are left to continue.

It can scarcely be questioned that in one or other of the numerous blue books which have been compiled, if not in most of them, the true cause of Ireland’s distress, of its degradation, its misery, and its consequent outrages, is to be found; neither can it be questioned that, if the evidence containing the proof of that cause were generally known, the force of public opinion would compel the application of the appropriate remedy; but hitherto that evidence has been locked up in unreadable and undigested masses, and has been sifted only by partisans for party objects; and, with few exceptions, only party measures have been engrafted on it; and, because party measures do not succeed in rendering Ireland like the rest of the United Kingdom,—generally thriving, contented, and peaceable,—it is assumed that the

* See Letter, *post*, dated Clifden, Connemara, on this subject.

difficulties of legislating for Ireland are insurmountable; that its condition cannot be improved; and things are either left alone as they are, or we see such remedies as the endowment of colleges applied to prevent starving, and, therefore, desperate and reckless outcasts avenging real or imaginary wrongs by shocking atrocities.

You have done me the honour to commit to me the responsible and arduous task of endeavouring to sift that evidence, in order to lay it before the public, and in each locality to hear the feelings and views of the people, and, testing them by observation, to make them known to the world through your columns. With almost an oppressive sense of the difficulties which I may have to encounter, I enter upon the duty which you have committed to me, a stranger to Ireland, and wholly devoid of Irish prejudices: with no motive whatever save an earnest desire to ascertain the truth, and to state it with strict impartiality. I shall endeavour as much as possible to deal with *questions*, and not with *individuals*. That partisans may oppose the conclusions at which I may arrive, is more than probable. If right, I shall endeavour to convince by argument and by evidence; if wrong, argument and evidence will be conclusive against me. Those, however, who will blindly oppose* whatever may appear in your columns, because you are the advocate: no matter whether you be right or wrong, are best left unnoticed.

* The anticipation that there would be so discreditable an opposition was founded on the past experience of the author; and the truth of the anticipation has been abundantly verified. If the archangel Michael were to visit this earth, and write truth by inspiration, there are some malignant and envious spirits who would revile him. The author, however, relies on the good sense of those who may have read his letters. He feels, from the flattering approval which he has every where met with in Ireland, from the gentry of all ranks and parties, as well as from the people, that he can well afford to despise and treat with contempt the venom and malignity of some writers for the press, whose abuse of him has but recoiled upon themselves.

It is matter of notoriety that the county of Cavan has for some time been in an excited and disturbed state, and that several very shocking outrages have been perpetrated in it. On walking through the town of Cavan, the walls are seen to be placarded with the proclamation of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, declaring the country to be in a state of disturbance, and to require additional police force. Armed police and soldiers are everywhere seen about the town. Notices, offering rewards for "private information relative to the secret society commonly called 'Ribandmen,' or 'Molly Maguires,'" and directing the arrest of "all vagrants and suspicious persons" are everywhere stuck up, and sufficiently indicate some social disturbance. The resolutions adopted at a public meeting, held in the town of Cavan, about five weeks ago, are also distributed about, the first of which, proposed by the Marquis of Headfort, Lieutenant of the county of Cavan, seconded by Mr. Robert Burrowes, Deputy-Lieutenant, states :—

"That we deeply deplore the extensive system of lawless violence which has for some months past prevailed in this county, rendering both life and property insecure. Murders, under the most atrocious circumstances, have been committed in the open day, numerous houses have been robbed of arms and money, and the inmates of several of them have been severely injured; anonymous threatening notices, couched in the most sanguinary terms, are daily issued to most respectable individuals—and other outrages have been perpetrated—all, up to the present moment, with perfect impunity."

It is, then, no matter of speculation that in this county a state of disturbance exists, which has rendered it necessary to call for the interference of the Executive Government. That interference followed on an address to the Lord-Lieutenant from the magistrates of the county, forwarded to the Government at the latter end of June, in which they state that a magistrate, resident in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Cavan (Mr. Bell Booth), was shot in open day, whilst returning with his two children, in a

gig, from church. In their address, the magistrates state that the assassin then fled across the country:—

“A crowd, at least twenty (people who were passing on the road), almost instantly collected around the body; but, although urged in the strongest manner by a gentleman present, who, from a late accident, was unfortunately unable himself to set the example, would not go in pursuit of the assassin. Such is the state of intimidation to which even most respectable persons are reduced by the scenes daily occurring.”

Disgraceful as this testimony is, it is not a solitary instance of such conduct. It sounds oddly to hear this same community calling upon the Government to send them armed police to protect them, when twenty men in open day allow a single assassin to walk quietly off, after committing a most shocking murder in the midst of them—to hear them call on Jupiter to help them, when they will not set their shoulders to the wheel. It is clear that they might have apprehended this assassin if they would; and it follows also clearly that this community is divided, and that one part of it tacitly permits an assassination which the other part of it wants the power to prevent. What can any Government do in such a case as this? That which one half of the community abhors, the other half of the community looks approvingly on.

It is denied by one party that society is in the state that has been represented; and it is asserted by them that there is no cause for fear, and that this was an individual act of revenge, executed by a hired stranger.* Unfortunately, these acts are rather common, and, whether there is cause for fear or not, it is a fact, that extensive excitement and apprehension prevail. It is said that the funeral of Mr. Booth was attended by upwards of 2,000 armed men; and

* See the Letter, *post*, dated Roscrea, Tipperary, showing the state of that county. It is a monstrous thing to hear of a “hired assassin;” yet the author was repeatedly told in Tipperary, that if any man took a dislike to him, plenty of men might be *hired* for about thirty shillings to *shoot him*; and from the atrocities occurring there, there was no reason to doubt the statement.

that, though his sister-in-law was so near to the villain who fired the shot that she closely observed him, yet she dare not attempt identification.* Some farmers told me that they are under such apprehensions that they come to town armed: and I myself saw several farmers driving home with their cars in clusters, for mutual protection, having upon each car a short gun. What can any government do in such a state of society as this to put down crime, when each half of the community is armed against the other; when one half the community lives by intimidation, and the other by force? The remedy is in the community; the duty of the Government is, to discover what it is, to aid it, and, if necessary, to enforce it. So long as human nature is what it is, a wrong will be retaliated by a wrong; and those who, in an united community would soon be either banished or extirpated for their crimes, are shielded in the bitterness of estrangement and conflict, and escape punishment for atrocities. Whether there is any reason for this general apprehension or not, it is a fact that it exists, and it will exist until each party in the community resolves to *inflict* no wrong, as well as to *bear* no wrong; then, and then only, will both unite for the common welfare; then will the assassin find every man's hand against him, as his is against every man; and then will society *unite* in branding with the odium of cowardice those who quietly permit a murderer to walk off unscathed.

What, however, has produced this unhappy division, which leads to these lamentable results, must form the subject of further communications.

* This system of intimidation is universal throughout Ireland. Men there bear things and do things contrary to their inclination, for *fear* of offending persons, or of becoming unpopular, or of being *threatened to be shot*, which no man in England would think of submitting to for a moment, on any consideration.

(*From THE TIMES of August 21, 1845.*)

We this day introduce to our readers our Irish Commissioner. Whatever jealousies may be roused by the title or the office, we are not conscious of any patent we are infringing, or any territory not our own that we are encroaching upon. Certainly there was a commission last year, which has this year published a report—such commissions and such reports there have been almost every other year this century. But they have passed away like an Egyptian dynasty, buried under pyramids, not of stone, but an equally wasted material,—of printed paper,—under masses of evidence which no political Belzoni now is found to penetrate, and which only show that there have been commissioners. Another commission is now gathered to the sepulchre of its fathers. Vain the attempt to revive or disinter a commission which has once lost the golden opportunity of an immediate parliamentary discussion. Who will care next year to refer to a report published in 1845, but the materials of which were collected and arranged so far back as 1844?

Presumptuous as it may be called, we anticipate more effectual results from the more simple and personal agency of our correspondent. His efficiency will be proved by objectors. Who objects to Lord Devon's report? Who that found himself ever so unjustly handled would have the singular indiscretion to dig out the calumny? Man puts up to man. Our Commissioner will have his enemies. Discussion is necessary to the discovery and improvement of the truth. In a nation of offenders, all sinning either one way or another, nearly all more or less compromised either in sudden murder or slow, but not less deadly oppression, "a chiel amang them takin notes" will be a lively provocation. Should there be any feeling as to the invalidity of his warrant, should either landlord or Molly Maguire ask for the sight of his commission, it is not impossible the spontaneous character of the investigation may give a new zest to the controversy.

Hitherto, the English have had many opportunities of learning the state of Irish society, but too exclusively, as it seems to us, under two heads—under formal reports, and under most informal and irregular travels and tales. The former lack personal and dramatic interest, the latter the severity and impartiality of truth. Our correspondent will be neither of these, and may combine the advantages of both. He may not only tell us of rents, but describe cottages and ways of life. He may not only reckon up paupers, but picture them to our sight and feeling. There are already those who take care to number offences, committals,

and convictions, who are versed in the lore of calendars, and know the force of the police and the capacity of gaols. Our informant may perhaps make us better acquainted with that mystery of suffering and crime of which these are the accidental circumstances, or the inadequate preventives. We have exports and imports, or may have them if we please. Our friend may send his returns of the Irishman's own cottage larder. This is the difference between a man and a machine on the one hand, and a man and a novel on the other. Whatever the success of our present inquiry, it is an encouragement to think that it has not been tried before, and, at the worst, we have this consolation in store, that every other method has failed.

LETTER II.

THE WANT OF EMPLOYMENT THE CAUSE OF
DISTURBANCES.

Disturbances in Ireland do not originate in Religious Causes—The Want of Employment the real Origin of Disturbances—The Want of Employment shown to exist by Statistical Facts—Produces Starvation and Disturbances—The effect of Ejectments in producing Crime—Definition of “Molly Maguireism”—Disputes about Land and Ejectments the chief Cause of Crime in Ireland—The Remedy then is, to secure Employment for the People.

CAVAN, August 21.

It is a position conceded by all parties in Ireland, that want of employment is the cause of much poverty, distress, and mischief. Unhappily, that mischief, too, continually exhibits itself under the form of aggravated outrage; and, as unhappily, the varieties of theories as to the causes of those outrages, whilst they scatter the force of united public opinion, distract men's minds, and prevent the application of the remedies which alone will put a stop to outrage.

The able author of the “*Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland*,” has laboured to show that disturbances in Ireland originate in religious causes; that the want of a state provision for the Roman Catholic clergy necessitates the maintenance of a numerous army in Ireland to maintain tranquillity, and that a concurrent endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, as a measure of “justice and

wisdom," is that which will make Ireland tranquil.* Those who assemble in Exeter-hall to uphold Protestantism, maintain that the spirit of Protestantism, and the conversion of Roman Catholics will alone tranquillize Ireland. Both the parties whom these opinions represent, attribute to religion "the messenger of peace," the source of all strife. Another large party contends that Irish nationality and a repeal of the Union will stay Irish absenteeism, and secure prosperity and content to Ireland.

It is the object of my present letter to endeavour to prove, by evidence which it will be difficult to dispute, that the source of all mischief in Ireland, the real origin of every disturbance, and of almost every crime—is the *want of employment*; that religious differences but exacerbate the irritation which this unvarying cause produces;† and that, as "drowning men catch at straws," the remedy of Irish "nationality" meets with support amongst desperate men, whose circumstances cannot be worse, but who would scout the notion of narrowing their opportunities as a manifest absurdity, were but the soothing influences of constant and remunerative employment to produce among them their necessary consequences—content.

The commissioners recently appointed to inquire into the occupation of land in Ireland, in their Report, page 11, state,—

"Whatever difference of opinion may be put forward or entertained upon other points, the testimony given is unfortunately too uniform in representing the unimproved state of extensive districts, the *want of*

* From his experience in Ireland, and from many conversations with well-informed men on the subject, the author is convinced that this view is, in a great measure, a sound one. The subject, however, is fully discussed by him, *post*, in two letters, dated from Kilkenny.

† Mr. O'Connell, in his examination before the Committee of the House of Lords, in March 1825, on the Disturbed State of Ireland, is asked,—“Do you consider the dissensions between Orangemen and Catholics, in any considerable degree, instrumental in producing disturbances?” His answer was,—“Yes; if they do not produce, they greatly aggravate, and tend much to continue them.”

employment, and the consequent poverty and hardships, under which a large portion of the agricultural population continually labour.

"The obvious remedy for this state of things is *to provide remunerative employment* which may at once increase the productive powers of the country, and improve the condition of the people."*

Let us, however, examine, and endeavour to prove to plain reason that this is an incontestible fact, and depends on no opinion. I am in the county of Cavan, and will therefore take the county of Cavan for my data. Disturbances have arisen here; let us see if they are to be traced to this cause.

It is necessary first to see what is the field of occupation which the people have?—what is the scope for their industry?—what the outlet for their natural increase?

The Report of the Census Commissioners (Ireland) for 1841, states that the population of the county of Cavan is employed in the following proportions in each hundred families: †—

* Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, in his evidence before the House of Lords, in March 1825, is asked,—"What is the state of the lower order of people in your diocese?" "The extent and intensity of their distress is greater than any language can describe, and the lives of many hundreds are shortened by it. It enervates their minds and paralyzes their energies, and leaves them incapable of almost any useful exertion." He goes on to describe the *want of employment*, and the consequent want of food, and says—"It is scarcely imaginable on what a pittance one of these wretches endeavours to subsist; in fact, he is almost like a savage of the American deserts. He lies down on a little straw upon the floor, and remaining there motionless nearly all day, gets up in the evening, eats a few potatoes, and then throws himself again upon the earth, where he remains till morning. Thus he drags out an existence which it were better were terminated in any way than continue in the manner it is." Mr. Leslie Foster is asked, on giving his evidence before the same Committee of the House of Lords on the Disturbed State of Ireland, in 1825,—"To what cause do you attribute the frequent occurrence of disturbances in Ireland?" He answers,— "I think the proximate cause is the extreme physical misery of the peasantry, coupled with their liability to be called on for the payment of different charges, which it is often perfectly impossible for them to meet. The immediate cause I conceive to be, the attempt to enforce those demands by the various processes of the law."

† Page xviii.

PROPORTION OF 100 FAMILIES CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN

Agriculture.	Manufactures, trade, &c.	Other pursuits.	Agricultural plus pro- portion of other pur- suits.	Manufactures, trade, &c., plus proportion of other pursuits.
75	20	5	79	21

Showing, by comparison with the census of 1831, a slight increase in the manufacturing proportion of 8 per cent. since the census of 1831, chiefly owing to shops or trade, and a relative *decrease* in the agricultural proportion of occupation. So that here 79 per cent. of the population are employed in agriculture, and 21 per cent. in manufactures and trade. The great outlet, therefore, or means of occupation for the population, as it naturally increases, is in the proportion of 4 to 1 in agricultural pursuits.

We will now examine what is the extent of this means of occupation, or rather how much employment this large proportion of agricultural pursuits can afford to an increasing population, or to those who, from *any cause*, may be thrown out of employment. According to the census of 1841* there are 25,641 farms in the county of Cavan, and the number is thus constituted:—

Above 1 to 5 acres	10,807
„ 5 to 15 acres	12,208
„ 15 to 30 acres	1,958
„ 30 acres	668
Total	25,641

Thus 23,000 out of the 25,600 farms are under 15 acres, or of a size so small that each occupant is capable of cultivating his farm by himself—they offer no occupation to the

* Page 455.

labourer. It is probable also, that, in many cases, each occupant, with the aid of his family, can, without further assistance, cultivate the farms which range from 15 to 30 acres. Then what remains from agriculture as a source of employment for the natural increase of population, and for those who may be divested of employment?—the labour which 668 farms above 30 acres can give in the whole county of Cavan. But these farms are already stocked with labourers. It is almost needless to prove that they do not afford scope for the surplus industry of the unemployed. The census of 1841, however, will do it in two lines. Out of the 57,651 individuals of the rural population of Ireland, who annually migrate to England in search of harvest work, squeezed out to look for employment, and thereby by competition to reduce to their own condition the poor labourers of England—the county of Cavan sends forth 1,904.* If they could find work at home, they would not go to England to search for it. These few farms, therefore, about and above 30 acres, do not find means of employment for the unemployed. The same observations will apply to the narrow field for employment which trade and manufactures afford. The trades and manufactures, which occupy 21 per cent. of the population, are already supplied with artizans, and chiefly employ women. It is very questionable if this field for employment affords work for the natural increase of those concerned in it. Whilst agricultural occupations employ 56,583 men, and 2,111 women in the county, manufactures and trade of every kind employ but 8,498 men, and 31,870 women, out of a population of 243,158.†

I think it must therefore be apparent, that the narrow field of “trade and manufactures” which here exists cannot give employment to the increasing population, and that the wider field of agriculture neither can nor does.

* Census Report, page xxvii.

† Census, page 300 to 304.

The field of agriculture, it is true, is capable of extension, both by improvements,* and by increasing the cultivated surface. The Land Commissioners state in their report, that there are 72,000 acres of unimproved land in the county of Cavan, that 20,000 acres are capable of improvement for cultivation, and that 28,000 might be drained for pasture, leaving 24,000 acres on the summits of lofty hills, exceeding 1,000 feet in elevation, which may be considered as incapable of improvement.† But this improvement has yet to be carried out, and the mere unemployed labourer is not the man who can carry it out. This source of employment depends on others,—on those who have the lands and the means—as also does that perhaps wider source of occupation which improvement in the system of agriculture would afford. But I speak of facts as they are: these means of employment exist not now.

If necessary further to pursue this proof, the general statistical accounts of Ireland lead to the same result. The Census Commissioners of 1841‡ state the natural and uniform rate of increase of the fixed population to be 12 per cent. in the ten years from 1831 to 1841; yet the positive returns show an increase in the resident population of little more than 5 per cent.; and they account for the remaining increase of 7 per cent. by estimating the draughts from Ireland, driven out to seek employment elsewhere, at 572,464; and they thus compute this enormous number from their returns—

* The rude state of agriculture may be judged of by the following evidence :—Three crops of oats in succession is a common thing when the land has been well manured first. (Evidence of Mr. Kenny, Rohulton, near Cavan, before the Land Commissioners, Part ii. p. 107.) Mr. Phillip Smith, of Artina, Stradone, in the county of Cavan, is asked by the Land Commissioners, Part ii. p. 110,—“How many crops of oats do they take after potatoes?”—“Five or six; as long as the ground is able to grow, to any extent. The usual course is, potatoes twice and oats three times, but sometimes four or five, or perhaps more, as long as the land is able to grow them.”

† Page 50.

‡ Report, page xi.

From 1831 to 1841.	
Emigration to the colonies	428,471
„ Great Britain	104,814
Recruits for the army	34,090
„ East India Company	5,089
	<hr/> 572,464

So that we not only have Great Britain finding employment annually for upwards of 57,000 harvest labourers, but also for an increase of 104,814 labourers, permanently settled in Great Britain in ten years; and the whole number of persons of Irish birth dwelling in Great Britain, in June, 1841, is stated to have been 419,256.*

So that half a million of the population of Ireland of the present generation is permanently squeezed out of Ireland by *want of employment*, and driven to search for a livelihood in Great Britain and our colonies, over and above the annual swarm that migrates to Great Britain during harvest time.

As neither trade nor manufactures, nor agricultural labour *apart from the occupation of the land* can give work to the increasing population, and to those out of employment (and with work of course the means of subsistence), and as four-fifths of the amount of existing employment, or 79 per cent., is derived from the occupation of land, for the most part in patches of from one to 15 acres, it necessarily follows that the struggle of the majority of the increasing population will be for the *occupation* of such a patch of land. As land also does not increase, but the population does, and the *occupation* of land is nearly the only means of employment, and therefore of subsistence, which the country affords, it follows—that, as no population will starve without desperate efforts to live; or emigrate, without struggles against this desperate remedy nearly as intense, the obtaining and retaining pos-

* Census Report, page x.

session of such a patch of land are objects which enlist the strongest of human motives—the struggle for existence. It is existence with a patch of land; it is starvation without it. Every passion—every instinct of the human heart—is roused to *obtain* and *retain* possession of the *existence patch* of land.

Mr. Nichols, the Poor Law Commissioner, in his first report, in 1838, as to the propriety of establishing Poor Laws in Ireland, thus writes :—

“The sub-division of the land into small holdings having destroyed the regular demand for labour, the only protection against actual want, the only means by which a man can procure food for his family, is by getting and retaining possession of a portion of land; for this he has struggled—for this the peasantry have combined, and burst through all the restraints of law and humanity. . . . Land to them is the great necessary of life. There is no hiring of servants. A man cannot obtain his living as a day labourer. He must get possession of a plot of land, on which to raise potatoes or starve. It need scarcely be said that a man will not starve so long as the means of sustaining life can be obtained by force or fraud, and hence the scenes of violence and bloodshed which have so frequently occurred.”*

In this town from which I write (Cavan) I am informed on the best authority, and from several sources, that the labouring men of the neighbourhood—those without land—are unemployed nine months in the year; and that there is general employment for them only during the spring, and at harvest time. I am told that, except during these periods, from thirty to fifty men may be seen at the market cross every morning, unemployed, waiting for a job, and that there is no demand for their work. During harvest their wages are 1s. a day. During the rest of the year the usual wages are 8d.† a day, without food, or 4s. a week. They have to

* Page 8.

† The rate of wages is 8d., 7½d., or 9d. : 8d. in the winter and 10d. in the summer half-year is the usual wages; in some places lower, but very few higher. (Evidence of Mr. Kenny, farmer, Rohulton, near Cavan, Lord Devon's Com-

pay 25s. to 30s. rent for their cottages,* and if they rent a patch of land manured, or "con-acre" for potatoes, they pay 8l. an acre for it!† The evidence before the Land Commission as to the county of Cavan shows this:—*4s. a week for three months in the year for a man and his family to subsist upon!*

Can we wonder at the desperate intensity of the struggle for land,—at the passions which are roused at being dispossessed, with this only resource of slow starvation—of scarcely animal existence—as the horrible alternative? From various motives, the propriety of which I will not now step aside to inquire into, some from the conviction of its absolute necessity; some from a desire to consolidate farms and improve cultivation; some, it is said, from motives of bigotry, in order to substitute tenants of one faith for those of another; some because they had a turbulent tenantry; some because they could get no rent,—landlords have continually ejected tenants without providing them a substitute for the means of existence which the patch of land afforded them. What I wish now to confine attention to is the *bare fact* of an ejection and its consequences, without reference to any motive whatever which may have caused it. Very many of the landlords, it is true, have given money to the tenants as compensation on their quitting their holdings. The Land

mission, Part ii. p. 109.) Wages to a man who gets constant employment under a farmer are about 8d. during the year. Those who have not regular employment obtain from 4d. to 1s. In some seasons they receive higher wages, and in other parts of the year they are quite idle." (Evidence of Mr. Phillip Smith, agent and landowner, Artina, near Stradone, Cavan, Ibid. Part ii. p. 112.)

* The labourers hold their cottages under the farmers, who build and repair them. Mr. Phillip Smith, of Artina, near Cavan, agent and landowner, is asked by the Land Commissioners,—“What rent do they generally pay for them, and how is it paid?”—“It is usually paid by labour; and the usual payment on the average would be £2 a year.”

† Mr. Phillip Smith, of Artina, is asked (Land Commission, Part ii. p. 112),—“Does the con-acre system prevail at all?” “Yes.”—“What do they usually pay for con-acre?” “From 8l. to 9l. an acre.”—“Is that for manured land?” “Yes.”

Occupation Commissioners, in their report on this subject, I think, justly conclude that—

“It is difficult to say what compensation, apart from land, will be adequate in a country where land alone affords a permanent security for food. The money is soon spent in the temporary maintenance of the family. They may be willing to labour, but can find no employment.” (Report, page 21.)

The same commissioners quote the evidence of Dr. Doyle before the select committee of 1830, to inquire into the state of Ireland, as to the effect of these ejectments, from whatever cause they may proceed. It will be found quoted in page 19 of the report of Lord Devon’s commission :—

“It would be impossible for language to convey an idea of the state of distress to which the ejected tenantry have been reduced, or of the disease, misery, and even vice which they have propagated in the towns wherein they have settled; so that not only they who have been ejected have been rendered miserable, but they have carried with them, and propagated that misery. They have increased the stock of labour; they have rendered the habitations of those who received them more crowded; they have given occasion to the dissemination of disease; they have been obliged to resort to theft, and all manner of vice and iniquity, to procure subsistence; but, what is the most painful of all, a vast number of them have perished from want.”

Need we travel into theological strife, or into political crotchets about repeal; need we examine into the Catholic faith, or into questions about Protestant ascendancy—into the necessity of general endowments, in order to seek an elucidation of the cause of outrages in Ireland, with these facts before us? The exclamation of *Shylock* starts to memory, and may we not apply it to the condition of the poor ejected Irish tenant—the *hopeless outcast*—“Hath he not eyes? Hath he not hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapon, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and

summer, as those more happily circumstanced? If you prick him, does he not bleed? If you tickle him, does he not laugh? If you poison him, does he not die? And if you wrong him, will he not revenge?"

Ejected from his land, without other means of living, the Irish tenant is rendered desperate by the prospect of starvation. Turn whichever way he will, an impossibility of obtaining subsistence faces him. Need we wonder that outrages and combinations to resist ejectments, even to death, grow up from such seed? Tell a man thus desperate—reckless—that he owes his present misery and prospective starvation to Protestant ascendancy—to a desire to substitute a protestant tenantry—to a Saxon Government—or to a harsh landlord—and you lash existing desperation into fury, and give direction to already existing passion. Bitter sectarian hatred, rebellion, and assassinations are the result. But would the foolish and wicked talk about Protestantism, or Popery, or Saxon rule, or harsh landlords, whether true or false, produce such results without the pre-existing, all-exciting cause of mischief—desperation, founded on hopeless starvation?

Now, what is the "Molly Maguireism" which has disturbed this county? It is the same as "Ribandism," say the magistrates, in their placards offering rewards for the apprehension of "Molly Maguires." Well, what is "Ribandism?" In the evidence taken before a committee of the House of Lords, upon the state of crime in Ireland, in 1839, at—

Question 5006. Major Brown (Commissioner of Dublin Police) says, "'Ribandism' is of the same nature as 'Whitefootism.'"

10,236. Mr. Seed (assistant to Mr. Geale, of the home circuit) says, "it is the same as 'Blackfootism.'"

14,448. Mr. Rathbone (stipendiary magistrate) says, "it is the same as 'Terryaltism.'"

9,408. Captain Warburton (stipendiary magistrate) says, "it is the same as 'Rockiteism.'"

14,539. Sir William Somerville says, "that 'Ribandism' in Meath is a kind of 'Trades'-union.'"

14,792. Mr. Ford (attorney, of Meath) gives evidence to the same effect.

8,430, 8,431. Mr. Barrington says, "'Ribandmen' are the same as 'Whiteboys.'"

3,611. Captain Vignoles says, "they are the same as 'Peep-o'-day-Boys,' and that he has never been able to discover any distinction between the Riband Society and the others."

"Molly Maguireism" then, is, in fact, but *the embodiment of the spirit of discontent*; it is an old-existing malady with a new name. We will see, presently—bearing the previous evidence in remembrance—if there has been cause for it in this neighbourhood.

Now, let us examine what the evidence, given before this committee, in 1839, shows to be the prevailing and almost universal cause of crime in Ireland.

At question 6,105, Mr. Piers Gale, (for 22 years Crown solicitor for the Irish home circuit) says,—

"That there are no manufactures in Ireland, and that, consequently, if a poor man is deprived of his land, whether rightfully or wrongfully, or whether he pays his rent or not, he has little to depend on, and is therefore extremely reluctant to leave the ground, and indignant at any person that takes it over his head."

At question 7,641, Mr. Barrington (for 25 years Crown solicitor of the Munster circuit) says,—

"That there being no manufacturers in the country, the actual existence of the peasantry depends upon their having land; there are twenty persons to offer for every farm. The whole disturbances of the country depend upon the desire to keep it.

7640. "That it does not make a *particle of difference* whether the person put in is a Catholic or a Protestant; he is equally the object of their fury, and they would murder him equally."

1,266, 1,267, 1,268. Major Warburton (for 22 years on the establishment of the Irish constabulary) says,—

“That there is a great deal of misery in every shape among the poorer classes, whether they have land or not; that a poor man, turned out of his land without the means of maintaining his family, will endeavour to get it by crime, if he cannot by other means; and that such a state of things must necessarily involve people in crime, when they are reduced to destitution by being turned out of their lands without having any means of subsistence.”

At questions 266, 282, 283, 286, 291. Colonel Shaw Kennedy, (late Inspector-General of the Irish constabulary,) states,—

“That the great groundwork of all Whiteboy offences is connected with land; that the increase of crime is attributable *more to social than political causes*. Political agitation and religious differences appear only to increase crime, by affecting the social condition of the people. *Whatever affects the tenancy of land will instantly affect crime.*”

7,346, 7,347. Mr. Barrington says,—

“The general cause of outrages at all times in Ireland is anxiety to possess land; such has been the case since 1761. Whilst I have been Crown solicitor (for twenty-five years), I could trace almost every outrage to some dispute about land.”

7,728. Mr. Tierney, (Crown solicitor of the Irish north-western circuit for 12 years,) says,—

“That the prevailing cause of outrages is the *letting and possession of land, and the dispossessing of the former tenants and occupiers.*”

8,351-2-3-4. Mr. Hickman, (for upwards of 20 years the Crown solicitor of the Connaught circuit,) says—

“That in Roscommon, Leitrim, and Sligo, the outrages arise from the taking of land.”

9,379, 9,380, 9,421. Captain B. Warburton, (stipendiary magistrate for 15 years,) states,—

“That the murders and outrages that have happened lately in Galway have arisen from disputes about land, and that *the principal and primary object of all associations among the peasantry is the taking and keeping of land.*”

9,746,9,720. Mr. Tabiteau, (a resident magistrate,) states,—

“That something about land is the cause of all murders in Ireland; and that *ejectment* is synonymous with reducing the cottier tenant to destitution and misery.”

6,817-18-19. Mr. Kemmis, (Crown solicitor for the Leinster circuit, comprising Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary,) says,—

“That on the Leinster circuit outrages are mostly agrarian, committed neither on account of religion nor of politics.”

I might go on quoting much evidence of the same kind, but I think I have quoted enough to establish my position; and a consideration of the foregoing evidence as to the deficiency of employment, must convince every rational man that this evidence, as to crime in Ireland, carries the conviction of its truth along with it; I now bring this evidence to bear on the “Molly Maguireism” of Cavan, and Longford, and Leitrim. Have there been ejectments in these counties, and tenants turned out to starve, become desperate, reckless, and the instruments of any crime which a struggle for existence might prompt? I deal not with the assigned cause of any ejectments—I deal with the simple *fact*.

In this neighbourhood the commencement of “Molly Maguireism” is traced to Ballynamuck. in the county of Longford. For causes which I shall not now enter upon, a whole village was destroyed, and the population ejected. It is said they were turbulent, bad tenants. The worse materials they were then to eject, and to turn loose on society to starve. It is, however, a fact that they were ejected, and that the tenants who replaced them were all either shot, or they fled from fear. The lands were kept vacant for a period, and finally many of the former tenantry were brought back again. Nearly the same thing may be said of the parish of Clune, in Leitrim, which is said to be the head quarters of “Molly.” In the appendix to the report of the Land

Commissioners, part ii. page 90, Henry Smith, of Kells, near this county,* swears to ejectments served on twenty-eight families, consisting of 159 people. He swears to seven families being ejected there in 1843, and seventeen families, or sixty-four people, being ejected out of Irishtown, who owed no rent, and received no compensation. "There was a district near Baillieborough, which was in a most disturbed state," says Mr. Reilly, farmer, page 102 of the same volume of evidence, "in consequence of turning out the people to the waves: they were treated in a most barbarous manner. There was some land fell out of lease, and the under-tenants were cast out and banished five or six years ago." The same witness says, further on,—“All the disturbances we ever knew of in the country arose out of land. We all agree in that, with very few exceptions.” Charles Reilly, of Curgah, in page 104 of the same volume, swears that the whole inhabitants of the village were ejected by the landlord, because of a murder that took place in it of the son of a new tenant. Ten families were turned out. Mr. Phillip Smith, of Artina, page 112, swears to two or three burnings, and an attempt to shoot the Rev. Marcus Beresford, in this neighbourhood, because of ejectments.†

* Kells is in the county of Meath, and is about six miles from the county of Cavan. In the original letter, as published in the *Times*, by an accidental error it appeared as “in this county,”—i. e., in Cavan. It will scarcely be credited, that the hypercriticism of a Dublin journal—the *Evening Packet*—fastened upon this local error as a kind of “mare’s nest” discovered; and a London morning journal, its fellow Mrs. Gamp, strung together an accustomed column of drivel and *gampish* abuse on the wonderful discovery.

† The Venerable Archdeacon Beresford, in his explanation of this transaction to the Land Commissioners (Appendix B. No. 20, Part 2), says, five tenants were dispossessed—four for arrears of rent, and one for a moral offence. Two attempts were then made to burn the tenants’ houses, and soon after an attempt was made to murder him by shooting at him as he went to church. Two persons were brought to justice, and sentenced to be transported for this offence; and one of them informed him, that the chief conspirators were amongst his own tenantry. He immediately took steps to dispossess the parties so accused, and placed Protestant tenants in their holdings. This is the substance of Archdea-

It is a fact the ejectments took place ; I will not now mix up with them, the alleged motives for them. In consequence of being shot at, it is a fact that this gentleman ejected more tenants, as admitted by him (appendix B, No. 20, same volume); and it is now a fact, that, under apprehension of his life, he has recently left the country, and gone to reside in England. This gentleman has been compelled for years to go to church and back with an escort of armed servants, and a brace of pistols beside him. It is a fact, also, that there is in this neighbourhood (without intending to cast any invidious reflections on other landlords) a most benevolent and kind-hearted nobleman, Lord Farnham, who owns a large estate, lets his land at reasonable rents, and acts kindly by his tenants. He walks about without apprehension, though a Protestant, and I believe an anti-Repealer; and I have heard the farmers say, that if a hair of his head were injured by violence, the whole country side would rise to avenge it.

Surely the evidence I have quoted, from many sources, all bearing out the same view, is enough to convince any thinking and reflecting man that want of employment, and consequent want of subsistence, is at the bottom of every mischief under which Ireland labours—that religious strife, political demonstrations, and want of education, though they may embitter and brutalize the population, are not the real causes of outrage and commotion. In order to stay these mischiefs, statesmen must go to the root—must take measures to secure employment for the people; and it is worse than folly to deceive themselves and the public by mere surface measures

con Beresford's answer. Whilst I was in Cavan, I heard that a man had been seen, on two occasions, lying in wait for him; and it was discovered that that man was armed, and the current rumour was, that Archdeacon Beresford had left for England on account of the entreaties of his family. I mention these facts, simply because Archdeacon Beresford, at the time this letter was first published, wrote a letter to an Irish newspaper, complaining, but in no discourteous terms, that my statement was inaccurate. This letter was headed, in some of the Dublin papers, with "Refutation of the *Times*' Commissioner's Calumnies," and other similar phrases, which the London Mrs. Gamp of course greedily copied.

about Maynooth and educational colleges, which will not stay one hour any outrage which a starving, and desperate, and hopeless man may be driven to, in blind revenge for a real or fancied wrong.

The almost unmanageable extent of the subject, must be my apology for the length of this letter. The causes of that want of employment will form the subject of future communications.*

* For opinions of the press, see Appendix 1.

LETTER III.

ON THE CREATION AND ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL.

Disturbed State of Leitrim—On the Creation of Capital—“Labour is the Source of all Wealth.”—Causes which prevent the Accumulation of Capital—The want of Capital confines Industry to the Land—Poverty must therefore increase with Population, unless the Produce of the Land increases in proportion—This again the cause of want of Employment and Disturbance—The circle of Evils under which Ireland labours—Religious Differences only embitter the Relations of Life, but do not generally produce Disturbances—Industry paralyzed by the want of certainty of Reward, and by an uncertain Tenure of the Land—Refusal of Leases—Tenants not industrious, because not paid for their Improvements, and because their possession of the Land insecure.

BALLINAMORE, LEITRIM, August 22.

THIS county is in the centre of the “Molly Maguire” disturbances. Numerous robberies of arms have taken place, threatening notices have been common, and some very shocking assassinations have been committed in it. In the early part of the year the stipendiary magistrate of the district, Captain M’Leod, was shot dead in his car, close to the lodge of a gentleman’s house where he had been dining, near this town. In consequence of these occurrences, a proclamation was issued by the Government, declaring the county to be in a state of disturbance, and to require additional police. This, of course, greatly added to the expenditure of the county-rates. The exertions of the police and of the clergy have restored the county to some degree of quiet, and it is hoped to get the proclamation of disturbance withdrawn. The Rev. T. Maguire, better known in the neighbourhood as “Father Tom,”—a gentleman who some years ago obtained much celebrity in a theological discussion with a Protestant

clergyman named Pope—has exerted himself among the poor Roman Catholic tenantry, in pointing out to them the futility as well as the crime of the course which they were pursuing, and all the muskets which had been seized by force, save two, have been returned by the peasants to his house: sixteen muskets and two or three cases of pistols have thus been returned.

It is evident that these disturbances originate amongst the body of the people, and that they are not to be attributed to a few worthless individuals. The invariable escape of criminals, who are always sheltered by the community, sufficiently proves this. In my last letter I endeavoured to show that nearly all the crimes that are committed in Ireland are agrarian—that they are the outbreak of a strong pent-up feeling, which is almost universal, because the cause which produces it is almost universal—namely, want of employment and consequent starvation and discontent; and that this is at the bottom, and is the true cause, of “Ribandism,” under whatever name it assumes.

To what is this general want of employment to be traced?

There are, no question, many causes combining and reacting upon each other, which produce inactivity, want of enterprise, want of improvement, poverty, want of capital, and consequent want of employment. I intend, in my letter to-day, to draw attention to what I conceive to be one of the chief causes of this want of employment, and which is also one of the most frequent grounds of complaint amongst the tenantry.

It is a political axiom which cannot be disputed, that productive labour is the source of all wealth. In proportion, therefore, as the amount of the productive labour of any community, or of any nation, is increased or diminished by any means, must be the proportion of its wealth. Consequently, everything which tends to promote productive labour in a community tends to the creation of wealth; and everything which tends to paralyze productive labour in a community as certainly insures poverty. “The annual

labour of every nation," says Adam Smith, "is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations."*—"Labour was the first price, the original purchase-money, that was paid for all things."†

In proportion as the produce of the labour of a community is greater than the consumption of the producers, in the same proportion will wealth, the produce of labour, accumulate into capital. Capital again reacts in promoting that industry which was the foundation of its creation. "Every increase or diminution of capital," says the same author, "naturally tends to increase or diminish the real quantity of industry, the number of productive hands, and consequently the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country—the real wealth and revenue of all its inhabitants."‡—"The industry of the society can augment only in proportion as its capital augments, and its capital can augment only in proportion to *what can be gradually saved out of its revenue.*"§

That amount, however, which can be saved out of the "revenue," or annual produce of a community, is governed by several circumstances. If you paralyze industry by taking away the motive for industry,—reward,—you reduce the productive labour of that community to the amount necessary for mere subsistence. Wealth, then, cannot increase, and consequently capital cannot accumulate. The absence of capital insures the absence of demand for labour. If the surplus produce of labour over and above the mere subsistence of the labourer be abstracted from the commu-

* Adam Smith, page 9, edition 1826. † Ibid. page 35. ‡ Ibid. page 318.

§ Ibid. page 421.—"As the capital of an individual can be increased only by what he saves from his annual revenue, or his annual gains, so the capital of a society, which is the same with that of all the individuals who compose it, can be increased only in the same manner."—Adam Smith, page 318.

nity, and be in no wise employed as capital in that community, in promoting industry by finding a market for it, the same results necessarily follow. With the want of the abstracted capital comes the want of employment for industry. Again, if "the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which the labour of the community is generally applied" be rude, deficient, and untutored, the labour, however great, may be so unproductive as to afford little beyond mere subsistence to the labourers.* From this cause also, if general, capital cannot accumulate, and without capital there will be no demand for labour. It is almost unnecessary to prove this general position, but I will support it by one more quotation from Adam Smith :—

"The demand for those who live by wages," says this high authority, "necessarily increases with the increase of the revenue and stock of every country, and cannot possibly increase without it. The increase of revenue and stock is the increase of national wealth. The demand for those who live by wages, therefore, naturally increases with the increase of national wealth, and cannot possibly increase without it."†

But any one of these means of checking industry, the produce of industry, and national wealth, or all three united, will tend to another evil. The absence of capital tends to confine productive industry to the land. It is a law of nature that population increases ; but the land does not increase. The land will yield but a certain amount of produce, which is limited ; but the increase of population is unlimited. Being confined to the produce of the land for subsistence, an increasing proportion of that produce must necessarily be consumed as population increases, until, if allowed to go on, the whole amount of the limited produce is consumed by the increasing producers. It is manifest that from this cause also, wealth cannot increase, nor capital accumulate, to afford other means of employment. This condition, again, insures other evils, which I endeavoured to trace in my

* Adam Smith, page 9.

† Ibid. page 71.

last letter—intense competition for land (the only means of subsistence), want of employment, starvation, discontent, and disturbance. Disturbance carries with it insecurity, and insecurity drives away capital from the country—drives away the only remedy for the evil. These appear to me to be the evils—reacting upon, and reproducing each other—under which Ireland has perpetually laboured. It is an unhappy circle of mischief, out of which all political disturbances have arisen. The peasantry have eagerly followed any leader who pointed out to them any one of these evils which oppressed them, and promised them relief from the starvation which it insured. Differences in religious faith acting on a people so circumstanced have embittered every relation of life. Unable to trace the cause of the competition for land which reduced them to starvation, and necessarily so reduced some, they have attributed their condition to bigoted prejudices, and, being desperate from want, have vented that desperation on their neighbours of a different religious faith. Depend upon it, if there were no tenants to till the land, and to raise and pay a rent for it, the most bigoted and tyrannical landlord in Ireland would be but too glad to get any tenants of any faith to cultivate it and raise a rent for him. Sectarian differences, then, but irritate and embitter existing evils; they do not produce them.

To each of these causes I intend to draw your attention in their turn, and in each locality to test their existence.

The first inquiry is, whether productive labour, the first source of all wealth, is paralyzed by the motive for all industry—reward beyond mere subsistence—being taken away?

The employment for the people here is on the land. If they industriously exert themselves for the improvement of the land, is the reward of that industry—the increased profit of the land—secured to them, or is it taken from them?

The general rule throughout the country—there are ex-

ceptions, but the general rule—is, not to give either leases or agreements, which, as a protection to both landlord and tenant, are equivalent to leases. Since the great political struggle previously to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act,—when the landlords were beaten throughout Ireland at the general election, and their tenants polled almost to a man against them in favour of the advocates of Catholic Emancipation, the topic of that day,—the landlords have generally refused leases. But I confine myself now to this county, where this is the fact. For the most part, therefore, the tenants are tenants at will. Point out any slovenliness to any tenant, ask him why he does not keep his farm tidy, and try to improve it, his answer immediately is, “What is the use of improving, to have it valued on me at the rent-day, and be made to pay a higher rent for it?”* It is customary here to burn the surface of the soil of land intended to be cultivated. This has the effect of manuring for a year, but leaves the soil afterwards completely exhausted and barren. It will grow nothing for years afterwards but ragweed, till natural grass gradually creeps over it again.†

Ask a tenant why he does not collect manure through the

* I rather think that an excuse of some kind or other is never wanting for indolence. It is certain, that if the tenantry would *take the trouble* to try to improve their land, although their rent might be raised, yet they would find great “use” in it, by realizing an increased profit out of the land, over and above the increased rent. It is better for a man to realize a crop worth 8*l.* or 10*l.* out of land for which he pays 30*s.* or 2*l.* an acre, than to realize a crop or profit worth 3*l.* or 5*l.* out of this land paying only 10*s.* an acre. Simply *taking the trouble*—or, in other words, being *industrious*—would generally put in the tenant’s pocket the difference between 10*l.* and 5*l.* increased value of crop, deducting, say 1*l.* for increased rent. (See first Letter, dated Limerick, *post.*)

† The effect of burning the land is to consume and volatilize all vegetable matter, and to create a stimulating salt. Burning deprives the land of some of its component qualities; under the effects of the stimulation it will grow a crop, and then is afterwards completely exhausted. Except for deep bog land, where there is an excess of vegetable matter, this system is ruinous. It leaves the land perfectly barren.

winter to manure his land, instead of smoking in his mud-hut, and burning his shins over his peat-fire, doing nothing, and he tells you, "What is the use of collecting manure to raise a good crop? for if the agent sees it he says, 'Oh! that's good land, you must pay more rent for it,' and the benefit of the manure goes to the landlord, whilst I am, as before, kept down to my dry potato and water."* In fact, he practically acts up to the adage, that "it is better to play for nothing than to work for nothing." I am informed by those who cannot be mistaken, that if a lease falls in here, the agents (for there are no resident landlords here), no matter how deserving the tenant may be, conceive they have but one duty to perform—to get as much rent as they can for their principals. Every motive of self-interest impels them to this, for according to the *quantum* of rent is the *quantum* of commission they receive. They immediately advertise for proposals, and the land is thus let by tender, generally to the highest bidder. Any stranger from the "black north" (as they call it here), or from the wilds of Connaught, may come in and bid against the former tenant, and outbid the man who made the land. The man who has reclaimed a piece of red bog, or a barren hill-side, whose sons and daughters have often carried blue gravel on their backs to put on land not worth 2*s.* an acre, and whose industry has made it worth 20*s.* an acre, gets not a farthing allowed him by his landlord for the improvements effected on his farm; and, if he wishes to continue on the same land, he must pay the utmost farthing of rent for that which his

* There is, however, too much truth in this complaint. It is impossible to have a more improvident management of an estate than this; and it arises from the landlords being, for the most part, absentees, and trusting the management of their estates to agents, who are not paid *salaries* for devoting their attention to the management of the estate, but a *per-centage on the rent for collecting it*. It is, therefore, the agent's *interest* to get as high a rent as he can; and very often the agent is a Dublin attorney, and is absent from and cares nothing about the estate.

industry alone has made worth anything, and must bid more for it than any stranger who chooses to compete against him.* In this way more rent is often offered than the land can possibly pay. If you ask the man why he bid so much for his farm, and more than he knew he could pay, his answer is, "What could I do? Where was I to go? I know I cannot pay the rent, but what could I do? Would you have me go and beg?" In this manner the utmost worth of the land, beyond mere subsistence—I am assured beyond dry potatoes and water—is extracted from the tenants, and the tenants, seeing the inutility of productive labour, so far as they are concerned, seeing that whether they work or play they get little beyond mere subsistence, settle down content with mere subsistence. The value of their labour is not secured to themselves; they have not the reward of labour; they do not find their stock, over and above paying the rent and the cost of their own consumption, increase, no matter what efforts they make. Is it not human nature that those efforts, beyond obtaining mere subsistence, which they must and will have, will not, under such circumstances, be great? Well, reverting to the position with which I set out, if their stock, over and above their consumption and expenditure in raising it, does not increase, their wealth as a community cannot increase; if their wealth does not increase, capital amongst them will not be accumulated, and will not therefore employ increasing labourers; and thus you have from this cause, as certainly as one day follows another, the evils of intense competition for land, of want of employment, starvation, discontent, and disturbance perpetuated. And as certainly as population increases without increasing employment, so certainly will these evils increase. I believe I state the opinion of the most intelligent

* This is not honest. No one can wonder that any man will refuse to work for another, when he knows that he will not be remunerated for his work. (See, on this subject, the Letter dated "Bantry," *post.*)

resident magistracy, "that if something be not done ere long to raise the condition of the people and afford employment, the people cannot be kept quiet, and that property in Ireland will be worth nothing." But what can be done? This is a *social evil*, and the remedy must be a *social one*. The Government can do little to remedy it. If landlords will, no matter for what reason, thus act contrary to the plainest dictates of common sense, and, with perfect blindness to consequences, refuse to secure to men, by *fair leases or mutually protecting agreements*, the benefits of their own industry, and screw out of their tenants the utmost shilling beyond mere subsistence, a badly cultivated country and an impoverished and indifferent tenantry are the certain growing results which, with population increasing, without general employment-giving wealth increasing, must inevitably end in disturbances, and in rendering "property in Ireland worth nothing."

I know I shall be met with the assertion that many landlords are willing to give leases, but the tenants do not care to have them. This is true of some landlords, and to their credit. But the landlord who is willing to give a fair lease is a fair man. The poor tenant puts confidence in such a landlord, and therefore does not care about a lease, for a lease costs him money, which he can ill afford. But ask the tenant at will of a hard landlord if he would like a lease at a *fair rate*, and he will eagerly accept it.*

* It is, however, an extraordinary fact, illustrative of the character of the Irish people, and which is quite contrary to all English experience, that, *with leases*, the tenants very slowly improve. They then want a spur to industry. They then have a certainty of subsistence before them, and they very often cease making any exertion beyond what is requisite to pay the rent. I have been some scores of times shown farms held on lease the most disgracefully cultivated of any in the neighbourhood. This is what is seen but too often in *practice*. The *theory* is altogether the other way; and it appears but common sense (and in England it is the practice), that a man who is secure of his farm should set to work and improve it, and get as much out of it as he can, certain that he will get the reward of his labour. There are, to be sure, many instances of this in Ireland; but such a course is far from being universal.

"The laziness and indolence of our people is another universal habit and custom

Now, I know quite well that, no matter what I write on this subject, it will be attacked with contradictions. I do not choose, therefore, to rest any of these facts on my own representation; I shall therefore conclude my letter of to-day with extracts of evidence taken before Lord Devon's Land Commission, substantiating the position I have endeavoured to illustrate.

Three farmers, Isaiah Gibson, John Reilly, and Joshua Wanhop, are examined at Cavan (Appendix, Part 2, p. 100). They say,—

"People are anxious to obtain leases, if they could get them at a fair value."

Mr. Wanhop says, *post*, at p. 102,—

"When grounds are out of lease there is no encouragement given to the tenant; the arrears are held over him. *They remain in-doors, burning their shins over the fire. They say they will do nothing, as they shall be turned out at the end of the lease.*" There is no encouragement given to them. I think the landlords are the most injudicious men I ever knew."

Mr. Beilly (*ib.*),—

that should be discouraged as much as all the rest. As industry and labour are the great source of riches to all nations, how ruinous must this terrible humour be which infects so many thousand people, even of those (for I leave our beggars for another place) who profess labour, and depend on it for their support? Many even of these follow their work but from hand to mouth; and, as if they thought as the Scriptures speak of the Jews—'their strength was to sit still'—they will wait no longer than the scourge of necessity is held over them. The Chinese say, with some truth as to their policy and trade, that 'all other nations have one eye, but they have two;' but I fear we must say with more justice of the Irish—and their beloved Spaniards may go along with them—that all other men have two hands, and they but one, and that they often keep in their breast. I remember Montaigne, in making up his account of his yearly expense, sets down,—'Item, for my indolent humour, 50*l.*' But I fear at least a million must be charged, on the same account, to Ireland. . . . A better way of living and an increase of our people and manufactures, and consequently a higher price for the necessities and conveniences of life, must be the great cure for this evil, together with the landlord's eye over them to punish the sleepy loiterer, and encourage and employ the industrious."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 25.

* Again an excuse for present indolence and want of exertion.

"The rent laid on is so disproportionate to the value of the land, that the farmer is paying beyond his means."

John M'Manus and James Smith, farmers, of Cormeen, near Oldcastle, Cavan, are examined (ib. p. 105):—

"12. Is there a great anxiety for leases on the part of the tenants?—I do think there is in many districts."

"13. At the present rate of rents?—No; I cannot say that; but I know this much, that the tenants would be well pleased to get leases at a fair valuation, or something near it. The lands which have fallen lately into the hands of the landlords are let very high."

Michael Kenny, farmer of Ruhulton, near Cavan, examined (ib. p. 108):—

"51. Do the people hold generally at will or by lease in this country?—There are a great many at will."

Mr. Philip Smith, agent and landowner, of Artina, in the county of Cavan, examined (ib. p. 111):—

"54. Do the tenants hold generally at will, or by lease?—Generally at will.

"60. Is there any anxiety among the different classes of tenants to obtain leases?—Yes; there is.

"61. At their present rent is there an anxiety to take out leases?—Yes; I think they would be anxious to take leases at their present rents generally. There are some who would not do so.

"62. Are the landlords in the habit of granting many leases?—Very few latterly.

"63. What in your opinion is the reason of it?—I think it is from some political causes."

John Cassidy, farmer, of Any, in the county of Monaghan, examined (ib. p. 115):—

"32. Do the tenants hold generally at will, or by lease?—Generally at will.

"33. What effect has that mode of tenure upon the condition of the tenant and the improvement of the farms?—It has not a good effect, because a tenant at will, if his land is too high let, then what he takes off the land is not sufficient to pay the demand of the landlord and the other taxes; then he gets into arrear, and he will not improve; but *if he improves, in the course of time he is turned out, as I have seen in our country, or the rent was raised to what they were not able to pay.*"

Mr. Burchell, magistrate and landed proprietor of Drumshambo, county of Leitrim, examined (ib. p. 246):—

“10. Is the state of agriculture improving or otherwise? and in what particulars?—It is not improving. Agriculture is much neglected, and the lands want draining: it affords every facility for draining. Potatoes and oats are the general crops.

“11. What are the manures generally used?—Animal manure and lime are much used on the mountain lands, and also for reclaiming the bogs. Burning prevails to a very great extent, and several of the small farmers have no other means of manure, and almost all occupiers burn more or less every year.”

Mr. Robert Lynch, farmer, of Elphin, county of Roscommon, is asked (ib. p. 249),—

“19. Is it usual, when a tenant has improved his farm, when he is turned out to make him an allowance for his improvements?—No; it is not usual.”

Mr. Patrick Mackeon, Poor Law Guardian, Drumshambo, Leitrim, examined (ib. p. 252):—

“8. Do tenants generally hold at will or by lease?—Generally at will.

“9. Is there any anxiety among the tenantry for leases?—A very great anxiety.

“10. What effect in your opinion has the tenancy at will upon the condition of the tenants and the improvement of their farms?—In the first instance, in my opinion, it prevents the tenant from improving the property; and, in the next instance, there is neither that pursuit of agriculture nor the valuable improvements on the farms that would otherwise be made on those farms, to my knowledge, if there were leases.”

Mr. James Cowan, of Cahirtown, Leitrim, farmer, examined (ib. p. 256):—

“29. Do you find that the tenants improve their lands in the way of drainage?—Where there is *tenure given* they do improve.

“45. Do you find that the small tenantry are improving or otherwise in their condition?—Indeed they are not; it is *the want of tenure*.

“69. Have you any other suggestions to offer?—If it was possible to have a fixity of tenure, it would be a great improvement.

“70. What do you mean by ‘fixity of tenure’?—That every tenant should get a lease from his landlord, and that would enhance the value.”

Mr. Morgan Crofton, agent to Lord Lorton, Boyle, Leitrim, examined (ib. p. 261) :—

“ 31. Small tenements set since 1832 are held at will.

“ 32. Have leases recently been made to small tenants?—No.”

Mr. Theophilus Jones, of Drumard, Leitrim, examined (ib. p. 260) :—

“ 31. Are lands usually held at will or by lease?—At will, I think. There are leases, but generally at will.

“ 32. Is there any desire on the part of the people to obtain leases?—I think they would like leases.

“ 33. Is there any indisposition on the part of landlords to grant them?—I think they do not like to do it.

“ What does that arise from, in your opinion?—Probably not wishing to let persons vote at elections. They think that they would not go with them, perhaps. I think that is the only reason.”

The Rev. J. W. Evers, parish priest of Mohill (ib. 268), says,—

“ That joint tenancy and want of leases check industry to the greatest extent.”

Mr. John Duke, surgeon, Mohill, Leitrim (ib. p. 270), examined :—

“ Is there any anxiety for leases?—Yes, the greatest possible anxiety. Farmers have offered to build slated houses if they got leases.

“ 36. Even at their present rents?—Yes, and anything, rather than be without land.

“ 37. By whom are the permanent improvements made; by the landlord or tenant, or jointly?—None by the landlords here.

“ 66. The tenants at will are trying to deteriorate the appearance of their farms, lest a valuator should be sent out, which they are frequently threatened with.”

Without, however, repeating masses of evidence of the same kind, I will briefly quote evidence to show to what condition this system has brought the country and the people.

Mr. Burchell, the magistrate of Drumshambo, Leitrim (ib. 248), says,—

“ That neither the small tenantry nor the labourers are improving in their means.”

Mr. Patrick Mackeon, of Drumshambo (p. 253), says,—

“That neither the condition of the large farmers nor of the small tenantry is improving. The labourers have not more than 5d. or 6d. a day, and are half the year unemployed.”

Mr. Ireland, of Drumsa, Leitrim, leaseholder (p. 258), says,—

“The tenantry are not improving in their condition, and the labourers have not employment.”

Mr. Duke, surgeon, Mohill, Leitrim (p. 270), says,—

“30. There are very few large farmers.

“45. Are the small tenantry improving in their condition or otherwise?—They are 50 per cent. worse than they were twenty years ago.

“46. Are the labourers improving?—Quite the reverse; nothing can be more wretched.

“47. What is the cause of their being so wretched?—The value of the commodity (labour) is so reduced in price, they are not able to pay their rents, and they are lying naked, and in such a state it would hardly be believed. I am obliged to visit the people, being a medical man, and go in where no gentleman would go in. They have no bedstead; they are lying on a small quantity of straw—sometimes rushes; they have no covering over them, or one blanket among six. When fever sets in in any particular case, the whole family generally take it.

“With respect to food what is their condition?—It is never better than potatoes and milk in summer, and in winter they have not the milk. Sometimes they get a herring, or stirabout is considered wholesome food; but latterly they have not been able to get that.”

The Rev. G. Gearty, parish priest at Annaduff, Leitrim, is asked (p. 277),—

“34. With respect to the farming population, do you think that the farmers holding large farms are improving in their worldly condition, or the reverse?—I think they are growing worse.

“35. Are the small tenantry improving in their circumstances?—They cannot be worse off than they are.”

“36. What should you say about the class of labourers?—I think they cannot be worse off in any country in the world than they are at present; there is no employment for them, except this year the improvement of the Shannon has given them some employment, but quite partially.

“39. What is their general diet?—Potatoes; and that of the very worst

description. They are not able to raise the better kind of potatoes, and consequently they live upon lumpers, which are the very worst."

I shall here stop, without fatiguing you with a repetition of evidence of a similar kind, satisfied that I have quoted enough to bear out every position which I have advanced.

Here, then, we see the secret of the political monster demonstrations raised by Mr. O'Connell. He talked to the people about "fixity of tenure," and told them Repeal would secure it. The people believed him; and groaning under the evils they bear without it, they were ready to support any measure which they were told would secure it. Protect them in the possession of their tenures *at a fair rate*,—secure to the people the reward of their industry, and Repeal will have lost the charm of "fixity of tenure," and must look out for another handmaiden. At the same time the country will have advanced one step towards the acquisition of wealth; and in that acquisition none will be so much benefited as the landlords who give the leases.

I shall leave to future letters the illustration of the other branches of my argument.*

* For opinions of the press on this Letter, see Appendix 2.

LETTER IV.

ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RACE; AND THE WANT OF INDUSTRIAL KNOWLEDGE PREVENTING THE INCREASE OF CAPITAL.

Different Appearance of Fermanagh and Leitrim — Orangeism and Protestantism, and English or Scotch Descent usually mark the same Individual — Characteristics of Race — Of the natural Capabilities of the Country, and of the unimproved and wretched System of Agriculture prevalent — Examples of this — Leads to Poverty, and therefore prevents the Accumulation of Wealth and Capital.

ENNISKILLEN, FERMANAGH, August 23.

I ADDRESS my present letter to you from one of the most Orange and Protestant districts in Ireland. The town is well built and clean, the population orderly and industrious; the country in the neighbourhood tolerably cultivated, and extremely fertile and beautiful; and the small farm-houses, as you approach the town from Leitrim, neat and cleanly-looking, generally whitewashed over, and having a well-trimmed thatch. Inglis, in his *Journey through Ireland*, thus speaks of the town of Enniskillen:—

“I found it *one* of the most respectable-looking towns I had seen in Ireland; and its population by far *the most* respectable-looking that I had anywhere yet seen. I speak, of course, of the lower classes; and I make no exception of either Dublin, or Cork, or Limerick, or any other place. I saw a population—the first I had yet seen—without rags; I saw scarcely a bare foot even among the girls; there was a neat tidy look among the women, who had not, as in other places, their uncombed hair hanging

about their cars; and the men appeared to me to have a decent farmer-like appearance."

The same author, in describing the roads from Ballinamore to this town, which route I came the other day, thus speaks of the country near Ballinamore, and thence to Enniskillen. At Ballinamore—

"There is a poverty look about everything. The country is but half cultivated; and it supports a needy gentry, crushed farmers, and a miserable peasantry. After passing Swanlinbar, things improve. Improvement is visible in the aspect of the country, and a decided improvement in the appearance of the houses and their inhabitants."

To the general accuracy of this description I can fully bear testimony. Swanlinbar is on the borders of Ulster and Connaught; on one side of it is the county of Leitrim, in Connaught; on the other the county of Fermanagh, in Ulster. Orangemen and Protestants in this country, with more zeal than observation, and very well-meaning English Protestants, but often very weak-minded men, on the platform of Exeter-hall, are in the habit of attributing this visible improvement in the province of Ulster to the effect of Orange politics and the Protestant religion. It so happens that in Ireland generally Orangeism and Protestantism, and English or Scotch descent, may be used as synonymous terms, for they are usually embodied in the same individual—at any rate, this is so in the province of Ulster. If there be one characteristic which more than another distinguishes the lower class of the Celtic population, it is that they are content to live hardly and upon little: and if there is any one quality which distinguishes the lower class of the Saxon race more than another, it is this, that, however hard they may be content to work, they *will* live comfortably and well.*

* An able writer of a series of articles in *The Monthly Chronicle*, of 1840, on "The State of Ireland," says, truly enough,— "The English peasant is considered to have descended to the very zero of his physical discomfort when his

It is because the poor Celt is content to put up with bad fare, and worse clothing and shelter, that he is *made* to put up with them. It is because the man of Saxon descent *will* live comfortably and well, or, if his exertions cannot accomplish this, make his grumbings heard and *felt*, that he *does* live comfortably and well. Let any man of observation travel through the Celtic population of the county of Leitrim into the adjoining mixed population of the county of Fermanagh, and I think he must be convinced that *race* has more to do with the distinguishing characteristics of Ulster than either politics or religion. At any rate, until it is proved that Orangeism and Protestantism will add six inches to the average height and proportionate bulk to the men, and tall figures and good looks to the women, as well as better dress, I shall continue of opinion that these great differences in the appearance of the people themselves, as well as the difference which may be observed in their dress, and in their houses and mode of living, must chiefly be attributed to the characteristics of the *race*.*

loaf has become so dear or so small, or his income so scanty, that for a while he is obliged to suspend the use of bread, and live one day or more in the week upon potatoes. The Irish peasant, upon the other hand, never eats a morsel of wheaten bread in his life; except, perhaps, at a market, where he may happen to buy a halfpenny-worth of it as a curiosity, just as a little girl buys a gingerbread husband in the same place. The pig which he rears, and which occupies the most comfortable portion of the cabin, is invariably disposed of for the landlord; and the peasant would as soon think of eating the landlord himself as of eating the pig. Beef is a matter of which he hears, as the man who sweeps the crossings at the Mansion-house, in London, hears of the calipash which forms part of the Lord Mayor's dinner; and, with regard to mutton, it seems, according to the last accounts from Ireland, that the Poor Law Commissioners have placed it under the head of *Materia Medica*, whilst one of them has actually and officially promulgated the fact, that meat of any kind, and even broth, is such a stranger to the constitution of the Irish peasant, that the accidental or unadvised administration of either produces very serious complaints of the bowels. . . . The bold Briton d—s his eyes, and those of every one else, whenever he is obliged to take an occasional meal in which potatoes are substituted for bread. The poor Hibernian would consider himself as happy as a prince if he had only potatoes enough all the days of his life."

* If there is one qualification which, more than another, distinguishes the Celtic

In my last letter to you, I endeavoured to show that the wealth of a community subsisting by the cultivation of land cannot be expected to accumulate into capital, and thereby

race wherever they may be found, it is that of excessive vanity. The Welshman will boast to you of the bravery and courage of his ancestors. They may have been brave and courageous, and, in masses, no doubt are—or rather, they then become rash and impetuous. They, however, had the misfortune—which, in those days, was not much disgrace, as they shared it with many nations—to be thoroughly well beaten by the Romans. When the Romans left them, they had the disgrace to be thoroughly well beaten by the Picts and Scots, a more barbarous nation. Unable to protect themselves, they called in the aid of two Saxon chieftains, Hengist and Horsa, to help them. These latter chieftains, having beaten off the Picts and Scots, and driven them back again to the north, the helpless ancient Britons said,—“Gentlemen—We are very much obliged to you for fighting for us and helping us: you may now depart.” “Oh, no!” said Hengist and Horsa, “we like our quarters very well; we will stay where we are.” On which being said, the ancient Britons made a show of fighting; again, however, unfortunately, getting thrashed, and driven from the fertile plains into the hills. In fact, the ancient British gradually retreated as the Saxon and Norman and Dane advanced. Yet we hear the brave deeds of their warriors sung to the harp, in bardic triads, to this day. The pride of the Welsh is not the less remarkable. As there is little of talent, not much wealth,—not much, in fact, in any way, to distinguish any of them,—their pride shows itself in vaunting an ancient lineage. There is a story told of a bishop who, having been promoted to his high office because of his talents, was asked by, I think, George the Fourth, with a sneer,—“From what family, my lord, are you descended?” His answer was: “Sire, Noah had three sons—Shem, Ham, and Japhet. From one of these my father descended; but from which, I cannot inform your Majesty.” A genuine Welsh squire, however, esteems himself meritorious in proportion to the number of “aps” that he can ascend in the scale of his ancestry. Pride is but another description of vanity. The ancient British are of Celtic origin. We see them in England driven to the hills of Wales, and, to this day, shrinking and retreating before the Saxon, who is driving his enterprise further and further into their country. The Highlanders of Scotland, in the same manner, are brave and impetuous in masses; but they retreat before the Saxon Lowlanders. They have a national song, too, which describes, whilst speaking in courteous terms of the Lowlanders, their own convictions of this truth. In Scotland, to the north, “bonnie” and “pretty” not only mean good looking, but athletic, and brave in fight. Thus a “pretty man” or a “bonnie lad” means a brave stout fellow. The song begins with—

“The Highland lads are *bonnie* lads;

The Lowland lads are *prettier*,”—

And so on; but this is sufficient to quote.

We see the Highlanders also driven into the hills, and, like the Celts of Wales, living in wretched huts. They are kindly-hearted and faithful creatures; but their spathy and indolence cannot resist the active energy of the Lowlander. Like the Welsh, theirs is not the tone of emulation, or of resolute maintenance of

to afford employment to an increasing population, if you take away all security from the tenant that he shall reap the reward of his industry bestowed on the land in improving

right; it is the tone of resistless complaint—of helplessness. Yet you see the same vanity and the same pride of lineage which mark the Celts of Wales among these Highland Celts. You see the same wretchedness, the same retreating before the Saxon to the hills, the same complaining helplessness. The Celtic Welsh are nearly universally stiffish built, small men. Their average height varies from five feet four inches to five feet seven inches, with here and there a tall man as an exception. The Celtic Highlanders are generally thin, spare, small men, averaging from five feet four inches to five feet eight inches, with occasionally a tall man amongst them. The French are of Celtic extraction. It is needless to say anything about their boasting vanity; and it is unnecessary to prove that, as a nation, they are small men. We come now to the Irish—I mean, the Celtic Irish. I know of no ground for speaking of them in different terms to the Celtic Welsh, and Highland Scotch, and French. They certainly are as vain, and boast as much of their prowess; and it is an historical fact, that they have not been able to stand against the Saxon any more than the British, the Highland Scotch, or the French. The history of the conquest of Ireland by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans (who are, in fact, *Norðmen*, or Saxons), is not very dissimilar to the history of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons. Dermot M'Murrough, King of Leinster, having got himself thoroughly well thrashed for his villainy by the Prince of Meath and Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, applied to Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, an Anglo-Saxon lord, to come and help him. "Here I am," said Strongbow, "ready to fight your battles, with sixty knights and three hundred archers, and I have two hundred and ten knights coming to join me, with one hundred and seventy archers; and with these I have no doubt I shall thrash the Prince of Meath and the King of Connaught." And so he did. Dermot M'Murrough then said,—“I am much obliged to you, my lord, for thrashing my enemies; you and your men may now depart back to England.” “Oh, no!” said Strongbow; “I like my quarters very well, and will stay where I am.” “Then if you won't go, I will make you,” said Dermot. “If you try to do that,” said Strongbow, “then I must just thrash you, too.” And so he did. Thus Ireland was first conquered; and the native Irish, like the Welsh and Highlanders, were driven into their hills. I speak from observation of the unmixed Celtic Irish, as I have seen them in Donegal, Leitrim, Mayo, parts of Galway, and Clare, and Kerry, and parts of Cork, Cavan, and Roscommon; and I assert it as a fact, that all the characteristics of the Welsh and of the Highlanders are observable amongst them. They are small men. I do not think their average height in Leitrim, Cavan, and Mayo, is five feet five inches. They are excessively vain and vain-glorious, and their pride is not the less remarkable. They are, beyond question, very indolent. The Rev. Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, in a book entitled “Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland,” written and published in 1739, inveighs against “their indolence and foolish pride.” He says, that “formerly they often sold their butter and yarn by night, and as privately as possible, thinking it disgraceful to make a profit of the industry of their wives; and I have known reproaches and thence

and rendering his farm more valuable—if, in fact, you do not give him the power of securing to himself the reward of such improvements. The uncertainty of benefiting by such addi-

quarrels on this matter." It is an historical fact, too, that some seven hundred to nine hundred Englishmen, in the reign of Henry the Second, achieved the conquest of Ireland.

I have written thus fully on this subject, because the Irish national vanity appears to have been exceedingly wounded by the observations about race in this and a subsequent letter from Gweedore. Mr. John O'Connell made himself supremely ridiculous in Conciliation Hall by boasting about the superior force of a Kerryman's *kick* over any Saxon's. I was twice through Kerry, and all round the county, and certainly their "kicking" prowess did not at all alarm me; and, judging from the appearance of the men, I do not think their prowess in that line can be at all remarkable. On my second visit into Kerry, whilst at Kennare it was market day, and great numbers of country people, with their cows and pigs, were before the inn. An Irish gentleman who was with me happened to be talking on this subject, and expressed his opinion that the country people in the market were fine men. They did not strike me as remarkable in any way. They are a good looking peasantry, and certainly much finer men than the Leitrim, and Cavan, and Mayo peasantry. I differed, however, with him in opinion that they were fine men, and the question was decided by a friendly bet between us. It was agreed by both, that my own height as an Englishman was but of the middle size. He thought I was rather little. My own height is five feet nine inches. The bet was to be decided by my walking across the road, through the crowd of country people, to the post-office, and placing myself close to as many people in my way as I could, that he might compare my height with theirs, and form a judgment. I did so, and he told me that there was only one man in the market as tall as myself, and that I was a much taller and bigger man than most of the peasantry. That was certainly my own impression in walking amongst them. But in an English fair the reverse is my impression, for there I have a feeling approaching to insignificance from moving about amongst bigger and taller men than myself.

Letters without end, and contradictions and controversies, have been excited by this letter. It is, however, I think, foolish to be quoting old authors to try and prove the Irish to be a race of giants. They are not so. Let any man who thinks this in Ireland (except in Tipperary and Limerick, and the eastern and northern counties, where you have a mixed, and not a pure Celtic race), look around him, and I am sure he will begin to speak of some other district than that where he is, as the place where the big men are to be found. In Tipperary the men are fine men; and in many parts of the eastern counties there are fine men. In Galway and Limerick there are fine men. But the race in all these counties is a mixed one. It has given great national offence, again, to state this. I really don't know why it should. It is a fact, and one depending on natural causes. All mixed races are fine races. Man, so far as the procreation of his race goes, is but an animal, and subject to the same laws as any other animal. If a farmer wants fine cattle, he crosses his breed. He might breed a pure breed of Kerry cattle till doomsday, and he would never get a large animal. One Leicestershire,

tional labour and expenditure (which to him, indeed, is but another name for labour; for labour is the only source from which he derives his means) will necessarily prevent him

or Aberdeen, or Durham ox, is equal, in weight and size, to any two Kerry oxen. The prize Kerry bull at the last Ballinasloe fair was only some three feet six inches high; no higher or bigger, in fact, than a good-sized jackass. But cross your Kerry and Leicestershire cattle, and you will have a fine breed of cattle. The existence of this law of nature in the human race is seen in all our border counties in England. The biggest men in England are those living in the border counties, where the races have been mixed. Thus in Chester and Herefordshire, bordering on Wales; in Lancashire, bordering on Wales and Ireland; in Cumberland and Northumberland, bordering on Scotland,—the biggest men in England are found. I saw two men not long ago wrestling at Carlisle in Cumberland for the champion's belt—one of them six feet two inches, and the other six feet eight inches high, and both enormously powerful men; and these men, though large men, were not considered as being very remarkable for stature there, nor did they appear remarkable when walking in the crowd. But such men as those would be giants in Leitrim.

Again, it is said, you should consider the effect of bad food and difference in feeding. This certainly has an effect, but I think more is attributed to it than it deserves; for the big Tipperary or Connemara man is every bit as much potato fed as the Leitrim, or Cavan, or Mayo man. The real cause of the difference is, that you have in one case a pure race, and in the other a mixed one. In Suffolk, for instance, in England "Suffolk men short" is an expression when speaking of the men. They are short, stiff men, about five feet seven or eight inches high; and they are nearly a pure Saxon race. A little more admixture with the Norman or the British would have made them bigger men. I by no means wish to "run down" the Irish or the Celtic race. The Irish peasantry are, for the most part, a bright, intelligent, good-natured people; blended sometimes with characteristics of a very opposite character (depending, perhaps, on an excitable temperament and on poverty); they are kindly hearted and generous; and, generally, they are naturally courteous. I simply state, above, the result of observation. What I state, I have seen in Wales, in the Highlands, in France, and in Ireland. It is a condition existing at this moment, and any one may test my accuracy. It is nonsense writing bombastic stuff which has no foundation; for all the boasting in the world will not make Kerry, Mayo, Leitrim, Cavan, Donegal, or Sligo men, big men. There they are, an existing small race.

I wish also to state, that, on the sentence in the letter,—“Until it is proved that Orangeism and Protestantism will add six inches to the average height and proportionate bulk to the men, *and tall figures and good looks to the women*,” &c.,—Mr. O'Connell had the audacity, in Conciliation Hall and elsewhere, in order to excite a feeling against me, repeatedly to say, that I “accused the women of Ireland of being ugly.” Upon this assertion he burst into a rhapsody,—“Oh, how ugly they are!” amidst great groanings and execrations at my supposed slander. That he should state this or anything else that will serve his present purpose, surprises no one; but what can you say of a people who will permit themselves, in every matter, from the most important to the most trivial, to be thus deceived?

from endeavouring to improve, and make him rest satisfied with the mere subsistence over and above the rent which he derives from the land as it is; and that this is *one* reason why capital does not accumulate in Ireland.

I intend in my present letter to endeavour to apply another proposition laid down in my last communication, that "if the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which the labour of a community is generally applied be rude, deficient, and untutored, the labour, however great, may be so unproductive as to afford little beyond mere subsistence to the labourers;" and that this is another reason why capital cannot accumulate and create a demand for labour. It is scarcely necessary to illustrate this as a general proposition; let us therefore simply examine if it be applicable to Ireland.

I have been over every part of Great Britain; I have had occasion to direct my attention to the natural capabilities, to the mode of cultivation, and to the produce of many parts of it: this very year I have traversed the country from the "Land's-end," in Cornwall, to "John-o'-Groat's," in Caithness; but in no part of it have I seen the natural capabilities of the soil and climate surpass those of Ireland, and in no part of it have I seen those natural capabilities more neglected, more uncultivated, more wasted, than in Ireland. It is now the middle of the hay harvest in Ireland. The meadows for the most part are wholly unmanured, and yield simply a natural crop of grass. I speak with confidence when I say that the quantity of hay cut appears to the eye to be, in proportion to the land, nearly double the amount which ordinary land in England well-manured produces; and it is certainly one-fourth more than the very best land in England yields. But this is the produce of the unassisted soil and climate. I have seen such crops of potatoes growing as I never saw before. I have scarcely seen any wheat; the oat crops generally are poor, and the turnips, such as I have seen, are wretched. Whatever the natural capabilities of the soil and climate can

do, nature does admirably ; whatever requires the aid of the native man, that aid the native man seems ignorant how to afford.

Spencer, who is said by Hallam to have given the most full and authentic account of what was the actual state of Ireland at the period when he wrote, thus speaks of the capabilities of the country :—

“ And sure Ireland is yet a most sweet and beautiful country as any is under Heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet islands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon their waters; adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houses and shippes so commodiously as that, if some princes of the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and, ere long, of all the world ; also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them to see what excellent commodities that country can afford ; besides the soyle itself most fertile, fit to yielde all kinde of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And, lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the east.”

Lord Bacon has written in terms no less high of “ the many dowries of nature with which this island is endowed.”

Mr. Weale of the office of woods and forests says (Evid. 1830. No. 1576-8),—

“ There is the finest possible field in Ireland for the exertion of skill and the employment of capital. Upon an Irish estate there would be a power of investing additional capital with incomparably greater profit than upon property in England.”

Such are the natural capabilities of the country.

In many parts of Ireland this year, and for some years past, the rot has prevailed in the potato crops. The stem appears to grow luxuriantly, but the root is rotten. It has, however, been found by experience that draining tends to prevent this evil ; and that it never exists in a crop grown on virgin soil, or which has not before recently borne a potato

crop.* Still draining is rarely resorted to by the generality of farmers ; and the same patch of land is laid down year after year in potatoes till it will grow them no longer ; it is then sown with oats, till it will grow oats no longer ; and it is then left almost perfectly barren, with barely a covering of grass growing over it, but a plentiful crop of rushes, springing up in regular rows where the potato trenches have been, till the hand of time recovers it. In six or seven years it begins to come round, and to afford a little pasturage ; it is then grazed for a few years ; then turned into meadow ; and when the land has recovered itself, without any artificial aid from manure, it is again laid down in potatoes and oats, to go through the same rotation again. Such is the general state of agriculture in this part of Ireland. Some agricultural readers may be curious to know how such fine crops of potatoes are produced in this country,—crops so great that the poor cottiers can afford, and positively pay, as much as 8*l.* to 10*l.* an Irish acre rent for potatoes in con-acre. The English acre, as compared with the Irish acre, is as 3½ to 5 in extent ; and in letting con-acre the land is let manured with farm-yard manure. A piece of grass land being spread with manure, is marked out into four-foot broad beds, and a trench a foot wide and about a foot deep is dug out between the beds, the earth dug out being thrown over the manure on the surface of the grass and carefully spread over it, affording about three inches in thickness of loose soil on the bed. The trench dug serves the double purpose of a drain to the land, and affords loose soil to cover the potatoes. The seed potato is either first simply laid on the manured grass and spread over with the loose soil out of the trench, or is dropped into a hole made by a stick in the loose soil, and covered over. This is the whole of the rude cultivation given to the potato

* The potato rot now, however, is generally believed to have been caused by a blight, from its universal prevalence.

crop. As the whole of the land has to be dug up in order to get at the first crop of potatoes, and has the benefit of the digging for a second crop, the following year it is usually set without any manure. English farmers who dig, or plough and harrow, and clean, and stone, and hoe in manure, and afterwards, carefully weed every yard of their potato land, would stare at this rude mode of cultivation, and still more so at the enormous crops which an excellent soil and climate nevertheless often yield. Had the poor Irish peasant but the knowledge of the intelligent English farmer how to cultivate his land, he would nearly double the amount of his produce. The whole knowledge of the Irish peasant, however, seems only to extend to throwing the seed on the land, with some loose soil over it, and manure, if he has it ; the rest he leaves to nature.* There is a great deal of rain here, and the land

* "It is our shame and reproach, as absolutely necessary as tillage is to our well-being, we have been as careless about it as if, like the Jews, we expected manna from heaven to feed us ; or trusted like the old Irish to the gathering muscles and cockles on the shore, or the hips and haws and acorns of the woods to feed us. While other nations labour to plough and enrich even their poorest grounds, we can hardly be persuaded to break up our richest plains, which nature seems peculiarly to have designed for tillage, by not harbouring a mole in them ; where often all manure is useless, and half labour would produce double the crops which our neighbours purchase with so much expense and toil. And, indeed, it is miserable to consider how industriously the Swissers plough the naked sides of their mountains, and our poor neighbours, as I may call them, the Welsh, struggle to force a crop from their barren rocks, while many of our people leave hogs and rabbits the first original ploughers of the earth to turn up some of the richest grounds in the kingdom. When the Poles were once endeavouring to raise the price unreasonably of their corn on the Dutch, the States ordered their ambassador to propose to the Czar, that if he would put his subjects on tillage, they would not only buy their grain from them, but they would send over skilful husbandmen to instruct them completely in agriculture. This proposal so alarmed the Poles, that to break off the treaty they lowered the market, and so kept the Dutch their chapmen ever since. But I have often wished that both the Poles and the Czar had refused to deal with them and that they would make such a bargain with us, in order to tempt us to get a little more skill and profit by ploughing our pastures, which would yield as well as the rich ground did in our Saviour's parable. The earth, indeed, has done her part, but to as little purpose as the silk worms make their webs in Asia, where the indolent Turks will not put forth a hand to gather them, and much less to spin and weave them, but choose to buy their fine wrought

is therefore often too wet. Its very undulating surface, however, makes it almost naturally drain itself. On the borders of the county of Leitrim I have often seen what this undulating surface of the land would almost of itself effect, in draining off the superabundant moisture, thwarted by the ignorance of the peasant. I have repeatedly seen the potato beds laid across the side of a hill, or winding round its slope, each trench acting as a drain to the bed above it, and holding the water to soak through the bed below it; and yet the poor peasant will complain that his crop is half destroyed with the rot and that he cannot pay his rent. When the land will grow no more potatoes, then oats are sown. The first year the crop is usually a very good one; but it is repeated year after year, till at length you may almost count the stalks, and the land will grow oats no longer. The land is then left to recover itself by time, and usually lies fallow six or seven years, and is of no possible use. It is clear, that knowledge

silks from foreigners."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, by Dr. Madden, p. 101.

"As this great mismanagement proceeds from several obstructions to our tillage which we have long laboured under, I shall mention some of them, and then lay down a few methods in order to remove them. The first is a sort of natural aversion to the plough in our native Irish. One would think they had occasionally been yoked to it, and drawn it with their bodies as the poor Indians used to do in Peru; but the truth is, they have got this humour from their good friends the Spaniards, whose pride and sloth they are too apt to admire and copy. I find most travellers agree in censuring the people of Spain, that they plough very little, and generally but for a mile or two, near their great towns; and, between want of rain and labour, are every third year starving for want of bread, and begging their corn-merchants, the Dutch, to save their lives and take their money."

"But there is another obstruction to our tillage in Ireland, which is harder to be accounted for, and that is the fondness of our Protestant gentlemen to large herds of cattle and pasturage. This humour has spread so generally through the nation that, though it eats up our people like a plague, and lays our country waste, we seem every day to do all in our power to increase this epidemical evil of overrunning vast tracts of land with such prodigious herds of cattle, that our stock-masters in some counties will soon be able to match the famous M'Surly Boy, in Queen Elizabeth's time, who is said to have kept fifty thousand head of cattle to his own share."—*Ibid.* p. 103.

in the art of cultivation would fully double the produce which tenants who follow such a plan as this derive from the land. One witness in this neighbourhood says, before Lord Devon's commission, that "half the land lies fallow."* However high

* In the north, they call it "letting the lands lie out to cool." Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, in his book called "Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland," which was published in 1739—about a century ago—thus describes the state of agriculture in Ireland as it then existed:—

"There was not a due proportion of the land in tillage to bear corn sufficient for the support of the inhabitants; but, on the contrary, although the population of Ireland at that time little exceeded two millions,¹ yet they were obliged to buy corn and flour from the Dutch for home consumption.

"Instead of having different kinds of ploughs, we shift off all our business with one, and that so ill-contrived and ordered, the Dutch would not wish us worse, and, what is as bad as all the rest, it is often not drawn by oxen (as it were to be wished our laws obliged us), but by horses, or garrons, as we call them, of different sizes, which also many of the poorest Irish draw by the tail. . . . But we work our ploughs as ill as we make them, for we generally leave much of our soil entirely unstirred, and the furrows bare, broad, and unfruitful. Even our richest lands are by no means wrought to a sufficient fineness. Thus, after a great deal of injudicious and superfluous labour, we rather drown or bury our grain than sow it."² He goes on to say, that from ignorance of the inherent properties of manure, and of the proper seed time, and want of fit culture and due care, "our crops are so ordinary that our neighbours in England, with much higher charges of all sorts, are able to undersell us in our own markets. Many of our lower people are also as lazy as they are ignorant, and yet have as bad tools as they have hands; numbers of the harrows of our poor farmers (I speak what I see and know) have their harrow-pins made of wood, and the tackle for them and the plough also of twisted gads and wretched taggs cut out of the hides of horses they have killed probably by unskilful under-feeding and over-labouring. But even our best iron-pinned harrows are ill-contrived, both for the draught of the cattle and the breaking of the clods. They are generally too light, and the pins too short, thin, and weak, and not right placed to answer each other, and, therefore, can never sufficiently raise and break the mould, which is the main point to make a light, open, warm bed and coverlet, if I may so speak, for the grain. . . . Thus we just scratch the ground only, as Mr. Frazer says the Indians do in Chili; and when we have done, we neither manure our land sufficiently, nor steep the seed in proper liquors to enrich it, nor use rollers to smooth and flatten the mould. Nay, we do not even mow the crop with scythes when it is ripened, but rich and poor cut it down with hooks, what grain soever it be; and some of the less improved Irish, instead of thrashing, do often burn the straw as the quickest and easiest

¹ "2,010,222."

² The condition of agriculture in Mayo, Donegal, Sligo, Clare, Galway, Kerry, and parts of Cork, at the present day, is not very dissimilar to this.

rents may be now, it also follows that if tenants doubled their produce by proper cultivation, as they can live now, unless their rents were increased in proportion (which they could

way to get out the grain.³ This is indeed a terrible account of our husbandry, and, I must own, in many particulars, is only applicable to the poorest and less civilized part of the Irish natives."

³ "Having some time since mentioned these facts to a friend, he expressed a doubt as to their authenticity; and, lest any one should have a doubt on the subject, I have transcribed the preambles to two Acts of Parliament, passed in the reign of Charles I."

"*An Act against Ploughing by the Tail, and pulling the Wool off Living Sheep. Ch. 15 of 10 & 11 Year (1634-5) of Charles I.*

"Whereas in many places of this kingdom there hath been a long time used a barbarous custom of ploughing, harrowing, drawing, and working with horses, mares, geldings, garrans, and colts, by the taile, whereby (besides the cruelty used to the beasts) the breed of horses is much impaired in this kingdome, to the great prejudice thereof: and whereas also, divers have and yet do use the like barbarous custom of pulling off the wool yearly from living sheep, instead of clipping or shearing them; be it therefore, &c. Punishment, fine, and imprisonment."

"*An Act to Prevent the unprofitable Custom of Burning of Corn in the Straw. 10 & 11 Charles I., Ch. 17.*

"Whereas there is in the remote parts of this kingdome of Ireland, commonly a great dearth of cattell yearly, which for the most part happeneth by reason of the ill husbandrie and improvident care of the owners, that neither provide fodder nor stover for them in winter, nor houses to put them in extremitie of stormy cold weather, but a natural lazie disposition possessing them, that will not build barnes to house and thrash their corn in, or houses to keep their cattell from the violence of such weather,* but the better to enable them to be flitting from their lands, and to deceive his Majestie of such debts as they may be owing at any time, and their landlords of their rents, doe for a great part instead of thrashing, burn their corn in the straw, thereby consuming the straw, which might relieve their cattell in winter, and afford materials towards the covering or thatching their houses; and spoiling the corn, making it black, loathsome, and filthy; for prevention of which unprofitable and uncivil custome, be it enacted, &c.

"Penalty. Ten days' imprisonment for the first offence, and to pay the charges.

"Second offence. Imprisonment for a month, without bail or mainprise, and to pay the charges as aforesaid.

"Third offence. Fine of forty shillings, and to be bound to good behaviour, and to pay the charges as aforesaid."

* This is literally true now of parts of Mayo, Sligo, Galway, Donegal, and Kerry, near Ballina. I repeatedly saw the peasants thrashing their corn on fine

not be if the tenants had agreements or leases,—at least until their termination), they must be enabled by such increased production to live more comfortably, and perhaps to save

days, in the middle of the *high road*. When the road is dry they simply sweep the loose dust and stones off it, and then spread their corn upon the road and thrash it out. I have had repeatedly to drive over their corn thus spread across the high road with my horse and car, and of course every waggon, coach, or car, which was on the road must have done the same. This makes the corn dusty and gritty; and I was informed by a corn-merchant in Sligo, that it is quoted at 2d. to 4d. less in the markets of Liverpool in consequence. After being thus thrashed out, the women usually spread a sheet on the road-side, on a windy day, and, standing with their bare feet on the middle of the sheet, winnow the corn from the chaff, by holding both up in a bowl or sieve, as high as they can, and then, gradually emptying the sieve, the wind blows away the chaff over the edges of the spread-out sheet, the corn falling upon it owing to its greater gravity. I have seen the women thus standing with their naked legs, nearly knee deep in the corn. Nothing can be more wasteful than this. In the first place, the value of the corn is deteriorated; and in the second place, if the wind is high, much of the corn is scattered and blown away with the chaff. Generally the sheet used is taken *from off the bed*; and so utterly unprovided with every farming requisite are these poor farmers, that frequently the same sheet is sewn up into a bag to form a sack in which to carry the corn to market. I have seen *this* scores of times in Mayo, Sligo, and Galway. This, of course, besides its *dirtyness*, tears the sheet to pieces, as it was not manufactured for any such purpose, and is thus again wasteful. If the farmer does not sell his corn when he takes it to market, and should there be any rain in the course of the day, which is generally the case, the sheet-sack will not keep out the wet, and the corn is damped, and injured, and deteriorated in value. This is again waste. If he carries back his corn from market unsold, he has no place to keep it in but the hut in which he lives, which being always full of turf smoke, this flavours and again deteriorates the corn in value. Then, again, the farmer who only calculated on being a day or two without his bed-clothes, as he has none other and cannot well do without them, is forced to sell his thrashed wheat, no matter what the price may be in the market, in order to get back his night covering. Thus we see these poor Irish farmers, who can ill afford to lose anything, by their bad and improvident management *waste* great part of their substance. I often asked why a village could not *jein* at a barn and build it for common use, using it in turns, as each farmer could not manage to erect his own barn? Their usual answer was, "they never thought about it, and did without." When we remember, however, that a farmer will often build the house in which he lives in eight days, at a cost of about 30s. for timbers for the roof, wood for a door, and straw for a thatch (see "*Kennedy's book*"), one cannot conceive the building of a sufficient barn to be too great an accomplishment for any one of them, provided a little exertion were used; and it would save its cost in one year to them, be a means of comfort, serve for a store for their potatoes, and keep their turf dry, as well as house their corn. But it would take

money. But the mere ability to live more comfortably implies increased ability of consumption; and there cannot be increased consumption without increased employment being afforded.

The population of Ireland is 8,000,000, but about two-thirds of it never wear shoes; and a tenant-farmer never thinks of getting a coat oftener than once in seven years, or indeed of parting with a coat until it is so ragged and tattered that it is a marvel how it holds together. Increase the comforts, or rather, the capability of living in increased comfort, of this vast population—enable them simply to wear shoes and stockings, a clean shirt once a week, and clothes that are not in rags, like the labourers of England, and see what an amount of employment you necessitate, simply to provide them with clothes. And in that employment how much capital is created, again to be laid out in employment; and how much other branches of industry are stimulated, till the improvement again reaches the poor peasant, who is unconscious that his being able to wear shoes and stockings and a decent coat has raised the price of his wool for clothing, of the hides of his cattle for leather, and his beef and corn for food, whilst the employment he has contributed to give to the population has decreased the competition for his land, and kept down the rent of his farm.

It is very far from my wish to write a tirade against the class of landlords. Besides, it would be unjust; because, as in every large class of men, there are good and bad amongst

trouble to build a barn, and barns are not therefore built. In Tipperary and Limerick they have likewise frequently no barns. There, however, the custom is to thrash the corn on a sheet spread in a field. This is certainly cleaner, and therefore better, and less wasteful in one respect than thrashing out the corn on a dusty high road. It is, however, wasteful in another respect, namely, in labour; for as there is not a hard bottom for the flail to fall on, thrashing out the corn must be much more tedious and slow. I need not say that it is customary to have the pigs and cattle in the houses; for this filthy custom is universal in the west of Ireland.

fact. But whether good or bad, it is that which increases
 passion to a degree & degree, and thus the feeling. I would
 not say that that is the cause of that feeling, but I would
 not say that that is the cause of that feeling. What can the
 fact itself be? The answer is, the fact, and
 I am convinced that this is the only knowledge which he
 has not, and it is that which is the only guide
 and it is the only guide to the future—there will be
 to the fact, and those who it is that have the means and the
 means to acquire that knowledge. This is the only of every
 answer, and it is a fact which remains more than any
 other fact, is not passing with it, it remains the
 and it is the only fact which is. Now, speaking more
 is it a fact that he is in a position of mind, who never
 gave a thought about his country, except how he could ex-
 tract the most from them, and make them pay the per-
 centage of his agent for collecting it—will never afforded
 them any protection or assistance in their great price in
 Parliament about the price which affect Ireland, and chide
 the minister for not being willing to give large sums, wrong
 from the industry of the rest of the empire, in support of
 some scheme for the employment of the poor in Ireland; or
 for wanting to procure for the preservation of the public
 good; either of which measures the neglect of the manifest
 cause of such abuse has contributed to render
 necessary. To their honour, however, be it said, there are

* I am obliged to qualify this opinion. He might do better if he were more
 industrious. He perhaps does his best to the extent of his knowledge what to do.

† "Yes, sir, the truth is, that most of our landlords have no other view or
 care as to their tenants but to rack them as high as they can, and then spend the
 rest in their pleasures, diversions, and luxurious living, and leave their wretched
 tenants to shift for themselves, entirely forgot and disregarded. This is both the
 greatest inhumanity and also the greatest imprudence; for at last, by the breaking
 of the poor people, who fall in arrears, and are unable to pay such high rents, we
 lose more than we gain, and pay a dear fine for our cruelty and avarice, and
 neglecting to take due care of our tenants, and the directing, assisting, and
 improving them every way. Whereas if, even for our own sakes, we would watch

many landlords in Ireland who do not forget the duties of their position; and there are several in this neighbourhood who take every means to have the poor peasant taught how to improve. Were but such examples common, it is impossible to suppose that Ireland could present, as it does, the anomaly of being the most fertile, and the worst cultivated, and least productive portion of the empire.

I shall conclude this letter (as I shall continue to prefer doing) by quoting extracts from evidence taken under the authority of the Government, in support of the opinions which I have broached.

Mr. Richard Mayne, magistrate of Newbliss, in the county of Monaghan, is asked by the "Land Commissioners" (page 121, Appendix, part 11):—

"What is your opinion of agricultural instruction?—It is the best thing ever introduced into Ireland; in my opinion, it is of the greatest advantage. The principal thing we want is instruction in the improving of our land. I think we do not know what our land is as yet."

Mr. George Shehog, grazier, of Munelly, in the county of Monaghan (ib., p. 124), thinks "tenancy at will injurious to both landlord and tenant;" and that "leases at a fair value would induce people with small capital to lay it out and improve the land for their own sakes." He thinks farmers at "a stand-still," "small tenants going back," and the condition of the labouring classes deteriorating, "because the population is increasing, and there is not a demand for labour increasing in proportion." Labourers generally pay 30s. to 2l. rent for their cottages, with only a garden attached; 10d. a-day is the common rate of wages from March to November, and 8d. from November to March. The con-acre system prevails, and 8l. an acre is the average. In the Clones Union there is a vast district of land improvable from the county of Monaghan to Lisnaakea, in the county of Tyrone, for 12 or 14 miles; and he thinks "the people might be employed that way. The landlords

over the wants or defects of our poor people, to supply them, and would both set them good bargains, and help, advise, and befriend them in all the points we have been speaking of, we should improve our own fortunes as well as their circumstances, and, at the same time, become fathers to the poor and patriots to our country."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 30.*

will not do it, but the Government might rent those mountains at a low rate, and employ the people. He knows of his own knowledge that those lands might be profitably reclaimed. The tenants have not capital to do it, and the landlords will not go to the expense."

Mr. Thomas Bailey, guardian of the Clones Union, of Mullyduff, county of Fermanagh (p. 126), thinks that district might be remuneratively improved by draining, but none of it is going on.

Mr. John Pearce Hamilton, magistrate, of Oakfield, county of Fermanagh (p. 129), says that agriculture is improving in the district from the effects of a farming society and encouragement; more ground has been brought into cultivation by it, and there is a greater demand for labour in consequence. And he thinks, also, that the condition of the farmer is improved by it.

Mr. Andrew Mair and Mr. William Milne, Scotch farmers, employed by Lord Erne, in Fermanagh, to teach his tenants agriculture, state (p. 133) that, four years ago, when they came into the country, there was "no rotation of crops whatever," and that "the practice was just to crop the land until it would bear no more," and when it was exhausted, "just to let it lie out six or seven years," and that that practice prevails on other estates at this time. (P. 134.) The country is in much need of draining, and there is every facility for it. The soil of the country is capable of very great improvement by it, and its produce of being greatly increased. (P. 135.) They think the expense of draining would be soon repaid to the farmer. They think land of the same quality in Scotland would fetch near 4*l.* the Irish acre. "78. You think that the Scotch farmer could afford to pay 4*l.* an acre for land corresponding with this under the Scotch system?—Yes, if he had the advantage of the Scotch markets here." Both concur in this opinion, the Scotch farmers paying all the burdens on the land. The expense of thorough draining and subsoiling the land would be 6*l.* 13*s.* the acre, and they estimate that land thus improved would produce two quarters of oats more than if in its natural state, or 2*l.* in value; and that it would take the whole of the labourers to farm the land properly, if the farmers would employ them. One of these witnesses says (question 94), that "the labourers merely scratch the land;" and that the "Scotch labourer is cheaper at 1*s.* a-day and his meat, than the Irish labourer at 6*d.* and his meat;" and that in Scotland "farmers would not have them at all unless they did better than they do here." The rent of land now in the country is 25*s.* or 30*s.* an acre; and con-acre is let at 8*l.* by the farmers. Guano has never been tried here. Con-acre yields about forty barrels of potatoes the acre, worth from 6*s.* to 10*s.* the barrel. There is no con-acre system in Scotland.

Captain E. Archdall, of Riversdale, Deputy-Lieutenant and magistrate of the county of Fermanagh, says (p. 140), that the rent paid for con-acre is "from eight to ten guineas an acre."

There is a great deal more evidence to the same effect, which it would be mere repetition to quote. I think I have quoted enough to bear out the position I have attempted to illustrate, and to show that there is ample scope for improvements, which, if effected, would benefit alike landlord, tenant and labourer. Yet, with this plain and incontrovertible fact before them, Irishmen will leave the improvements uneffected, and call upon the Government to come forward and do something for the benefit of Ireland, with English money, the produce of English enterprise and English industry! Because such applications are generally unattended to, then Irish members complain that Irish questions are treated with disrespect in the House of Commons. When Irishmen, as a nation, learn that true spirit of independence which looks for help to no man, and which does not lie in blustering, but in the quiet evidence of self-supporting strength, then, and not till then, they and their concerns will command respect, and will have every attention.*

For opinions of the press on this Letter, see Appendix, No. 3.

LETTER V.

ON THE NEGLECT OF THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF THE COUNTRY. IF THE SURPLUS PRODUCE BE ABSTRACTED, AND NOT SUFFERED TO ACCUMULATE, THERE CAN BE NO CAPITAL.

The Irish Tenant not entirely to blame for his wretched mode of Agriculture—The lamentable neglect of Improvement which the Country exhibits—Lough Erne and its neglected capabilities—The energy of the People of Belfast winning from the people of the West those Advantages which they neglect—The neglected Water Power of Lough Erne—If all Surplus Produce be extracted from the People in the shape of High Rents, and it is not accumulated and spent amongst them again in promoting Industry, as Capital, the People cannot improve—Instances of Condition of small Farmers and Labourers.

BALLYSHANNON, DONEGAL, August 27.

In my last two letters I have endeavoured to show how much the want of security to the tenant of lands in Ireland that he shall receive the fair reward of his industry, and his want of skill in the improvement and cultivation of his land, tend to his perpetual poverty, and to prevent wealth and capital accumulating in the community and affording employment to the people, the want of which is the curse of Ireland, and is at the bottom of all the disturbances which have ever arisen in it.

The land only in Ireland generally affords means of employment; and want of security in the tenure of his land is not so much the fault of the tenant, as of his short-sighted

and impolitic landlord.* Neither can the poor tenant be blamed for his want of skill and knowledge in the cultivation of his land, when he has often no opportunity of learning better, and no better example set to him†. Nor can his positive dislike to improve be much wondered at, coupled as it is with a suspicion, too often the result of past experience, that the first step towards an improvement is the sure road to an advance of rent.

Every Englishman, fresh from his own country, where almost every yard of it, through the length and breadth of the land, bears evidence of capital invested and of the application of intelligent industry, can scarcely avoid being filled with regret at seeing, as he traverses Ireland, so fine a country, so full of opportunities of improvement, so lamentably neglected. The road from Enniskillen to this town passes along the borders of Lough Erne—a magnificent sheet of water, extending on either side of Enniskillen, on the one hand, nearly as far as the middle of Cavan, in the centre of the island; and on the other hand to Ballyshannon, in Donegal, to within four miles of the sea, and navigable the

* "I hold some fields from year to year, and I should consider myself a fool were I to lay out any thing on them." (*A. Nixon.*) *Evidence taken before the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry (Ireland)*, 1836, *barony of Dromahair, county Leitrim*, Appendix (F), p. 145.

† How can you blame a poor Kerryman, for instance, or such poor neglected creatures as I found on Mr. O'Connell's estate on my visit into Kerry, for not draining his land; growing green crops for his cattle; keeping his fences up and his ditches clean and open; for letting the rain soak through his manure-heap, and wash out all its strength; for permitting the liquid manure of his dung-heap to run waste into the road; for letting his cattle wander about dropping the manure, which ought to grow him green crops to house feed them; for, in fact, living in dirt, and laziness, and wasteful helplessness, when his father or his neighbours can teach him nothing better—when he never either saw or can conceive any thing better, and where there is no school, or agriculturist, or agricultural society, through the medium of which he may learn how to farm his land properly—and when his landlord, as in the case with Mr. O'Connell, looks only for his rent, and totally neglects the condition of his tenantry. And this, I am sorry to say, is but too frequently the case in Ireland, though there are many honourable exceptions.

whole distance. Yet this magnificent lake, this natural high road for the conveyance of the produce of one district to another, is almost useless. Scarcely a boat is to be seen upon it; yet, in many parts of it, it is fully equal to Windermere in beauty, and, as a lake, is a finer expanse of water. At Ballyshannon to-day I saw a foreign brig unloading timber at the foot of a fall of water, an outlet from this lake, navigable for fifty miles into the interior. A canal, four miles in length, would open the navigation of this lake to the sea, and render Enniskillen, in Fernanagh, or Belturbet, in Cavan, capable of becoming ports of export and import. Yet no canal is attempted. It would require capital, which nobody will spend.* I must, however, in justice to Colonel Conolly, M.P., one of the resident landlords of this district, state that he has done much and spent much to forward this object, in endeavouring to make a good harbour on the sea coast. I am told that some forty years ago a canal from the lake for this short distance to the sea was commenced, and

* "If we would make our rivers navigable, and open great cuts through many of our vast bogs, we might join the most distant parts of the kingdom, and bring the produce of their fields or their looms to our best towns and sea-ports. This would spread industry through every corner, beget business, and enliven trade in every remoter village in our provinces, and, by circulating our coin, make it as useful as if it were actually increased by this domestic traffic, as carriage is the great and mighty clog to trade in many of our counties. This would reduce the high price of transporting our goods from one part of the country to the other; and, until this is done, we must be content to see our lands lie untilld for want of roads and rivers to carry out our grain, and our best soils neglected, or just grazed with cattle that require no carriage, but can go with their own beef and tallow to the market."—*Dr. Madden's Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, p. 181.

"The navigation of the Shannon, if it were once vigorously and effectually carried on, and the cutting a canal from Lough Erne to the sea-port of Ballyshannon, would be two undertakings of vast advantage to our inland commerce; and, indeed, the last would be so feasible, and have such effects on that part of the kingdom, that it cannot long be overlooked."—*Ibid.* p. 182. Though this wise observation was written more than a century ago, the canal remains unmade yet, and with every prospect—if the cutting of this four miles of canal is to be left to the enterprise of the inhabitants about Ballyshannon—of still remaining unmade for a century to come.

given up for want of capital to carry it through. This apathy and want of spirit of enterprise and improvement have been taken advantage of by the Scotchmen and enterprising inhabitants of Belfast, who, having made a water communication to Lough Neagh, have cut a canal (the Ulster canal) from Lough Neagh across the counties of Tyrone and Monaghan to the upper part of Lough Erne; there is, therefore, a means of water carriage across the whole island except at the four miles from the termination of Lough Erne to the sea on the west coast, and Belfast has secured to itself all the advantages and profits of being the port for all this internal communication. Yesterday Lord Erne navigated a private steam-boat to Belleek, the lowest point of the lake, for the first time. This steamer came from Belfast by the Ulster Canal the whole distance through this water communication, and was thus within three miles of the sea on the west coast. There is about 12 feet water over the bar at the mouth of the river which falls from this lake, and it forms a fine harbour when entered. In the three miles from the lake to the sea, into which the lake empties itself, there is a continual succession of fine falls of water, and an immense water power, which the inexhaustible supply of the lake affords. With the exception of a small wheel for grinding malt for a distillery, this exhaustless power has never been put to any use.* We have

* As to the value of water power, and its great economy when compared with steam-power, *vide* Letter, *post*, dated Ballysodare, Sligo. There is a saving of about 30*l.* per horse power, per annum, in water power, as compared with the cost of steam power. There are a succession of falls, varying from five to fifteen feet, in the fine salmon stream which runs from Lough Erne at Belleek to the sea, a distance of upwards of three miles, and which, running from so vast a lake as Lough Erne, is of unfailing and equable force. This stream is capable of affording half the mill power of Manchester, yet it is wholly and disgracefully neglected, with a sea-port, too, close to it. How can you hope for a people to prosper who thus have not the mind to help themselves, and to use those natural advantages which are lavishly bestowed upon them. Belfast, on the opposite coast, has no natural advantages to compare with those of Ballyahannon and its neighbourhood.

here then a good natural harbour, with always fresh water enough in it to float a vessel of 250 tons burthen, the sea on one hand, natural water carriage into the centre of the country on the other, exhaustless power for any kind of machinery—means of creating and of earning wealth which, if in England, would set the competition of steam machinery and canal or land carriage at defiance, and lead to the accumulation of a succession of fortunes—all neglected and valueless to the people, because (as they say) they have got no capital, either to cut canals, to commence manufactures, to make money, or to give employment in any way.

But the country is fertile, most fertile—wealth-producing. It produces abundantly, far more than is requisite to pay amply for the raising of the produce—in other words, far more than is requisite to support those who raise the produce. But what becomes of the surplus? The surplus, or the value of it, which is the same thing, is wealth; and wealth accumulated is capital. What becomes of the capital? This brings me to the consideration of a third position pointed out in one of my former letters, that

“If the surplus produce of labour, over and above the mere subsistence of the labourer, be abstracted from the community in the shape of rent, and be in no wise employed as capital in that community in promoting industry, in creating markets for the produce of industry, and in affording employment by those innumerable modes by which the investment of capital in improvements and in enterprise gives employment, then wealth cannot accumulate in that community into capital, but all must continue poor; and without capital to give employment, as population increases, there must be many wanting employment, and therefore many in distress and discontent; hence perpetual disturbances and insecurity.”

Yet Belfast, from the exertions of its Scotch and English inhabitants, is the wealthiest and most important town in Ireland, so far as manufacturing prosperity goes, whilst Ballyshannon is a wretched little town, depending for existence on its neighbourhood to a watering place for sea-bathing, and on its salmon fishery, now leased by a lady named Shick.

The object of my present letter is to show you that such rents are extracted from the people, considering the low state of agricultural improvement, as do leave those who produce the rents with little beyond bare subsistence. The law of entail and settlement charges on property often so cripple the landowners that they are frequently, as compared with their nominal property, poor men; extravagant habits, family pride to live befitting the nominal income, load the estates of such men with incumbrances, until at length the *dernier resort* of an Irish landlord is taken: he flies to Florence and lives at an hotel, where at the *table d'hôte* he can boast of his Irish acres—or he resides in London, in lodgings, and in obscurity. In either case there is no capital for the benefit of Ireland. In the one case capital can never be created, in the other case it is sunk and wasted.* The land is left to the

* “We should think ourselves obliged, as good Irishmen, to confine our expenses within the bounds of an honest and rational frugality, not only that we may keep ourselves and our dependents above the scorn of a base and mercenary world, but that we may not leave them, as too many do, a race of beggars, and a rent charge and burden on a country already sufficiently impoverished. We should therefore try to imitate the thrifty Dutch, who live on two-thirds of their income, and lay up the other for a provision for their children. This alone would make them rich, without the help of their beneficial and extensive trade, and would be no ill remedy to us, who lose every year, by the commodities imported for our luxury, what we gain by those we export, by pinching the backs and the bellies of our starved and naked people. I cannot say how this frugal method may be relished by those of our countrymen who generally follow different courses, and are not content with spending their income, unless they contract large debts besides, many of which (that they may be as honest as they are wise) they never pay, though their creditors and their families are undone by trusting them. I am sure our country would find the benefit of it if it were followed by all.”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Rev. Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 33.

“To speak plainly: to hear a nation bawling out misery and beggary, and to see such numbers of her wise and good children fluttering about the world in splendour and magnificence, seems, at first sight, an irreconcilable contradiction. People that have common sense, humanity, and honesty themselves, will be apt to suppose them in others, and can hardly believe that so many noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland can riot and blaze abroad while some thousands of their fellow-citizens are starving for want of their help at home, and their native country is reduced to beggary and a deadly consumption.

“Even dogs, they say, when sick, know their own physic, and take it effectually;

management of agents, or it gets into the hands of receivers in Chancery—in either of which cases there is but one object—to extract as much rent as possible and to expend as little upon the estate as possible. With such a state of things, the want of employment, the distress and misery, and the disturbances of Ireland, under whatever name, are not difficult to be accounted for.

It is necessary, on entering on this discussion, to clear its consideration of some of those habitual mystifications which are thrown about it. Rent is that which is paid for the use of the land by the occupier of the land. Whatever is the rent of the land to the occupier is the rent which is paid for it. How that rent is to be divided,—how much of it is to go to the farmer, who lets part of his land in con-acre to the cottier,—and how much is to go to the land-jobber or middleman, who lets the land to the farmer and cottier,—and how much is to go to the landowner, who leases it to the middleman, who lets it to the farmer, who divides it out in con-acre to the cottier,—is not the question. The landlord who leases his land at a fair rent ought not to bear the odium of extracting the extreme rents which are often paid for that land, however blameable he may be for permitting his land to be so dealt with.* In the province of Ulster, too, another

and I therefore heartily wish many of our people at home and abroad may, for the future, give us such proofs of their having some share in this natural instinct as may make us full amends for the want of all rational management of themselves and their substance, to prevent our ruin.”—*Preface to Dr. Madden's work, "Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland,"* published in 1738.

* It has long been the fashion to abuse Irish landlords for everything, and to accuse them of exacting the most enormous rents. If, by the term *landlord*, is meant the *landowner*, this accusation is most unjust and unmerited when made against landowners as a class. It is true that the rents exacted from the occupier are often enormous. But the occupier is very often the sub-tenant of a small farmer, holding, perhaps, half an acre of con-acre land, and paying 3*l.*, 4*l.*, or 5*l.*, rent for it. This is an enormous rent to the poor occupier; but who is *his* landlord? *Pro hoc vice*, the farmer is his landlord. Again, perhaps, the farmer pays 2*l.* an acre for the land undrained, without fences, or buildings, or offices

matter has to be taken into consideration in estimating the amount of rent paid for land,—and that is, the tenant-right. In a future letter, I shall take the opportunity of more fully explaining what the tenant-right is,—what its advantages, and what its disadvantages.* At present it is sufficient to explain that the tenant-right is a binding custom which is permitted and prevails more or less throughout Ulster, and it is partly founded on the custom of the tenant making all of what are termed “the improvements” on his farm; that is, he builds his house and offices, and makes fences and drains. For these “improvements” he claims, amongst other things (which I need not now stay to notice), what is called the “good-will,” compensation from the incoming tenant, or they descend to his son, who, in like manner, claims as his inherited right, to sell the “improvements” and “goodwill” of his farm, if he should have to leave it. This “tenant-right” is often sold for 10*l.*, 15*l.*, and even 20*l.* the acre; in fact, often for as much as four-fifths of the value of the fee-simple of the land itself. Now, it is clear, as the landlord has not, as in England, built the tenant’s house and made the “improvements,” and the tenant is compelled either to make them or pay for them, that, whatever sum is thus expended

upon it, to some Dublin gentleman, or absent lawyer or doctor, who, as a *middleman*, sublets it to him. Well, 2*l.* an acre for land in such condition is an extortionate rent. But who is the farmer’s *landlord*? Not the *landowner*, but the middleman—the lawyer, or doctor, or shopkeeper, who rents the land of the landowner, and sublets it to the farmer. *Pro hac vice*, the *middleman* is the farmer’s landlord. The superior landlord—the *landowner*—who gets all the blame of all the extortion practised with regard to his land, very probably does not get 10*s.* an acre for it, and, having let it on lease, cannot help the extortion. It is true that the landowner or his forefathers have been much to blame for their lax management of their estate; but to heap all the obloquy and abuse upon him—which the extortionate rents, exacted by others for the land which he owns, perhaps deserve—is most unjust. This abuse has been used as a political “clap-trap,” without at all defining what the term “landlord” in Ireland means. A very large proportion of the lawyers, doctors, shopkeepers, and farmers of Ireland are, in this obnoxious sense of the term, *landlords*—in fact, *middlemen*.

* See the Letter, dated Dunfanaghy, Donegal, *post*.

by the tenant, the interest of it stands as an equivalent for rent. Thus, where tenant-right exists, for ten acres of land let at 1*l.* an acre, and for which the tenant has paid 10*l.* an acre tenant-right, the rent will not be 10*l.*, but 15*l.*, or 30*s.* an acre; that is 10*l.* for the landlord's rent, and 5*l.* for the interest of 100*l.* sunk in purchasing the tenant-right of the ten acres.

A great deal of the land of this country is let by the large proprietors on leases renewable for ever on payment of a fine, and at a low rent. The leaseholders in these cases rarely cultivate the land themselves; generally they sublet the whole in patches to farmers and cottiers at a much higher rent, and become what are termed "middlemen." Sometimes these middlemen underlet the whole at an increased rent to one man, who again underlets to farmers and cottiers at a further increased rent; and this second middleman, as he usually extracts a most extortionate rent, employs himself in watching his tenants, and pouncing on every shilling they make; and sometimes the farmers, in such a case, to enable them to pay these high rents, let out fragments of land manured to cottiers, in what is termed "con-acre," for which the general price is 8*l.* to 10*l.* the acre.* Often not only the

* "A remarkable instance of the various interests possessed in the same estate was detailed respecting a large piece of land in the barony of Kilconnel, county Galway. The proprietor in fee is Mr. Alderman Harty, who purchased from an individual in whose favour it had been confiscated after the battle of Aughrim, in the revolution of 1688. Alderman Harty receives 9*d.* per acre from Major Warburton, the first lessee; Mr. Handy pays under an old lease, 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre to Major Warburton; John North holds under Mr. Handy, and pays 6*s.* an acre; John North has sublet to several small tenants, and receives from them on an average of 1*l.* 7*s.* an acre. The above particulars were read aloud to the meeting, and it was replied that they were correct." (*Poor Inquiry, Ireland, 1836. Appendix F. page 142.*)

The same evidence regarding the barony of Kilconnel, in Galway, states, further on, "Some of the richest tenants in the county will con-acre their lands during the last few years of their lease, for the purpose of taking as much value as possible before their ejection, and thus exhaust the land, or they will threaten to do so, and frighten the landlord into buying up their interest at a high rate. Lattoon farm, consisting of 426 acres Irish measure, with a large tract of bog, was leased

original landowner, but the first leaseholder, or middleman, are absentees. These two, of course, extract the bulk of the rent, which, as absentees, they do not employ as capital in finding a market for, and employing industry on their estates.* The second middleman is a non-producing man, subsisting on the increased rent; he is, therefore, supported by the industry of the rest of the community, and helps to

many years ago, by Lord Clonbrock to Lewis Ward, at an annual rent of 295*l*. Lewis Ward's representatives let the greatest part of some of it to very small tenants, about thirty in number. Lord Clonbrock, in order to prevent any more subletting or con-acreing, which the representatives of Lewis Ward threatened on a large scale, bought the lease at the cost of 1,700*l*. The original lease was for three lives, and of those two at the age of 75 and upwards remained at the time of buying up; yet such was the injury which might have been inflicted during their term that the money was paid to save the estate from total destruction; no covenants had been inserted, nor, if they had, would they have been of any avail. Of this farm the profit rent of Lord Clonbrock will be about 200*l*. a year, and he will spend about 500*l*. more to buy out the small tenants, and to get them quietly to his mountain-estate, or to remove wherever they please. If these lands had been con-acred they would in five years pay double the purchase-money. (*Mr. Birmingham.*)—*It would be most desirable for all parties that the landlord should be compelled to take all improvements at a fair valuation, and the tenant to pay damages for proved wilful neglect; several small farmers exclaimed, that 'hundreds would readily improve if they were sure that they themselves and not their landlords should have the benefit of the money laid out.'*"

"All who have not the fee-simple, and have tenants under them, are called 'middlemen.'"

"The reduction of rent from 2*l*. (the sum paid to the middleman) to 1*l*. 1*s*. 1*d*. made by Lord Clonbrock when he had come into possession of part of his estates, proves sufficiently that the absence of interest in the permanent good of the land induces the middleman to press the occupier more than the proprietor finds to be to his true interest. The proprietor could not make a reduction of rent in order that the occupier might keep the farm in heart, with any certainty that each middleman would make an equal allowance to the other, and the last to the occupier. It would only make the middleman better.—*Mr. Filgate, Ibid.* page 143.

* In the evidence taken before the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry (Ireland), in 1836, in the barony of Dromahair, county Leitrim, the Rev. Mr. Montgomery states, that, "the only proprietors of land residing in the barony are Mr. Fawcett, who occupies about fifty acres of land, and Mr. Cullen, who holds about ten, and whose estates do not exceed five-hundred acres respectively." *Mr. Nison* says,—*"You may say that nineteen-twentieths of this barony are owned by absentees."*—*Appendix (F), page 144.* I only quote this as an average sample of the evidence on this subject. The blue book is full of similar evidence.

consume capital, and not to create it. I am now speaking generally, and not with reference to this immediate neighbourhood. It will, I think, be conceded by those who know Ireland, that if I had wanted *to make a case* against landlords for extracting high rents, I should not have come into the province of Ulster; and, with regard to this immediate neighbourhood, the landlords are reputed generally to be good landlords, residing chiefly on their estates, who encourage improvements, and discourage middlemen and subletting.

I shall now proceed to give one or two instances of the amount of income which a tenant and labourer have under the favourable circumstances of this neighbourhood, and also under the less favourable circumstances of the adjoining county of Leitrim. Not taking town-lands as any criterion, because they rent high from being accommodation-lands, and near this town average from 3*l.* to 5*l.* an acre, land generally is let in this neighbourhood at 1*l.* to 30*s.* an acre. To this is to be added the interest of the tenant-right, which exists in this county, and rates at 4*l.* to 5*l.* the acre. In the adjoining county of Leitrim there is much poor grazing land, as well as much very good land, and rents run from 15*s.* to 35*s.* and 2*l.* an acre. The tenant-right is not general there. Now, taking Adam Smith's definition of rent, which is generally conceded to be accurate, and from which Senior, Ricardo, M'Culloch, and other political economists do not materially differ,—“The rent of an estate above ground commonly amounts to what is supposed to be a third of the gross produce; and it is generally a rent certain and independent of the occasional variations in the crop,”—we will proceed to examine how far the rent usually extracted is a third of the gross produce.* The remaining two-thirds are

* “Political economists divide the entire produce of the earth into three parts, called wages, profit, and rent.”—Senior, *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, page 165.

Modern writers on political economy, however, say that rent ought to be a *fourth* of the gross produce only, owing to the increase of taxes and other charges

distributed thus by the same author:—one-third for the payment of labour, the cost of seed, and keeping up the stock and implements of husbandry of the farm; and the remaining third as the remuneration and profit of the farmer for the exercise of his care, skill, diligence, and trouble. Every enlightened landlord, therefore, who *knows his business* as a landlord, and who knows that this division is but a fair remuneration for the farmer, strives by every means to help him to increase the produce, because in so doing he increases his third proportion and becomes entitled to a higher rent. In helping the farmer, therefore, by encouragement, by leases, by making improvements, by draining, and even by lending him capital, the enlightened landlord is pursuing the course of every enlightened merchant and clever tradesman—taking the surest method to increase the value of the commodity in which he deals, and to increase his profit from it. A contrary course is suicidal to the landlords themselves. The common size of farms in this country is five or six acres; ten acres is thought to be a good farm. I have ascertained that in this part of the county of Donegal, where rents are reasonable and the landlords fair, the following is the produce and cost of cultivation of a ten-acre farm at the fair rent of 17. an acre. Two-thirds of such a farm will be under cultivation, the rest fallow, or “grazing,” as it is here called. The whole produce of such a farm has been estimated to me by an experienced agent and practical farmer at 30*l*. The rent is therefore fair. The farm, however, is so small that the farmer is but a superior kind of labourer, rather better paid:—

since the time that Adam Smith wrote. On this subject the Earl of Mountcashel gave some valuable evidence before Lord Devon’s Commission (Evidence Part 3, page 148,) which will be found in the Appendix, No. 4.

	£	s.	d.
The seed will cost, at least	4	0	0
County-cess, at 5s. an acre	2	10	0
Poor-rates, at 1s. an acre	0	10	0
No tithe here	0	0	0
The farmer labours himself, and estimating his labour at the usual wages of a labourer	10	0	0
Tenant-right of ten acres at 4l. an acre, 40l; interest of 40l. at 5l. per cent.	2	0	0
Rent of the land	10	0	0
Profit of the farmer for his care, skill, and diligence	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£30	0	0

This farmer, therefore, holding an average-sized farm, is merely a labourer paid at the rate of 1l. a year higher wages than a common labourer. Still he has a house to live in, and potatoes for his family the year round, and is therefore tolerably comfortable, though his positive remuneration is only some 5d. a week more than a labourer receives.

Take the case of the labourer in this neighbourhood. He pays 30s. rent for his cottage, and *if he can get it*, 30s. for a rood of con-acre, at the rate of 6l. an acre, which he manures himself with sea-weed. He therefore lives at 3l. rent. On this rood of land he will grow with a fair crop ten barrels of potatoes at eighty stone the barrel, or five tons. This gives about thirty-two pounds of potatoes per day for the year. He also keeps a pig, which he sells when fatted for 4l. He usually gets employment at 1s. a day for half the year, under favourable circumstances; these wages at 6s. a week amount to 7l. 16s. His means of subsistence, then, stand thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Amount of wages	7	16	0
Value of pig	4	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£11	16	0
Deduct rent	3	0	0
	<hr/>		
Means of living	£8	16	0

together with thirty-two pounds of potatoes a day.* I have ascertained from the union poor-house here, that the diet given to paupers in the house who do no work is half a pound of meal for breakfast, and one gill of milk; for dinner, three pounds and a half of potatoes. This is all they are allowed, and the men who thus live complain that they are starved; but they do no work, and do not require so much food as a labouring man. I am assured that eight pounds of potatoes per day is but a *small allowance* for a labouring man. The quantity seems extraordinary to English habits; but I am assured by an eminent surgeon here, that nature accommodates herself to this kind of food, and that it is a physiological fact, that as he requires a larger amount of this poor food to extract from it the necessary quantity of nutriment to support life, so the stomach of a man who thus lives has a proportionate increased capacity. However, be this as it may, I am informed on good authority that a labouring man *requires* eight pounds of potatoes per day when they form the sole diet.† Taking an average family—a wife and four chil-

* This is rather higher than the average rate of remuneration. A great number of instances of labourers' earnings and expenditure are collected in the evidence taken by the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry (Ireland), Appendix (D), page 92; but they vary so much in the items and amounts that it is difficult to pick out an average case. Instances of earnings by labourers are given, varying from 3*l.* 10*s.* to 8*l.* per annum, and instances of their total incomes are given varying from 7*l.* to 14*l.* Deducting, however, rents of con-acre, cottage, cost of pig, and necessary outlays, most of these instances leave only from 10*s.* to 1*l.* a year for "contingencies," clothes, tobacco, "kitchen," and so forth, over and above the subsistence of the family.

† In the evidence taken by the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry (Ireland), Appendix (E), page 31, the following statements will be found. "A labourer's family has usually three meals per day. It is stated that about three stones of fourteen pounds each of potatoes per day are requisite for the consumption of a labourer, his wife, and three or four young children, in order to keep them in health and strength." "A stone and a half of potatoes for a day would be a fair allowance for a man, his wife, and four children; but if the children be grown up they would require more." (*Ibid.* page 7.) "A stone of potatoes is the usual allowance for a labouring man's daily food."—*Ibid.*

It will therefore be seen that I am under the mark in my calculation, and by no means put an extreme case, which, indeed, I have always on all occasions carefully avoided.

dren, and allowing the wife six pounds and the children three pounds each of potatoes per day—we have a consumption of twenty-six pounds of potatoes per day, leaving the refuse and six pounds of potatoes per day for the pig. But a middling-sized pig will require, I am informed, about twenty pounds of potatoes per day to feed it. There is, therefore, a deficiency of potatoes, which the labourer so placed has 8*l.* 16*s.*, or about 3*s.* 4*d.* a week in money, to enable him to provide, together with other requisites for his family. Here, also, we see the labourer has subsistence for his family under ordinary circumstances. If he cannot get any con-acre, or employment, he is then badly off, and destitute great part of the year.

Both farmer and labourer here, therefore, can manage to subsist in ordinary cases; but here we have got good landlords, and I pray you mark, here *we have no “Molly Maguireism.”*

I will take now the adjoining county of Leitrim, where the landlords are not in great repute, and where the rents are high. There, land at 1*l.* an acre is grazing land of not very good quality. There is no tenant-right. A ten-acre farm of such land will, I am informed, support four cows, the whole value of the produce of which is 12*l.* in butter, 4*l.* for four calves fed on milk for six months, and a pig 4*l.*,—or 20*l.* The value of a cow is 7*l.* The cost of the stock, therefore, is about 30*l.* This farmer's account will then stand thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Interest of money, and keeping up value of			
stock, at 10 per cent.	3	0	0
County-cess, at 6 <i>s.</i> an acre	3	0	0
Tithes and poor-rates, 2 <i>s.</i> ditto, which the			
tenant is made to pay	1	0	0
The farmer's labour, at the usual good			
labourer's wages	9	0	0
Rent	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£26	0	0

The rent of land here is more than one-third of the gross produce, which is 20*l.*; and this calculation, which is drawn from facts, shows that, as much as it is above one-third, it is more than the farmer can afford to pay. Here the farmer pays 2*l.* too much rent, which, deducted from the amount set down for his wages as a labourer, leaves him but 7*l.* as remuneration for his year's labour, care, skill, and diligence, over and above potatoes and milk.

Now take the case of the labourer in Leitrim. At Ballinamore wages are 6*d.* a day. The rent of a labourer's cottage is there 2*l.* 10*s.*, and con-acre is let at 10*l.* the acre; one rood would, therefore, be 2*l.* 10*s.* The labourer, therefore, sits at 5*l.* rent. Taking the same calculation as in the former case, that he is employed half the year at 6*d.* a day (this is too favourable) his wages will be 3*l.* 18*s.*

	£	s.	d.
Amount of wages	3	18	0
Value of pig	4	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£7	18	0
Deduct rent	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£2	18	0

And there remains but 2*l.* 18*s.* over and above an insufficient supply of potatoes, or about 1*s.* per week, to provide family requisites and help out the potatoes. If he cannot get con-acre, or employment, he starves.

Both farmer and labourer here, then, are badly off—their rents are exorbitant; here there are, for the most part, absentee and indifferent landlords, and here, I pray you mark it, is the centre of "*Molly Maguireism.*"

Mr. Griffiths, the Government Commissioner for the General Valuation of Land in Ireland, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners, Appendix, part 1. p. 26, deposes that his valuation is the true value of the land accord-

ing to the scale of prices contained in the act giving him authority. That act was passed in 1837, when the price of produce was not lower than it is now. This gentleman deposes (p. 25), that,—

“Generally speaking, in the north of Ireland, indeed I may say throughout Ireland, the amount of my valuation very nearly corresponds with the rent of the large landed proprietors; *but it is 25 per cent. below* what may be considered the high letting rents of the country, particularly those of small proprietors and the larger farmers.”

This evidence says nothing about the middlemen; but wherever the large landed proprietors have let on lease to middlemen at a fair rent, it is below the mark to say that the rent is set to the occupying tenant at 25 per cent. above its value.

Without boring you with quotations from the evidence in support of this position, I will merely state, that, the whole of the three volumes of evidence taken before the Land Commission teem with complaints about the high rents; and wherever I have yet been, it has generally been the first complaint made to me.

I think the examples I have placed before you sufficiently show that such rents keep the farmer and labourer in poverty and want—that they cannot accumulate wealth into capital to employ labour, and, coupled with absenteeism and the wasting of the capital elsewhere, the country must continue poor. The examples I think, too, show, that with a fair rent and resident landlords you have no disturbances; with high rents and absentee landlords you are in the midst of outrages; and if this system be continued, coupled with evils which in former letters I have pointed out, such must ever be the case. Neither college bills, nor education bills, nor Catholic emancipation bills, nor repeal bills, can effect any remedy of this social disorder. The remedy is in the community itself. And until Irishmen act justly and

fairly by one another, help one another, and cease wasting in extravagance, and folly, and idleness, the capital which is wrung from the peasantry, often with harshness and injustice, Ireland will ever continue to be what she ever has been,—a perpetual scene of tumult and distress.*

* "It is a known maxim in the civil law, '*Interest republicæ ut quilibet re sua bene utatur*'—(it is of importance to every country that men manage their fortunes well); and certainly one of the first leading laws of every nation should be, to regulate men's conduct, in this great point, to the welfare and general good of the whole. Could we hope for such laws as would effectually restrain our luxury, or force us to frugality and labour, and to increase our trade,—I mean, our useful trade,—we should expect to see a happy change in our affairs. But as that is not to be expected immediately, we have no other hazard for deliverance from our present poverty and misery but what must take its rise from the weak foundation of our own resolution and virtue."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 4.

LETTER VI.

SKILL AND INDUSTRY THE GREAT WANTS OF
IRELAND.

The Criticisms of the Irish Press—The Station of Lough Derg—Skill and Labour required upon the Land to make it both Productive and Profitable — These things are wanted more than Capital, and will create Capital and give Employment—The Profit yielded by cultivating a piece of Land properly, compared with the Profit of the same Land as usually managed in Ireland—Amount of Waste Land in the County of Donegal, which may be cultivated with the like Profit. The great increase of Rent to the Landlords, of Profit to the Farmers, and of Employment to the Labourers which the application of Skill and Industry would effect. These are the “Wants” of Ireland—Questions to be put to those who stand forward to lead the People—True Patriotism, like “Charity,” ought “to begin at home.”

DONEGAL, August 30.

SINCE my last letter to you I have had the opportunity of reading several criticisms of the local papers on my communications. Some of them have amused me; others have excited my regret. Some say, “Oh, we knew that before; it needed no ghost to tell us that; but there are other difficulties enveloping the condition of the people of Ireland,—how will you compass them?” Others say, “Oh, *The Times* holds certain views on the question of landlord and tenant, and *therefore* its commissioner, it must be fairly concluded, reflects those views, and commences his task as a partisan and a party-writer.” To the first class of objectors I may

be permitted to say, that though they knew a fact before, the fact is none the weaker for being brought prominently forward, and established as a *fact* beyond all cavil. They must also remember the adage that "Rome was not built in a day;" and they will be much mistaken if they anticipate that I shall attempt to grasp the whole question of Irish difficulties *at once*, and reach *per saltum* the top step of the ladder of elucidation. I shall endeavour, so far as I am able, to go step by step, and to establish each step as I go. To the second class of objectors I must beg to express my unfeigned regret at reading this evidence of that party-spirit which blinds the eyes, perverts the judgment, and is the bane of Ireland. To these gentlemen I will at once openly state, that I came here as no partisan, either political or religious. It is ungenerous of you, and it is narrow-minded to suppose it. I came here unfettered by any instruction whatever from you, save this—to use my own judgment to the best of my ability, and to state that which I believe to be the truth from observation and inquiry. This, gentlemen, is my *party*; these are my "partisan" views; and to these views I shall adhere.*

On leaving Ballyshannon I went round inland by Pettigo, in order to witness some agricultural improvements which I heard had been effected there, and to have the opportunity of conversing with the very intelligent agent, Mr. Hamilton, of Pettigo, under whose superintendence as an agriculturist the improvements had been carried out. Pettigo is in the immediate neighbourhood of Lough Derg, long celebrated as (what is termed) a "station." To an island in the centre of this lake some 20,000 Roman Catholics from all parts of Ireland annually make a pilgrimage, to undergo a kind of

* I do not fear to have this assertion of a simple fact, thus early made, put to the test by the most rigid examination of any of these letters. Indeed they *have* stood the test of examination, of criticism, both friendly and unfriendly, and have survived and overcome flat and abusive contradictions.

discipline which their church enjoins. This large lake, surrounded with gloomy-looking and barren hills, with a small low island in its centre, completely covered with chapels and lodging-houses, which look in the distance as if standing on the lake—the associations connected with it, and the stories told of it, would afford food for curious reflections; but they are here out of place.* The character

* Some further description of this "station" may, however, not be uninteresting. A "station" is a place to which persons of the Roman Catholic faith are required to make a pilgrimage as a kind of penance. Lough Derg is about six miles from Pettigo. The first three miles are on the high road, and then a narrow bad road—which it has been worth while to make, owing to the number of pilgrims who resort to the place—branches over the most dreary looking moor and bog to the edge of the lake, where there is a ferry-boat kept at a rude kind of quay, to ferry the pilgrims to the island in the centre of the lake. The lake itself is about four miles in diameter each way. It is surrounded by perfectly barren hills, and anything more dreary and gloomy it is impossible to conceive. The "station" continues about a month, and, during its holding, pilgrims flock there from all parts. As I drove down the road to the lake, some children ran out of two or three peasants' huts on the road-side, with handfuls of rudely carved little wooden crucifixes, to offer me for sale. These are sold to the pilgrims on their way to the "station," and are afterwards preserved by them, with the greatest devotion, as proofs or trophies of their pilgrimage. I bought a child's handful of these crucifixes for a shilling. On the way down, the carman called at the boatman's cottage to tell him to ferry me over to the island, which he did in a most crazy old boat. The island itself is about two miles from the shore. For the right of ferrying across, the ferryman pays a yearly rent of 160*l.*; and such is the enormous number of pilgrims who flock to the island, that he realizes 400*l.* a year from the ferry, his charge being sixpence for each person. At the time I visited it—the latter end of August—the "station" had been over about ten days.

The island is about fifty yards long by fifteen yards in breadth; in fact, extremely small. It is also very low, the highest part of it not being more than two yards above the surface of the water. In the centre of it grows a solitary sycamore tree, which is carefully preserved. On this small space are crowded a priory—where the prior and the priests who officiate live during the continuance of the station—seven lodging-houses, and two chapels. These buildings, with the exception of a small space in the centre of the island round the tree, cover almost every foot of it to the water's edge; and, as you approach it, the buildings appear as though standing on the water. The first thing that struck my attention on landing was a large and excellent boat, hauled on shore close to the landing-place, and bottom upwards, to preserve it till next "station." It was as large as a herring fishing-boat, and capable of conveying thirty or forty people across the ferry. The first building is the prior's house. I ought to premise, that the old boatman and his son who went with me were very communicative, and readily told

of the country generally is that of a succession of swelling hills, which, as they are uncultivated for the most part, look barren. They are covered with heather, the sombre appear-

me everything I asked them. From ten to fifteen priests are usually engaged during the "station," and lodge in the prior's house. No person was now living on the island, and all the houses were closed. On looking through the windows of the priory, the accommodation of the priests appeared to be of the rudest description,—unpainted white wood chairs, tables, and bedsteads, and sawdusty floors. Each of the seven lodging-houses accommodates from twelve to twenty persons in a similar rough way. To the poorest pilgrims, twopence a night is charged for the use of a chaff-bed; for those better off, threepence a night for the use of a feather-bed. The lodging-house-keepers also sell the pilgrims oaten bread, which, with water, is the only diet they are allowed to take whilst on the island. The continuance of the pilgrims on the island is from three to nine days, according to the penance they are ordered to perform. The two chapels are large and roomy. They contained only very rude forms for seats. One of them is used for divine service, the other for prayers (fasting and praying), and for confessions. On the pilgrims' first landing in the island, they pay a toll of sixpence halfpenny each to the prior for the right to land. They are then taken to a corner of the island, where a roughly made stone-cross, with some almost obliterated figures carved upon it is elevated. Round this cross is a pathway of small sharp stones, which seemed tracked by being continually walked over. Round this cross, the pilgrims are made to walk barefoot nine times, repeating a number of prayers. They are then ushered into the largest chapel, which is called the "prison," where they must fast and pray through the whole of the first night of their landing. They are warned against falling asleep, as they are taught that to do so will bring on them the displeasure of God, and will be punished by purgatory. In order to keep themselves awake, each formful of people appoints a watchman —(and they take this office in turns each hour throughout the night),—whose duty it is, with a small stick, if necessary, to give a smart rap to the poor exhausted creature who may be dozing off to sleep. Many of these poor creatures, after, perhaps, a long pilgrimage, have walked that day a dozen miles, and have been kept waiting, perhaps for hours, without food, before their turn came to be ferried across; and they are not permitted to taste food the first night of their arrival on the island,—they must "fast and pray." Physically exhausted, too, by their own religious enthusiasm and fervour, and perhaps with sore feet, cut by the sharp stones they have been made to walk over, it is no wonder that they should be in danger of sleeping.

I was informed that as many as five hundred or six hundred people will often be on this island at once, going through the various stages of their penances.

The morning after the pilgrims' arrival, after a night thus spent, he or she has to confess to one of the priests. In this larger chapel, there are eight or ten wood confession-boxes, like watchmen's boxes, in which the priests sit, closed up, except a small window in front. At the side of these boxes is a small square hole, through which the kneeling penitent confesses his or her sins into the ear of the priest

ance of which is only varied by a green cultivated spot here and there, or, where the ground has been cut for turf, by a black bog. I was assured by Mr. Hamilton that the greater

inside. The priest then orders a certain amount of penance or discipline to be gone through proportioned to the enormity of the offences of which the pilgrim has been guilty. A shilling fee is charged for the confession, though often more is given.

Then comes the performance of the penances. To effect this object, there are six low, roughly-made, little circular erections of stones, with a doorway or entrance into the inside of the circular erection. The stones are formed into a kind of low circular wall. Within each of these inclosures, in the centre, is erected a stone cross, rudely carved, and green over with the weather. Round each cross, within the circular wall, is a pathway of small sharp stones; and round the outside of the circular wall is another pathway of sharp stones of a larger description—big stones, placed edge-ways and corner-ways up, without regularity, and up and down quite uneven. These little circular erections are about three yards in diameter. There are six of these, all of the same kind. The pilgrims, for one penance, are made to walk nine times round the pathway round the cross bare-footed over the sharp stones; and, according to their penance, they are made to walk or crawl a certain number of times on their *bare knees*—men and women—round the outside of the circular erection of stones. Great offenders are compelled to walk or crawl the same number of times round a similar pathway made round each chapel. The greater distance to go, of course, increases their suffering. They are made to repeat a certain number of prayers as they walk, following each other as closely as they can go. After going through their stated penance, they obtain absolution, and depart from the island to make room for others. In this manner, three or four hundred fresh people come and go each day that the station continues. The wonder is, where they can all be stowed away on so small an island.

At another corner of the island, a large iron boiler is built up in brick work, with a fireplace underneath it for boiling the water of the lake. This the priests bless, and it is given out to the people as hot as they can drink it, and is called "wine." They say they derive much benefit from it; and, being given to them scalding hot, no doubt it does exhilarate their exhausted frames.

On looking into one of the lodging-house-windows, I saw a large printed bill stuck with wafers against the opposite wall. There was a large crucifix printed on it, and over it the words,—“The sacred beauty of Jesse.”

On one of the stone crosses, I saw, rudely engraved, a cross, with the words, almost obliterated by time,—“St. Blas, St. Peter—pray for us.”

This protracted and severe discipline very often occasions death amongst delicate pilgrims. Those who thus die are conceived to be supremely happy. They are buried on an adjacent island, which is called “Holy Island.” I visited this island. It is larger than the station island, with a few bushes on it. I saw a number of graves there; some of persons who were drowned in crossing the ferry—for when it blows hard the lake is very rough, and the boats are so over-crowded

part of these dismal, though not unpicturesque-looking hills, might be made almost as fertile and as smiling with the evidences of quiet plenty as a garden.

with anxious pilgrims, that, on one or two occasions, the boat has been swamped in crossing.

Whilst on Station Island, a party of four peasants came to it in a boat. They were not farmers, and I did not know what to make of them at first. I confess I did not relish their joining my boatman, and at once going with me, and following me familiarly, as it was getting dusk, and I was alone on this island with them, my carman being two miles off on the mainland. On leaving the island, they asked me to get into their boat, as it was a better one than the boatman's. Though civil I did not like this either; but esteeming it impolitic to show distrust, I immediately and boldly assented, taking care, however, to put myself in a position in the boat where I could defend myself, if necessary, and also to be on my guard. I had not been long in the boat before they asked me if I had ever seen a "still" at work? I said, "No." "Would you like to see one, sir?" said they. I again answered, readily,—“If it is not much out of the way, I have no objections.” They immediately pulled to another small low island in the lake, which they pointed out, and from which a "smoke" was rising, and there I saw twenty gallons of wort in tubs, hid amongst bushes, and a still and worm in full work. I asked them,—“Are you not afraid of the revenue police?—they are stationed within a few miles of you.” “Oh, no, sir!” replied they; “we have two or three watches set on the hills round the lake, who would give us a signal. We should see any boat coming to us, and, before it could reach us, we would sink our tubs, knock off the head of the worm, and carry off our wort and whiskey in the boat to the other side of the lake before they got to the island.” To please them, by showing confidence in them, I landed and tasted their wort, and they showed me their process of making whiskey, and a rudely made kiln for drying malt on the island. They then landed me safely, when it was nearly dark, and I returned with my car to Pettigo. All these men and the boatmen concurred in telling me the same story of what was done on "Station" Island; and, to my repeated questions, they all assured me that they had often seen the pilgrims going round and round the circular walls on their bare knees, and with bare feet, over the rough and sharp pathways. Mr. Hamilton at the Inn at Pettigo, told me the same thing.

I state the facts so far as I saw them, and I had no reason to doubt what was told me, corroborated, as it was, by what I saw. I came away with certainly no very exalted idea of the Roman Catholic faith, which could thus degrade the intellect of man into the belief that personal torture changes the heart, or that cut feet and bleeding knees are acceptable sacrifices with God. It was a curious reflection, too, to have thus associated together this island of smugglers with the island of penance. Far be it from me, however, to *ridicule* the Roman Catholics for their faith. We must remember our own glass-houses. The Dissenters have their "jumpers" in chorus in a circle, whilst they implore our Saviour to come amongst them. And even we of the Church of England have those amongst us who think that preaching in a white surplice and praying with our faces to an altar

Let us now bear in mind that the want most prominently and frequently put forward in Ireland, is *the want of capital*, and that the want most felt by its poor is the *want of employment*; and I will proceed to put you in possession of Mr. Hamilton's experience, the practical effect of acting upon which I saw.

Mr. Hamilton rents a farm, for which he pays 18s. an acre rent. Some of it is tolerably good land; other parts of it are miserably poor. The surface of the soil is of a thin, sandy character; the subsoil is composed partly of blue gravel mixed with a large portion of blue clay, and partly of red gravel.

Close to the town is a field on a steep hill-side, which three years ago was perfectly barren, and which is 1 acre and 18 perches in extent. It grew ragweed, rushes, and thistles, had a fine crop of stone on its surface, and was not worth 2s. 6d. a year rent; in fact, it was worth nothing—a perfect waste, over which the pigs wandered to pick up what they could find, and which might occasionally serve the purpose of drying linen. This piece of land, from its wretched appearance, went in the village by the nicknames of “Clover Field,” and “Whistle Bare.” This field it was determined to reclaim by a process which Mr. Hamilton had before

are the only sure roads to salvation. These, however, are formalities (to call them by no worse name) which originate in weak or excited minds, and which have in them little of the vital spirit of Christianity—of that something beyond this world, in fact, which the intellect of man soars to and wants, and which, as beings possessed of intellect—no matter of what faith—we shall do well to dispense with.

Inglis, in his “Journey through Ireland,” gives an account of Lough Derg and its station, which will be found in page 295.

The amount of money thus realized by the priesthood, from about 20,000 pilgrims yearly, may be easily estimated.

No doubt, the obtainment of money is the chief reason for the continuance of these degrading penances. But how can you blame the priesthood for thus working on the fanaticism and ignorance of their flocks, in order to obtain money, if you give them no other means of living. Those who oppose a state endowment of the priesthood—wholly apart from other considerations—take the most effectual means for continuing these practices.

adopted with success, and which I will endeavour to explain. The strata of which land is formed, are termed by agriculturists "surface-soil" and "subsoil." The upper part of the subsoil, immediately below the surface-soil, to a depth of two or three inches, is called "active subsoil," and is of use when mixed with the surface-soil in promoting vegetation. These strata of soil are generally in irregular layers, and are easily discernible on digging into the land. Though the surface-soil is even and level on its surface, from cultivation or from the effect of the weather, no matter what the inclination of the surface may be, yet the subsoil is always found to be full of indentations and to be uneven on its upper surface, so that the surface-soil spread over it, and which is even and level, is necessarily often only a few inches thick in some places, and in others will be one or two feet in thickness. The upper crust of the subsoil—the active subsoil—is almost always impervious to wet; if it is of clay formation, it holds the water; and even if of sand formation, there is a kind of crystallization of its surface which makes it almost impenetrable to water.* The rain-water which falls on the surface

* The Irish term this upper crust of the subsoil the *lach leagh*, or "grey flag." It is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness, and contains a considerable proportion of the oxide of iron, which gives it the colour and appearance of rusty iron. In all cases, this *lach leagh* retains the water in its cups and indentations, and prevents the water which filters through the bog or surface-soil from filtering through the earth beneath it. It seems to be a crystallized deposit—the accumulation of ages—and when broken up and exposed to the surface, it quickly dissolves, and then forms a most active manure. It gives back, in fact, to the soil an ingredient which has washed out of and settled through it.

This *lach leagh* is one of the chief obstacles to the permanent reclamation of deep bog. It is found immediately under bog in the same manner as under the surface-soil; and, in the same manner, there retains the surface-water which filters through the bog. This water, from the spongy nature of bog, is again attracted upwards by capillary attraction. So that, however much deep bog may be drained and cultivated, unless it is supplied with fresh gravel and calcareous matter each year, it has a tendency to run back into bog. Capillary attraction from below keeps the surface-earth always cold and moist, and rushes and aquatic plants show themselves, and no draining can efficiently remedy this evil. It is a great object, therefore, to get down to this *lach leagh*, and break it up, either by

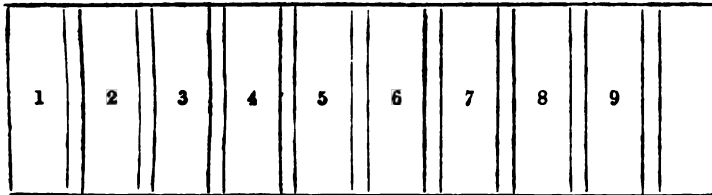
of the ground, and filters through the surface-soil, is retained on reaching the active subsoil, or very slowly filters through it, or evaporates by the heat of the sun through the surface-soil. These facts are known well enough to agriculturists, who, by draining, endeavour to draw off this water from the subsoil where it is retained. Mr. Hamilton, however, conceived that, as the surface of the subsoil is full of indentations, and is very irregular and uneven, the mere effect of

burning or cutting away the bog—first, because drainage will then be effective, and that surface-water, which filters through the surface-soil, will not be retained there, but filter away through the porous substratum; and, secondly, because the *lach leagh*, or active subsoil, is in itself a most valuable manure. I saw evidence of the truth of this theory on the estate of Colonel Knox Gore, near Ballina, in Mayo, a gentleman of very considerable scientific attainments, to whom I had the honour to be introduced. He informs me, that, by adopting this plan of cultivating bog, “all the expense of labour, hire, manure, &c., is amply paid by the two first crops of potatoes. You are secure of a splendid crop of oats, with meadow the year after, and herbage fit to feed cattle or sheep for the future, and the land improving with each rotation of tillage. Sheep I invariably put on such lands. They feed to the highest perfection; and such land is so wholesome for sheep that they never get the rot. This is perhaps from the astringent property of the bog, which forms so great a part of the soil.” I saw many evidences of the truth of this on this gentleman’s beautifully cultivated farm. It is pitiable to see the hundreds of thousands of acres of bog in Ireland, which may thus be profitably reclaimed by the application of skill and industry, producing nothing.

* “The best and richest soil,” say Boate and Molyneux, in their “Natural History of Ireland,” published in 1726—a book which is considered as high authority—“if but half a foot or a foot deep, and if lying upon a stiff clay or hard stone, is not so fertile as a leaner soil of greater depth, and lying upon sand or gravel, *through which the superfluous moisture may descend; and not standing still, as upon the clay or stone, make cold the roots of the grass, of corn, and so hurt the whole.*

“Neither corn nor grass will grow kindly where the ground, though otherwise good, is not deep enough, *as also where it hath a bad crust underneath; from whence it cometh, that in many places where the grass doth grow very thick and high, the same, nevertheless, is so unfit for the food of beasts, that cows and sheep will hardly touch it (especially if they have been kept in better pastures first), except that, by extreme famine, they be compelled thereto, and that by reason of the coarseness and sourness of the grass, caused by the standing still of the water; the which, through the unfitness of the nether crust, finding not a free passage downwards, maketh cold the good mould, and the crop and grass degenerate from its natural goodness.*”—Boate and Molyneux’s *Natural History of Ireland*, p. 49.

gravity would cause the water which filtered through the surface-soil to run into and fill these numerous cups and indentations, which would still retain much water in spite of draining by the usual method. He therefore conceived the plan of levelling the *surface of the subsoil* and rendering it even, first taking off the surface-soil, concluding that this would render fewer drains necessary, and make the draining more beneficial. The effect of water being held in the numerous cups and indentations on the surface of the subsoil is to perish and starve the roots of whatever may be planted in the surface-soil. In order to accomplish this end, he adopted the following plan:—It is usual to commence reclaiming land by marking out potato-beds and draining between the beds. These, I believe, are called by farmers “*lazy-beds*,” and a field is laid out in them like the following diagram, which will make the explanation easy:—



The broad patches marked “1” and “2” &c. are the beds; the narrow patches are where the drains are to be. The beds are four feet broad; the drains one foot. The surface-soil on patch “1” was completely removed to one side of the field, after having been dug, and shovelled off together with the upper part of the subsoil, or “*active subsoil*.” The subsoil was then made perfectly even on its surface, and, if possible, an inclination was given to it to drain off the water. The patch or bed marked “2” was then commenced, and the surface-soil and active subsoil in like manner dug and shovelled off it, and placed upon the bed marked “1” which had now the subsoil made even and ready to receive it. In

this manner all the beds were gone through, and the "surface-soil" was again evenly spread, being mixed with "active subsoil," upon the "subsoil," levelled and made even, and with an inclination to run off the water. The earth which had been removed off the lazy-bed marked "1," to one side of the field, was then wheeled on to the last lazy-bed, when the subsoil was levelled and prepared to receive it. The stones picked out of the land were laid where the drains are, and afterwards broken and used in forming a deep permanent drain every thirty feet apart. The advantages of this plan are these:—the water having a tendency to drain itself off the inclined and even surface of the subsoil, fewer expensive permanent drains are therefore needed; there are no longer any indentations on the surface of the subsoil to hold and retain water, which drains cannot affect, and which might render the draining imperfect; the active subsoil is well mixed with the surface-soil, and the surface-soil is thereby increased and improved in quality; and, lastly, the surface-soil is spread an even thickness, insuring an even crop.

I will now give you the expenditure of reclaiming and sowing with a first crop this field of 1 acre and 18 perches, which was not worth 2*s.* 6*d.* a year, and the results which have been produced by it. The following was the expenditure:—

	£	s.	d.
36 men digging, &c., at 8 <i>d.</i> a day . . .	1	4	0
9 boys dropping potatoes, at 3 <i>d.</i> a day . . .	0	2	3
Manuring	8	2	0
Average rent not worth 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> . . .	0	18	0
18 men, at 8 <i>d.</i> a-day, shovelling potatoes . .	0	12	0
36 men digging potatoes, at 8 <i>d.</i> a day . . .	1	4	0
36 boys, as gatherers, at 3 <i>d.</i> a day . . .	0	9	0
Expenses of re-forming the ground . . .	5	7	1
County-cess	0	2	6
Total cost of reclaiming, rent, manuring, and setting	£18	0	10

The produce was 52 barrels of potatoes, at 60 stone the barrel,—which, at the low price of 7s. 6d. a barrel,

	£	s.	d.
Amounts to	19	10	0
Cost of reclaiming and first crop	18	0	10
Profit the first year	£1	9	2

The second year the crop was laid down in oats and grasses. The produce was 10 score and 8 stooks of straw, covering the cost of rent, seed, labour, and all expenses; and 15 sacks and 8 stones of oats at 24 stone the sack—which, at 18s. a sack (the then selling price), left a clear profit the second year of 13l. 16s. This year, which is the third year, there have been 4 tons 17 cwt. of hay grown by this field, which,

	£	s.	d.
Attwo guineas aton, amounts to	10	3	8
Deduct rent and county-cess	1	1	0
Leaving clear profit	£9	2	8

The after-grass pays the labour of cutting and making the hay.

I walked over this field—there was on it a thick crop of after-grass. The adjoining field had been thus reclaimed two years, and was growing a splendid crop of oats and clover as its second crop. At the other side of the hedge, Mr. Hamilton led me into a field, well lying on the top of the hill, the land of which he said was worth 20s. an acre rent. Two years ago it gave a crop of potatoes, followed last year by a crop of oats. It was not then laid down in grass, nor is it drained, but cultivated after the manner which prevails in Ireland. This, its third year, it is growing a very thick crop of ragweed, mixed with rushes, a few windle straws here and there, some thistles, half the ground black without any verdure upon it, and the rest natural grass, and, according to the estimation of the farmer with me, not

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I walked over this field—there was on it a thick crop of after-grass. The adjoining field had been thus reclaimed two years, and was growing a splendid crop of oats and clover as its second crop. At the other side of the hedge, Mr. Hamilton led me into a field, well lying on the top of the hill, the land of which he said was worth 20s. an acre rent. Two years ago it gave a crop of potatoes, followed last year by a crop of oats. It was not then laid down in grass, nor is it drained, but cultivated after the manner which prevails in Ireland. This, its third year, it is growing a very thick crop of ragweed, mixed with rushes, a few windle straws here and there, some thistles, half the ground black without any verdure upon it, and the rest natural grass, and, according to the estimation of the farmer with me, not

worth 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre this year. The farmers in the neighbourhood see, by example, the advantage of following this plan of improvement, and of cultivating their land with skill and labour, and under the wise encouragement of the landlord, who grants them 1*l.* an acre for reclaiming their barren land under the superintendence of Mr. Hamilton his agent and agriculturist, 20 acres were reclaimed two years ago, 50 acres last year, and it is anticipated, from what the farmers say, that 150 acres will be reclaimed this year.

Agriculture is not my profession, but I have taken the pains to master these facts, and to understand what I have been endeavouring to explain, I hope, with the clearness which will make the explanation intelligible; and now I will bring them to bear on the object which I have in view.

We have here a patch of land—nicknamed “Whistle-bare,” because of its sterility and rugged appearance—not worth 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre rent, and which, estimating its utility as a drying-ground or play-ground, or waste for pigs to pick up roots in, at the most extravagant rate, could not be worth one guinea a year in value to the farmer. But take it at this value, which exactly covers the average rent of 18*s.* an acre and the county-cess, and we have it in three years yielding no profit, but say worth 3*l.* 3*s.* After being reclaimed, we have this same piece of land, in the last three years, yielding—

	£	s.	d.
1st year, over and above every cost	1	9	2
2nd ditto, ditto ditto	13	16	0
3rd ditto, ditto ditto	9	2	8
Clear profit over and above rent and cul-	<hr/>		
tivation, in three years	£24	7	10

Now, just cast your eye over the amount of labour shewn to have been employed in reclaiming this piece of land in the first year alone, in the account of the expense of it which I have above given.

I am informed by Mr. Hamilton, the agent, and the farmer, that this piece of land of 1 acre and 18 perches, thus improved, will yield on the average from 8*l.* to 10*l.* profit a year to the farmer; will give employment for 40 days' labour a year; and it is now worth two guineas a year rent.

But there are thousands of acres of such land in Donegal, which might be reclaimed with equal profit and advantage to all parties. I will not, however, speak wildly, but by the book. The following is what the Occupation of Land Commissioners say in their report regarding this county (page 49):—

“County of Donegal.—The waste lands of this county are more extensive than any other in Ireland, with the exception of Mayo; and, owing to the wetness of climate and nature of the subsoil, they are, probably, the least improvable. There can be no doubt, however, that vast tracts may be easily reclaimed by the expenditure of a moderate capital and the introduction of *additional labourers*. From a careful examination, it would appear that Donegal contains about 760,000 acres of unimproved and uncultivated land, 253,000 acres of which are situate at elevations which exceed 800 feet above the level of the sea; and, in such a climate, unless in favoured and sheltered spots, cultivation should not be attempted at elevations exceeding 800 feet. . . . It is probable that within the limits of the county of Donegal there are about 150,000 acres which might be improved for cultivation; 250,000 acres might be drained, and thus rendered available for the rearing of young cattle; and 369,000 acres of mountain-land, which it is probable would not repay the expense of draining.”

This is adopted by the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Occupation of Land in Ireland, from a return made to them by Mr. Griffiths, the General Valuation Commissioner, and therefore is the best authority on the subject.

Now, let us simply take the 150,000 waste acres in this county “which might be improved for cultivation,” and apply the means of calculation which the produce of “Whistle-bare” field affords, and what an enormous result does it give! Instead of two guineas rent, take one guinea

for land now worth nothing, and you have an increase of rent to the landlords of 150,000 guineas a year in this county : instead of a produce worth 8*l.* or 10*l.* per acre a year on the average, put it at 5*l.*, and you have an increase of wealth among the tenant farmers of 750,000*l.* a year ; and instead of forty days' labour a year provided for labourers, take twenty days' labour, and you have given 2,000,000 day labour a year, or, at six days a week, constant employment every working day in the year for 6,390 labourers in this county alone. Yet this is but one-half the result which the proper cultivation of " Whistle-bare " field exhibits.

There stands a fact regarding this county, as an example of what Ireland is capable of becoming ; what it is, is but too well known. And yet you will find Irishmen by the score declaim about the *want of capital*, and the *want of employment*, in Ireland ! Why, here is a perfect mine of capital, waiting to be realized ; and more employment for the people than there are people for the employment. But Ireland is disturbed, because its people want employment, and consequently bread ; and therefore they are ready to listen to any wild chimera which promises them relief, or to enter into any combination or commit any outrage which they mistakingly imagine will procure them relief. Oh, how exquisitely absurd appear college bills, and Repeal demonstrations, and Orange demonstrations, to obtain peace, and order, and prosperity to Ireland, after contemplating such a palpable and straightforward means as this for insuring plenty, and occupation, and wealth, and consequent contentment and peace !

Yet the remedy is a *social one* ; a Government can do little here. If Irish gentlemen and Irishmen will not put to use those means of prosperity and greatness which are abundantly given to them, it is difficult to conceive with what face they can ask Englishmen to help them. Why whine about " English capital," when you have capital at

your very doors whenever you choose to win it? It was not thus that Englishmen won their capital. Had, however, the Government proposed a grant of equal amount to that which has this year been given (apparently but to exasperate Ireland, in wounding her religious prejudices) to be spent in promoting the reclamation of waste lands in Ireland, in bonuses of 1*l.* an acre to the farmers, and in salaries to intelligent agriculturists to direct the people and certify that the bonuses were deserved, as is now done by a private landowner at Pettigo, though the relief would have been but trifling as compared with the extent of the mischief, yet it would at least have had this much in its favour—it could have offended no sensible man in Ireland. In increasing the wealth and means of comfort of the tenant-farmers (even though they paid treble rent), and* in affording employment to labourers, the capability of consumption of large masses of people would have been much increased, and so many tax-paying commodities would have been consumed, that (what cannot be said of the present grant) a considerable portion of the sum granted would have found its way back into the Exchequer in the shape of increased Customs and Excise duties; and according to the increased

* It is, however, very difficult to convince an Irish farmer that he gains more by well cultivating his land, even though a higher rent is demanded for it, than by neglecting his land and paying a low rent. It is a positive fact that an Irish farmer feels better satisfied to pay 10*s.* an acre rent for neglected land, the produce of which does not realize 2*l.*, than to pay 30*s.* an acre for land well cultivated, the produce of which realizes 5*l.* It is clear that, in the one case, he gains only 30*s.* profit above the rent, whilst, in the other case, he gains a profit of 3*l.* 10*s.* above the rent. This, however, seems to be a remote calculation beyond his comprehension. Besides, it has that great “bugbear” to an Irish farmer, something of *uncertainty* about it, and the benefit, to his mind, is remote; whereas the difference between 10*s.* rent and 30*s.* rent is palpable, certain, immediate. He therefore invariably, absurd as it may appear, *prefers* to keep his land half cultivated for *fear* of a rise in his rent, though, for every shilling additional rent that he would have to pay his landlord for well cultivating his land, he would, of necessity, put 3*s.* into his own pocket. (See the first Letter, dated Limerick, *post*, proving this to be the fact in the county of Clare.)

comfort would have been the probability of increased tranquillity. It is, however, the landowners of Ireland alone who can work out this remedy efficiently.

If I might be permitted, I would suggest to sensible Irishmen, before they allow themselves to be led away after wild projects and into foolish "demonstrations" (whether at the beck of men who throw up their hats and cry "Hurrah for Repeal," or of men who set the drums agoing as Orange arguments, to prove how Ireland is to be tranquillized and made prosperous and happy), to propose one of two questions to their leaders, on whichever side they may happen to be :—

First.—"Have you any stake in the country?"

If the gentleman to whom this question is addressed answers "No;" however much you may esteem his talents and individual worth, tell him plainly, that as he has nothing to lose by a commotion he may possibly be a rash and incautious leader; and as he may gain by a commotion, he may possibly not be a disinterested leader, and beg him to retire, for you will not follow him.

If he answer "Yes," or you know him to be a man of station and landed property, then ask him this :—

Second.—"Have you, sir, cultivated and improved every acre of your own estate as much as it is capable of being improved, and let it at a fair rent to your tenant?"

The probability is, if he answer truly (and an Irish gentleman of course will answer truly), that he will reply "He is sorry to say (from some cause or other), that he has unimproved land."

Then say to him, "Go home, sir, and first do your duty to yourself, to your countrymen, and to your country, before you stand forward to lead us and to teach us our duty."

Look at the field nicknamed "Whistle-bare," and look at the results which its proper cultivation produced. If he has cultivated and improved every acre of his land as much as it

is capable of being improved, like that field, his rents, if fair, will be well paid; his tenants will be comfortably off, and growing rich; the labourers on his estate all employed, and his estate improving. What more would the man have? What has he then got to complain of as to the condition of the country or of its people? Depend upon it, that amongst landlords who thus do their duty in their station, you will not find many leaders for a mischievous purpose; and such landlords who thus do their duty will deserve to be trusted by you as your leaders, if you have any real grievances which your own exertions cannot remedy to complain about.*

* For opinions of the press, see Appendix 5.

SECRET

There is nothing from the center of the hills in the north of Oregon where we have just been. There was not a trail—there seem to be nothing but hills and beaches and rocks were to be seen for miles—where the people heard the sound of trading and the run of the fish—paid no

The western system of Finance being now in full force and operation, all this district of country is sold under what is known by that term, and which may be thus described — In some instances, a tenant having any part of a town-land for culture very small, and his property in thirty or forty different places, and various farmers possess them, it being utterly impossible to have any, as the proprietors were so very numerous, and frequently so small, that not more than half a penny of rent was required to sow one of such divisions.

"From away toward, considers himself entitled to a portion of each various
ignoring of land in his own-land, and the man who had some good land at one

rent,* and lived on potatoes and the produce of illicit distillation.† I write from the centre of an estate where the subdivision of farms had gone on to such an extent, that

extremity was sure to have some *bad* at the other, and a bit of *middling* in the centre, and bits of other quality in odd corners, each bounded by his neighbour's property, and without any fence or ditch between them.

"Under such circumstances as these, could any one wonder at the desperation of a poor man, who, having his inheritance in *thirty-two* different places, abandoned them in utter despair of ever being able to *make them out*?

"Fights, trespasses, confusion, disputes, and assaults, were the natural and unavoidable consequences of this system. These evils, in their various forms, were endless, and caused great loss of time and expense to the people attending petty sessions, and, of course, continued disunion amongst neighbours was *perpetuated*.

"The system, too, was a complete bar to any attempt at improvement, as, on a certain day, all the cattle belonging to the town-land were brought from the mountains, and allowed to run indiscriminately over the arable-land, and any that had not their potatoes dug, or other crops off the ground, were much injured. Neither could any one man venture to grow turnips, clover, or other green crops, for nothing short of a seven feet wall would keep out the mountain sheep.

"To add to this, no one would attempt to manure better, or otherwise improve his proportion, as his neighbour's cattle only would have the benefit; and in spring no individual occupier of the division would let or sow, or labour in the fields, before a certain day, when the cattle were again sent to the hills until after harvest; and should any one of them, more industrious or enterprising than another, reclaim a portion of the bog or mountain, it would be taken from him as soon as he had taken *one* crop of it, and it would forthwith be divided among *all* the tenants of the town-land, in proportion to the rent each paid."—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 14.

* "Rents were very small—almost nominal—and there was no regularity as to collecting them. Trifling sums were taken at fairs, or whenever or wherever they could be got. Often no receipt was given, no accurate accounts kept; consequently the greatest confusion prevailed as to what was due upon the properties.

"There were arrears of eight, ten, and even twenty years' standing; some of the tenants not having paid rent for that period, and many lived on the estates who were quite unknown. A part of one estate, of the value of 20*l.* per annum, appeared not to be known at all to the person who sold the property to Lord George Hill when he purchased.

The manner, too, in which the rents were collected, was strange and unsatis-

† "The general system was to make the grain into whiskey, which was certain of paying a remunerating price; besides, that this mode of trading was more agreeable, and congenial to a people fond of excitement and an irregular life; though, of course, the practice was sure to lead to idleness and dissolute habits."—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 19.

about seven years ago it was sold to its present owner, Lord George Hill, on the advice of the then agent of the late owner, who was my informant as to this fact, because the rents were so small and numerous and difficult to collect that they were not worth the expense and trouble of collecting. Yet I now write from an inn as comfortable as any in England,—comforts the value of which you learn doubly to appreciate from the miseries you endure before you arrive here from Donegal, should you be com-

factory, as may be gathered from an incident. The agent to one of the small properties came, on a particular day, a distance of about fourteen miles, with a view of receiving the rents. Having mentioned his errand to a gentleman by whom he was met, he added, 'that he must return, as the day was too bad to attempt collecting them.' This observation caused some surprise; and the gentleman, not exactly comprehending *how* rain had to do with rents, or that money could not be received on *any* sort of day, anxiously inquired; when the agent solved the difficulty by replying, 'that he had to go from house to house through the mountains, in order to pick the rent up, having thus to take whatever the tenants were pleased to offer.' As to coercing the people, it was never thought of or feared.

"It will serve as a specimen of the way in which these estates were managed by the agents to whom they were formerly intrusted, to give the two following original notes, which will also show that the tenants 'made' or fixed the rent themselves, and paid what they pleased. The notes are the reply from one of those agents to an inquiry which was made of him by letter, in consequence of tenants refusing to pay the amount of rent as returned in the rental, and are as follows:—

"No. 1. 'A. B. made the rent himself, and never paid me more than 1*l.* 10*s.* yearly. C. done the same, and never paid me more than 1*l.* 12*s.* yearly. D. E. paid the same yearly, 1*l.* 12*s.* F. returned what I returned to you to Mr. G. Mr. H. never got more from them than what I returned to you now, but he wanted to make the rent-roll look large in Mr. G.'s eyes.'

	£	s.	d.
"No. 2. 'A. B. shoemaker	1	8	5
C. D. black	1	8	5
E. F.	0	19	0
C.'s mother	0	9	6
	£4	5	4

"They have five one-third cows' grass among the tribe; let them show you that they have not this quantity. They made the rent themselves, and C. D. would never pay for the old woman's part, although he had the benefit."—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 10.

pelled to stop a night on the road. Luxuriant crops surround the inn ; industry and cleanliness begin to mark the people ; each man has his own squared farm and a decent cottage, and there are good roads. All this is to be attributed to the public spirit and liberality, and to the individual and personal exertions, of the present noble owner and his able agent. In fact, a good landlord has effected all this social improvement, and has made glad this "wilderness and solitary place." It will be the chief object of my letter to-day to show what landlords of an opposite kind effect ; what men who extract as much rent as they can, and never spend a shilling on their estates,—who make no efforts to improve either their tenants or their land,—accomplish in the misery and barbarity of their countrymen, and in the waste of the capabilities of their country.

Let no political partisan—because I will not hesitate to state the truth—take it into his head that I come here to write a tirade against landlords. I intend to give them every credit for all that they may do for the benefit of their estates and of their tenants, whenever I see such examples. I do not think it is the part of a good citizen, or of an honest man, to shield the misdeeds of those who so use their property that they are a curse to their country, and to whom are to be attributed all the social evils under which Ireland groans.

I intend giving you to-day a sketch of my journey from Donegal to this place,—the accuracy of which may be tested by any one who pleases to take the same course. My motive for taking this route was, because I heard in Donegal, and read in the evidence of the Land Commission, that the total neglect and bad management of large tracts of land between this place and Donegal had led to an extent of subdivision of farms and of misery almost unparalleled.*

* The farms were frequently, at the death of the parents, reduced to atoms at once, being then divided among *all the children*. In such cases, when the farm

The town of Donegal itself exhibits another of those numerous examples of neglect with which Ireland abounds. The bay of Donegal, dotted with green islands,—with the Atlantic Ocean on one side, and the town nestling at the foot of a range of magnificent hills, which rise in the background abruptly behind it, on the other, affords scenery of the most exquisite natural beauty.

There is sea-bathing, and a mineral spa of precisely the same quality as the Harrowgate water, and baths, close to the town. In the town is the ruin of a fine old castle of the once powerful clan of the O'Donnells, which adds much to its picturesque beauty. The whole of this part of the country was formerly subjected to the O'Neils, to whom tribute was paid, till the O'Donnells became so powerful as to dispute the right. A story is told of the chief of the O'Neils writing to the chief of the O'Donnells, residing at his castle at Donegal.

“ Says O'Neil to O'Donnell, if you don't pay your tribute——”

“ O'NEIL.”

Which was answered in a similar significant and laconic style :—

“ Says O'Donnell to O'Neil, I owe you no tribute, and if I did——”

“ O'DONNELL.”

There are also pleasant walks formed along the shore of the river for the use of the inhabitants, by the liberality of Lord Arran, who has a small property in the neighbourhood of the town.

Were all the advantages of scenery, locality, bathing, and cheapness of living, which this town possesses connected with any English town, it would not be long before it was a second Brighton, or Bath, or Cheltenham. There is, however, but one resident landlord or gentleman in the neigh-

was small, it left to each a mere ‘*skibberlin*’ (a shred off a coat) ; and, by this simple process, the next generation were beggars.”—*Facts from Gweedore*. p 16.

bourhood,—Mr. Hamilton,—who has built himself a beautiful house on one of the islands in the bay; and the town remains neglected and poor.

From this town I proceeded to Glenties, a village which is the property of the Marquis of Conyngham, whose chief managing agent is Mr. Benbow, M.P. for Dudley. The whole of the country for many miles in the direction of Dungloe, and beyond that town—in fact, almost the whole barony of Boyleagh—belongs to this nobleman, together with the island of Arran, or Arranmore, on the west coast. Once in the course of his life—two years ago—the marquis of Conyngham visited this estate for a few days. His chief agent, Mr. Benbow, usually comes once a year, and the sub-agents visit the tenants every half year to collect their rents. At short periods of a few years, the farms are visited to see what increased rent they will bear, and this is the extent of the acquaintance of the Marquis of Conyngham with his tenants. This nobleman, himself, bears the character of a kind-hearted, generous man—fond of yachting and amusement, and having an excessive distaste for every kind of business or trouble. From one end of his large estate here to the other, nothing is to be found but poverty, misery, wretched cultivation, and infinite subdivision of land. There are no gentry, no middle class,—all are poor—wretchedly poor. Every shilling the tenants can raise from their half-cultivated land is paid in rent, whilst the people subsist for the most part on potatoes and water. They are untaught,—they know not how to improve,—they have no examples before them of a better state of things,—the year left to themselves. As they increase in numbers, as not a shilling of the rent is ever spent among them in the shape of capital, in giving them any kind of employment, they are driven to the land for support, till they infinitely subdivide it, and their poverty and wretchedness necessarily increase as their means lessen. Every rude effort that they make

to increase the amount of the produce is followed immediately by raising their rents in proportion—as it were, to punish them for improving; they are, naturally enough, as discontented and full of complaints as they are wretched in their condition.

Now, this is not hearsay or imagination. I walked a couple of miles from Glenties amongst the farmers' cottages, with a guide,—the Vice-President of the Poor Law Union there,—and I will shortly describe to you the condition of the farmers, as I had it from their own lips, and noted it down at the time.

The land is not let by the acre, but by what is termed a “cow's grass”—so many “cows' grass” to a farm. A “cow's grass” is a measure of land; usually it means as much mountain grazing-land as will keep a cow during the summer, and as much arable-land as will keep the cow-house in fodder during the winter.* The size of the farms varies from six to twenty acres, and larger, by the measurement of acres. The rent of arable-land is about 30*s.* an acre. It is sandy soil and bog mixed, on a granite rock foundation. The grazing mountain-land is let at about 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre. The farmer pays his rent and rates by disposing of his butter, pigs, eggs, beef, hay, and oats,—and milk, when he can sell it. He usually sells the *whole of his produce*, except potatoes, and in dear seasons even part of his stock of potatoes, and buys meal on credit, in order to pay his rent and the county-

* “The land is never let, sold, or devised, by the *acre*, but by ‘a cow's grass.’ This is a complement of land well understood by the people, being, in fact, the general standard; and they judge of the dimensions of a holding by its being to the extent, as the case may be, of one, two, or three ‘cows' grass;’ although a *cow's grass*, as it varies according to the quality of the land, comprises, for this reason, a rather indefinite quantity. Thus the town-lands are all divided into so many cows' grass, which, of course, have been cut up *ad infinitum*. By this rude anatomy, they have been divided not only into the *fourth* part of a cow's grass, called ‘a foot,’ but into the *eighth* part of a cow's grass, or *half a foot*, denominated ‘a cleet.’”—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 16.

cess. If the tenant lives near a town where he can sell his milk he sells that also, and the common drink to their potatoes then is an infusion of pepper—*pepper and water*, as being more tasty than water. Sometimes they are so hard pushed for their rent that they will buy a heifer on credit at 6*l.* or 7*l.*, much above the market price, and sell it again for 3*l.* or 4*l.*, to be able to pay the rent; or buy meal on credit of local usurers (giving a promissory note) at 20*s.* a barrel, and sell it again to the same usurer at the market price for ready money at 9*s.* or 10*s.* a barrel. If a farmer is so well off as to have milk to his potatoes, or to be able to buy a few sprats, he is what they term here “thokey”—that is, in independent circumstances. The farmer who gave me this information pays 16*l.* rent, holds seven cows’ grass, and I was informed was the most “thokey” farmer in the district. The grazing is so poor that last year these seven cows produced only two firkins of butter, which he sold for 6*l.*; he sold two pigs for 5*l.*, and he could hardly tell how he scraped up the rest of the rent from the sale of his oats and some potatoes. This farmer assured me that for the half of this year, whilst his cows gave no milk, he had to subsist on *pepper and water and potatoes*. He could not afford to eat butter. “Not a bit of bread have I eaten since I was born,” said this man; “we must sell the corn and the butter to give to the landlord. I have the largest farm in the district; some don’t pay more than 3*l.* to 5*l.* rent, and I am as well off as any in the country.” This man gave me his name, but did not wish it to be published, as it might do him an injury with the agent. This man also assured me that many of the tenants have no beds, and lie on a “shake-down” of straw or hay on the ground in their cottages, with but a blanket or a rug to cover five or six of the family. “The people,” he said, “do what they can to improve, but the landlord does nothing, and they have not the ability to improve. They are tenants at will; and if they improve their rent is raised

accordingly at the next valuation. The only good thing we have is plenty of turf to keep us warm. We never taste meat of any kind, or bacon, unless a pig chances to die of some disorder and we cannot sell it, and we would not taste that if we could sell it." I asked him if he would show me the cottage of any small farmer who lived in the way he had described. He took me immediately to the cottages of John and Charles McCabe, who lived across a field close by. I state this case to you because it is a sample of the subdivision which is permitted to go on. The father rented four cows' grass, for which he paid 5*l.* 10*s.* rent. He was so pressed by poverty and distress in 1842 that he sold the tenant-right of half his farm for 15*l.* to another man, who came in, built a cottage, and occupied it as tenant.* His son had married, and having a family growing up, he divided the half of his remaining farm with his son, and father and son are now subsisting with their families on a cow's grass of land each. Into these cottages I entered. They were stone-built, and well roofed—but the mud-floor was uneven, damp, and filthy. In one corner was a place for the pig, with a drain from it through the wall to carry off the liquid manure, like a stable. Two chairs, a bedstead of the rudest description, a cradle, a spinning-wheel, and an iron-pot constituted the whole furniture. An inner room contained another rude bedstead; the mud-floor was quite damp. In this room six children slept on loose hay, with one dirty blanket to cover them. The father, mother, and an infant slept in the first room, also on loose hay, and with but one blanket on the bed. The children were running about as nearly naked as possible, dressed in the cast-off rags of the

* "They made a habit of trafficking in their land, and would sell small portions of it, as they wanted money, either for ever or for a term of years, of mortgage it as *interest* on money borrowed until the sum was repaid, which very often proved equivalent to a lease for nine hundred and ninety-nine years."—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 16.

father and mother ; the father could not buy them clothes. They had not been to mass for a twelvemonth for want of decent clothes to go in. Both these men assured me that their whole food was potatoes, and if they had a penny to spare they bought salt or a few sprats, but very seldom these. Instead of buying salt they sometimes bought pepper and mixed it with the water they drank. This they called "*kit-chin*"—it gave a flavour to their food. Both cottages were in the same wretched condition, and the rent of the farm had been twice raised ; last time from 48*s.* to 5*l.* 10*s.* If their rent was not punctually paid, their cattle and everything they had was immediately distrained. From these men I went to another small farmer's house. He was mowing. His name is Manus M'Ginty. He has two cows' grass, for which he pays 3*l.* 8*s.* There has been no improvement on his farm for the last twenty years ; but his rent was recently raised from 2*l.* 5*s.* He had potatoes and milk that day for mowing for a farmer. His usual diet was potatoes and *pepper-water*. He lived in precisely the same wretched condition as that which I have just described. I give you these as examples, without any kind of selection, of the universal condition of the tenantry around on this estate.

From this place I proceeded to Dungloe, a village sixteen miles further, direct north—the whole of it in the same property. Near one or two villages which I passed, a good deal of land was brought into cultivation, and bore heavy crops of oats and potatoes ; but a mile beyond these villages nothing but bog and heather is to be seen. Excepting here and there a small patch of potatoes growing, the only sign of industry I saw was a couple of men on a hill-side boring the bog with an iron-rod and searching for timber. I entered several cottages on the road-side, but they were all alike filthy and wretched. Sometimes a calf as well as a pig would be inside them ; sometimes three or four ducks in addition, dabbling in a pool of dirty water in a hole in the

mud-floor. If you point out this filthy condition to the women in the cottages they generally laugh at it. In fact, they know no better ; they don't know how to live differently, and they never had a better example set to them. There is everything to depress them, nothing to elevate them ; and the wonder is that, half savage and uncivilized, they are so quiet and tractable as they are.

At Dungloe I was told I should find an inn and accommodation where I could sleep. Stay there I must, for there was no other place within a dozen Irish miles off, and it was getting late. The look of the inn was most unpromising. A pile of lime and sand, for building a wall adjoining, blocked up the doorway, but a bright peat-fire and a boarded and sanded floor—a luxury not to be met with everywhere in Ireland—made me hope for a comfortable rest. The brightness of the fire gilded over the discomfort of the room. It was perfectly Irish. Two large and apparently much-frequented rat-holes in the floor showed no want of company of that kind. The table was propped ; its cover torn and dirty ; one of the windows had before it a broken looking-glass to dress by, a corner of which still remained in the frame ; the whitewashed walls were marked round with candle-smokes, where candles had been stuck with their own tallow ; and two beds at one side of the room had a most unpromising appearance. Sundry women's caps were stuck under the testers for readiness, and under each bed was a pile of dirt and sand, the sweepings of the floor from a remote antiquity. After making a tolerable supper on eggs—that only support of travellers in parts of Ireland, the bread being sour, the butter abominable, the appearance of the salt forbidding its use, and the tea an infusion of some unknown herb,—I went to bed thoroughly tired, hoping to sleep. But the “downy pinions” of what the poet Young describes as “tired nature's sweet restorer” fled from me ; and every moment I remained there I began

to have a more and more lively impression of the applicability of the chorus of an old song I once heard :—

“ These cursed fleas !—
At first they came by twos and threes,
But now they come by swarms.”

At length the weary night passed over in listening to the gambols of the rats, making the most of their opportunity at the bread-loaf, until the quacking and cackling of some ducks and hens in the next room assured me morning was breaking.

But I do not blame the people. They gave me the best they had ; and they never saw, and cannot conceive, anything better. And with a non-resident landlord, a non-resident agent, no capital spent amongst them, no encouragement given to them, and no one to teach them anything, either by precept or example, how are they likely to improve ? The politeness and hospitality of a gentleman some five miles off saved me the infliction of the breakfast.

Next morning I took a boat and guide—a coast-guard man, who could speak Irish—and went over to the island of Arran, which is also the property of the Marquis of Conyngham. This island is about fifteen miles in circumference, with a lofty hill in its centre, and a gradual declivity down to the sea. It contains eleven villages, each having from nine to fifty cottages, and has a population of about 1,500 people ; it yields a rental of from 300*l.* to 400*l.* a year to the Marquis of Conyngham, and is three-quarters of an hour's sail from the mainland.

The rents here are much the same as those on the mainland, from 20*s.* to 30*s.* being paid for a cow's grass ; but the land is let in rundale.

I must explain the meaning of this form of letting to your readers. This form of occupation seems to have arisen from a small community equally dividing a portion of arable-land for their potatoes, and holding the surrounding land in com-

mon. As the population increased, the patch of cultivated land being found insufficient to provide them with potatoes, some individual of the community was obliged to bring a patch of the grazing land held in common under cultivation, and the following year each member of the community claims the right of dividing this land, made arable out of commonable land, into equal shares. The consequence of this mode of occupation has been, that a tenant will hold a dozen small patches of land in different places, and almost every potato bed or ridge of oats belongs to a different tenant.*

I landed at a village called Labgarroo, containing twenty-four cottages, and almost the whole of its shockingly destitute and half-naked shoeless population immediately swarmed out and surrounded me, begging me to go into their cottages—such of them, at least, as could speak English—and look at their misery. Some thrust scraps of paper into my hands with petitions written on them, praying for assistance to keep them from starving, for medical assistance, to have their rents reduced, and so on: such an assemblage of wretched beggar-like human beings I never saw.† Picture to yourself the beggars who sometimes on Sundays lie about the pavements in the streets of London, dressed up to excite commiseration, and who write with a piece of chalk on the flags “I’m starving,” and then lay themselves down beside this scrawl crouched up in a violent shivering fit as the people pass them from church, and you have an exact *fac-simile* of the kind of looking people around me—the *tenants* of the Marquis of Conyngham! I

* See note †, *ante*, p. 98.

† These scraps of paper or petitions were ready written, and some of them seemed old and worn. They appeared to me to be intended to be ready to present to any stranger who might by chance, during the summer, visit the island. It is impossible that they could have been written purposely to present to me (as was subsequently alleged), as I only determined and arranged to go to the island that morning, after ascertaining that I could get boatmen and an interpreter.

asked one man—a cobbler—who spoke English, to show me into one or two of the cottages near. I entered that of Nelly Gallagher; she pays 30s. rent for one cow's grass. She was preparing her dinner of potatoes, and—what, think you?—*sea-weed*. They gather, I was told by some twenty of them (and I saw them using it), a kind of sea-weed called “dillisk,” which they dry, and boil as “kitchin” with their potatoes. It boils down to a kind of gluten with the potatoes, and the salt in it, they say, makes the potatoes more palatable. In winter they gather the common sea-weed,—the sea-rack which grows on the rocks,—and which they call “dhoolaman,” in Irish, and cutting off the thin leaves at the extremities of the weed, boil these when they cannot get “dillisk,” which is a better kind of sea-weed. They showed me how they used it, and above a dozen of them told me the same story; in fact, every one that I asked about it confirmed it. My guide, the coast-guard man, and a respectable seaman, assured me that the tenants on the mainland in the same manner lived on sea-weed part of the year, and that they used it, as he called it, as “kitchin,” to make their potatoes more palatable, and in aid of their potato food. Some of these tenants had quantities of land as small as the fourth part of a cow's grass. Their cottages are stone-built, with mud-floors, no chimneys, rarely any furniture in them, usually hay on the floor for a bed, with a rug or old clothes for bed covering. I walked over the whole island and saw many such, and rarely any in the least degree better. There is a Roman Catholic chapel on the island, and a school is talked of being built, but there is not one at present. Some kelp-burning is going on now, and this has helped the people a good deal. At times I was informed, and I can well believe it from what I saw, that their destitution is horrible. They are, however, but a degree worse than the tenants on the mainland opposite.

I left the island, and, on landing, came to this place. Be-

fore leaving this estate, the high road crosses a strand at Anagary, over which the tide flows ten feet deep. This strand is one mile across, and the water was up to the axle of the gig I was in when my guide attempted it. It was quite dusk, and I assure you it was perfectly frightful to a stranger to be in the middle of this sheet of water, the land every way at least half a mile off, and not knowing whether the next step might not be into deep water. The Board of Works offered to make a road, to avoid this strand; the Marquis of Conyngham's agent, in the name of his principal, opposes this, and will not permit the road to be made through his waste bog-land; and the public must, therefore, submit to the delay and inconvenience and danger of this strand. But what must this be to a poor man or woman who has no horse or gig, and who is thus compelled often to wait hours for the tide, and then to wade a mile in water a yard deep?

Here, however, I leave the Marquis of Conyngham's estate, with its thousands of acres of land capable of profitable cultivation, and its everywhere apparent neglect, mismanagement, and misery. His rents are probably not high, considering the capabilities of the land, but they are high considering their actual state of cultivation. The tenants are not helped or put in the way of improving, and it is evident that every shilling beyond bare subsistence is extracted from them and spent elsewhere. It is not a capital realized which ever benefits them. Some may say that the Marquis of Conyngham has a right to do as he likes with his property. Grant that he has, but he has no right to anybody's approval if *this* is what he likes; and the empire has a right to complain, if he so manages his large estate that he produces general destitution, and misery, and discontent—if, in fact, he helps to make Ireland that scene of poverty and wretchedness and disturbance which makes it a shame and a source of weakness, instead of its being a

pride and a source of strength to the empire. It is possible that the Marquis of Conyngham may be ignorant of the condition of his Irish tenants; but "*qui facit per alium, facit per se*;" to him who permits it, the odium of having such a tenantry and an estate so managed rightly attaches.

I had sought out some extracts in the second volume of the evidence taken before Lord Devon's Commission, from pages 150 to 170, bearing out and confirming what I have above stated from personal observation; but the length of my letter precludes my copying them. They simply confirm what I state as to complaints about high rents and absenteeism—as to the wretchedness of the people, their living on sea-weed, and the total neglect which everything shows. I have given the pages for your reference, and if necessary this evidence can be quoted at a future time.*

I am now on an estate far differently managed, and which is alike a credit to its noble owner, and a benefit to the community and to the country; but I must leave its description to my next letter.†

* The facts contained in this letter were subsequently contradicted by Mr. Russell, the sub-agent of Mr. Benbow, who resides on the estate. The contradiction is given in the Appendix, and the answer to that contradiction—containing the extracts above alluded to, from the evidence given before Lord Devon's Commission—will be found in the Letter dated from Tuam, *post*.

† For opinions of the press, see Appendix, No. 6.

LETTER VIII.

THE IMPROVEMENT AND HAPPINESS THAT AN ATTENTIVE AND RESIDENT LANDLORD CAN DIFFUSE.

The Chief Evils which afflict Ireland are Social, which Social Remedies will remove—Opinion of Mr. Nicholls on the Condition of the People of Donegal—Former Condition of the People on Lord George Hill's Estate—The injurious effect of the Tenant Right there—The Improvements which Lord George Hill has effected—The Obstacles and Opposition which he had to overcome—The Condition of the People now—The difference of Races—Dr. Kane's Opinion—The effect of a Social Remedy here to change the People.

GWEEDORE, DONEGAL, September 6.

IN my last letter to you I endeavoured to describe the wretched and depressed condition of the people in the district from Glenties to this place, and their utter ignorance of the comforts and almost of the decencies of life; and attempted to show these facts to be attributable to the manner in which the peasantry are left utterly neglected, to the absence of everything like example, and to the system of extracting from them, in the shape of rent, every morsel beyond mere subsistence which their rude cultivation can obtain from the land.

To-day I intend describing to you what was and what is now the condition of the people of the district from which I write.

My object in doing this is to attempt to prove, by these patent examples, that the evils which have afflicted this part of Ireland, at least, and which still continue to depress por-

tions of this country, are purely *social*; and that when a *social remedy* has been applied those evils have vanished.

That I may avoid even the suspicion of prejudice in laying bare a subject so painful, let me quote the opinion of Mr. Nicholls, the Poor Law Commissioner, as to the general condition of the Irish peasantry, and, also, as to their condition in the county of Donegal. That gentleman in his first report to Lord John Russell, in 1836, says:—

“During my progress through the country, it was impossible not to notice the depression of feeling, morally and personally, of the Irish peasantry, and this to an extent which a stranger could not witness without very painful emotions. It shows itself in their mode of living, in their habitations, in the dress of their children, and in their general economy and conduct. They seem to feel no pride, no emulation; to be heedless of the present, and reckless of the future. They do not (speaking of the peasantry as a whole) strive to improve their appearance, or add to their comforts. Their cabins still continue slovenly, smoky, filthy, almost without furniture, or any article of conveniency or decency. On entering a cottage, the woman and children are often seen seated on the floor, surrounded by pigs and poultry, in the midst of filth—the man lounging at the door, to approach which it is necessary to wade through mud; yet he is too indolent to make a dry approach to his dwelling, although there are materials fit for the purpose close at hand; his wife is too slatternly to sweep the place in which they live, or remove the dirt and offal, however offensive, from the floor. If you point out these circumstances to the peasantry themselves, and endeavour to reason with and show them how easily they might improve their condition and increase their comforts, you are invariably met with excuses as to their poverty. Are a woman and her children, and her cabin filthy—whilst a stream of water runs gurgling at the very door?—the answer invariably is,—‘Sure, how can we help it? we are so poor!’ With the man it is the same; you find him idly basking in the sun or seated by the fire, whilst his cabin is surrounded by mud, and scarcely approachable from the accumulation of every kind of filth; and he, too, will exclaim, ‘Sure, how can we help it! we are so poor!’ Whilst, at the very same time, he is smoking tobacco, and has probably not denied himself the enjoyment of whiskey.”

Such was the description of their condition in 1836, and I am assured by gentlemen, and by the Roman Catholic priests

in this neighbourhood, that that description was literally accurate. In his second report, made in 1837, Mr. Nicholls thus writes of Donegal :—

“Nothing can exceed the miserable appearance of the cottages in Donegal, or the desolate aspect of a cluster of these hovels, always teeming with an excessive population. Yet, if you enter their cabins and converse with them frankly and kindly, you will find the people intelligent and communicative, quick to comprehend, and ready to impart what they know.

“Small holdings and minute subdivisions of land prevail in Donegal to a greater extent than I have found in any other part of Ireland; and the consequent growth of population has been there so great as to press hard upon the productive powers of the soil, and to depress the condition of the people *to nearly the lowest point in the social scale*, exposing them, under the not unfrequent contingency of an unfavourable season or a partial failure of the potato crop, to the most dreadful privations. . . . Yet, with all this suffering, no disturbance or act of violence has occurred in Donegal. . . . When numbers were actually in want of sustenance, there was no dishonesty, no plunder: the people starved, but they would not steal.”*

In the year 1838, Lord G. A. Hill purchased several small properties in this neighbourhood, which, in the aggregate, amounted to upwards of 23,000 acres. This large estate borders on the north-west coast or corner of Ireland, and

* To the accuracy of this statement I can bear my humble testimony, and I quoted it because I was both assured that it was, and it appeared to me to be, accurate. Yet Mr. John O'Connell, in a speech at the time made in Conciliation Hall, discovered, that the only object of my mission to Ireland was to damage the whigs, and that for that reason I had attacked the Marquis of Conyngham, and that, if I wished “to insult” the people of Ireland, I should quote Mr. Nicholl's reports. Having quoted Mr. Nicholl's reports, anything that I had written about the Marquis of Conyngham's estate ought not to be credited. The logic of this is too recondite for any audience but that of Conciliation Hall. Subsequently, the same great authority discovered, that “the only object of my visit to Ireland was to attack the tenant-right;” and, still later, he and his father found out and stated, that “the only object of my visit to Ireland” was to attack the elder O'Connell. Which of the “only objects” was the right “only object” the reader will probably form an opinion; and it is not unlikely that the opinion the reader may form will be, that not one of these was the “only object of my visit to Ireland,” or indeed *the* “object” at all.

through it runs a small river, the Gweedore, which empties itself into the sea, and which can be entered at its mouth by vessels of 200 tons burden. The neighbourhood abounds with wild and magnificent mountain scenery; and at the period in question, though thickly peopled in patches, was almost wholly uncultivated. Vast tracts of land capable of improvement and profitable cultivation were mere bog wastes, like many other portions of this county.

In 1837, Patrick M'Kye, the schoolmaster of the district, memorialized the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the following terms :—

“That the parishioners of this parish of West Tullaghbegley, in the barony of Kilmacrennan, and county of Donegal, are in the most needy, hungry, and naked condition of any people that ever came within the precincts of my knowledge, although I have travelled a part of nine counties in Ireland, also a part of England and Scotland, together with a part of British America; I have likewise perambulated 2,253 miles through seven of the United States, and never witnessed the tenth part of such hunger, hardships, and nakedness.”

This schoolmaster then proceeds to describe the whole stock and furniture of the population, which by the census of 1831 was 9,049. They had among them but one cart and one plough, 20 shovels, 32 rakes, 2 feather beds, and 8 chaff beds. They had no clocks; there was not a looking-glass in the whole parish above 3*d.* in price; they had no garden vegetables or fruits of any kind, but potatoes and cabbage. He goes on to say,—

“None of their married or unmarried women can afford more than one shift, and some cannot afford any; more than one-half of both men and women cannot afford shoes to their feet, nor can many of them afford a second bed, but whole families of sons and daughters of mature age indiscriminately lie together with their parents.

“They have no means of harrowing their land but with meadow rakes. Their farms are so small that from four to ten farms can be harrowed in a day with one rake.

“Their beds are straw, green and dried rushes, or mountain bent; their bed-clothes are either coarse sheets, or no sheets, and ragged filthy

business: and worse than all I have mentioned, there is a general prospect of starvation."

He says further on:—

"If any gentleman is sent to investigate this, I will go with him from house to house, where his eyes will fully satisfy and convince him, and where I can show him about 140 children bare naked, who went so during winter, and some hundreds only covered with filthy rags most disgusting to look at. Also men and beast housed together, i. e., the families in one end of the house, and the cattle in the other end of the kitchen.

"Some houses have within their walls from 1 cwt. to 30 cwt. of dung, others having from 10 to 15 tons weight of dung, and only cleaned out once a year."*

The effect of this memorial, which appeared in some of the English newspapers, was to cause a large collection of money in England, which was distributed amongst these people. In fact, "famine was periodical among them, with fever as its attendant, and wretchedness pervaded the district."†

"Such a lamentable condition of a people," says Lord George Hill, in a short account which he has published regarding this part of Donegal, under the title of '*Facts from Gweedore*,' "is scarcely, in fairness, to be attributed to individual neglect or apathy. It is rather the result of a system which for ages has held its sway, and which no proprietor could grapple with or obviate unless he was prepared, resolutely, patiently, and expensively, to introduce and work out a counter system."‡ But it was because no individuals were found to do this that the system continued.

The rents were very small. Amongst 80 tenants on one of the properties purchased by this nobleman, 10s. was the highest rent paid, and almost all the rents were in arrear and had to be collected in trifling payments at fairs. The

* *Facts from Gweedore*, by Lord George Hill, p. 7.

† *Ibid.* p. 1.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 9.

land was held in rundale, the nature of which I have before described to you; and in some instances a tenant holding but this small portion of land had his proportion in 30 or 40 different places; and these proportions were often so small, that not more than half a stone of oats would be required to sow them. There were no fences between these small patches of land, belonging to different tenants, and "fights, trespasses, confusion, disputes, assaults, and litigation, were the natural and unavoidable consequences of this system."* Their horses and cows, such as they had, were often held in the same way; and I will quote an amusing instance of this from the work I have already named:—

"In an adjacent island, belonging to this estate, three men were concerned in one horse; but the poor brute was rendered useless, as the unfortunate foot of the supernumerary leg remained unshod, none of them being willing to acknowledge its dependency, and accordingly it became quite lame. There were many intestine rows on the subject; at length one of the 'company' came to the mainland and called on a magistrate for advice, stating that the animal was entirely useless now; that he had not only kept up, decently, his proper hoof, at his own expense, but had shod this fourth foot twice to boot; yet the other two proprietors resolutely refused to shoe more than their own foot."†

The same book gives an instance of the extent of the subdivision:—"A small field of about half an acre was held by 26 people! From varied and perpetual depression it could scarcely be considered an exaggeration to declare that their very minds had become so far degenerated below the human standard that they seemed even reconciled to such habits and wretchedness.‡ The tenant-right prevailed among them to such an extent that it often was three times in amount more than the value of the fee simple of the land. One of the former proprietors wished to erect a lodge; the "cow's grass" of land on which he wished to build was let for 6s. 8d.

* See notes to last Letter, *ante*, pages, 98, 99, 101, et seq.

† *Facts from Gweedore*, page 14.

‡ *Ibid.* page 16.

rent, and he was compelled to pay the tenant 24*l.* for the tenant-right, there being nothing on it but a turf hut and a patch of potatoes. On 1,300 acres of moorland, the tenant-right of which the present proprietor wished to purchase, in order to its cultivation and improvement, and that there might be no complaints of any kind, and for which 13 guineas rent were paid, it was calculated that it would require from 500*l.* to 600*l.* to pay the tenants for what they conceived to be their tenant-right! They had never used the land, excepting for their ponies to run over it, and had never put a spade into it.

There was no inn, no road, and no market within a dozen miles. The people, therefore, could not sell their produce, if disposed to do so, for its value, and their only alternative was to distil their grain into whiskey.* Their corn thus became consumed before their new potatoes came in, and annually they were on the verge of starvation, and compelled to obtain meal on credit from extortioners at exorbitant prices.

This was the condition of the estate and of the people when Lord George Hill purchased it in 1837. .

That nobleman determined upon reclaiming it, and, if possible, to put the people in a better way. The people here are for the most part the aboriginal Irish, and speak the Erse language. Lord George Hill learned their language, mixed among them, and taught them by example to do what he told them. Near the mouth of the river he built a corn store to receive all their produce, if they wished to sell it.

* "The nearest market towns being nine, sixteen, and twenty-eight miles distant, they had thus far to go in order to purchase the smallest or commonest articles, such as iron to shoe [a horse, boards and nails for a coffin, &c.; and a man going such a distance, with a horse-load of oats (*i. e.*, a sackful strung across its back), would accept any price which might be offered rather than bring it back. Advantage was consequently taken of this very circumstance by the traders. . . . The general system or alternative, therefore, was to make the grain into whisky."—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 19.

To meet their numerous wants, and to save them from extortion, he built a shop at the store, and the people, having sold their corn at one side can obtain at the other any article of crockery, grocery, saddlery, ironmongery, timber, iron, ropes, meal, leather, woollen goods, or useful medicines, which they may require, at the market prices of Londonderry. This is the only market for their goods, and the only shop at which they can purchase anything for twenty miles round.* A dispensary was also built, and a sessions-house erected. A quay was made for vessels to unload at the store, and a corn-mill erected. Then followed a school, in which I yesterday saw some 30 as neatly-dressed and elcan-looking children as can be seen in England.

The land of the tenants was squared into 10-acre farms, and they were required each to build his house on his farm. In this they were assisted, Premiums were offered for the neatest and cleanest cottages; for the best crop of turnips; for the greatest quantity of land brought into cultivation; for the best drained farm; for the best fences; for the best made stockings, and so on. Roads were made; an inn has been built, which rivals in comfort an English hotel, and large tracts of the bog moor have been brought into cultivation.

Though these improvements are thus trippingly related, nothing but the most persevering determination accomplished them. The people, utterly ignorant and both mentally and physically degraded, resolutely opposed every step to improvement.

"They were not disposed to abandon the rundale system," says the book on these improvements already quoted, "and did not seem to have a taste for simple plain dealing, or that matters should be put straight

* "So great was the difficulty of getting even a coffin made, that to secure the services of a carpenter, such as the district afforded, many of the people gave him annually, by way of a *retaining fee*, sheaves of oats, on the express condition of *making their coffin when they died*!"—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 25.

or made easy of apprehension." "The first year *not a single individual* could be induced to compete for the premiums, the people thinking it all a hoax, and that it was only an attempt to 'humbung' them, being convinced that no gentleman would be so great a fool as to give his money merely to benefit others."*

They suspected everything that was attempted, and opposed it, thinking it was intended for their injury and the landlord's benefit; and by harassing and vexatious opposition hoped, as they expressed it, "in the end to tire out Lord George Hill, prevent the divisions from being occupied, and thus defeat the new plans altogether."† Nothing would tempt them to make the fences of the new farms, though they were offered to be well paid for it; and when at length a stranger was got to begin the ditching, to set them an example, they attempted "to frighten him from his work by throwing sods at him." When he had completed the first fence, the people assembled at night and destroyed it.‡ Whilst they were thus engaged, a prisoner was taken by the police, and they were so frightened at this that the improvements were allowed to proceed quietly. Scarcely a man among them knew how to handle a spade, or could or would work.§ When the foundation of the hotel in which

* *Facts from Gweedore*, p. 31.

† *Ibid.* p. 29.

‡ "After he had been at work about a week, and had made some progress in the fence, the wheelwright, returning home one night, met a person on the road, who told him that as many men had gone over to the new ditch as would soon settle it."—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 20.

§ "The people being totally ignorant of agriculture, some of them—(there are many such instances)—take much trouble in *washing the shells and sand out of the sea-weed* before venturing to put it on the land, 'lest it should injure the bog.'"—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 12.

"The *style* of their farming implements and appointments was of a piece with their ignorance and errors; these things remaining in a state of much *simplicity*, particularly in the article of *harness*, as the land has been seen to be harrowed with the harrow made fast to the *pony's tail*."

"This custom of harrowing from the horse's tail prevailed in Erin, county Mayo. A gentleman, in giving evidence before the Land Commissioners, says,—'Harrowing by the horse's tail was practised there until I put an end to it. I

I am writing was commenced, one of the peasantry, who was absolutely starving, was induced by the offer of wages to begin it. A wheelbarrow, a pickaxe, and spade, were provided for him, as he had no tools, and the people were so enraged at him that his tools were all stolen that night. The agent, Mr. Forster, determinedly persevered. He went with the man next day into one of their best fields, and began marking out with his own hand the foundation for the hotel. The people came to him in a great fright to know what he was about to do on their best land. He coolly told them that "as they had stolen his man's tools, so that he could not quarry stones for the hotel, he was going to build it there, as there were plenty of stones in their ditches." They promised him, if he would not build there, the tools should be found; next morning they were left at the labourer's door. At length example prevailed, and two or three of them came and offered to work; and finally, all eagerly sought work. But they could not come to work till 10 in the morning, after breakfast, as "they wern't used to work before breakfast, and didn't like it."* When they began to feel the benefits of employment, they were told that they must begin

had a great deal of trouble in effecting that object, for I was obliged to make an experiment upon one of the countrymen, by getting him to draw a weight after himself by the skirts of his coat. That man is still living upon whom I performed the experiment. You might see the poor horse with the rope fastened to his tail, and then to the harrow; or if the hair of the tail was long, it was fastened by a peg into a hole in the harrow; and when thus harnessed, they mounted upon him, and drove over the field.'" And see note ante page 55.

"Their sheep, too, it may be remarked, are subjected to a general shearing not only once a year, but also to repeated though partial 'clippings,' at all seasons. Thus, if a woman was making up stockings for an approaching fair, and became short of wool, she would just catch her sheep or lamb, and cut off just '*quantum sufficit*.' This gave the poor animal a very strange and ridiculous, yet pitiable, appearance."—*Facts from Gweedore*, pp. 13 and 14.

* "They seldom go out to labour upon their farms till after ten o'clock, when they have had their breakfast; and the spring and harvest time are the only periods at which they exert themselves, and then they work very hard. For the remainder of the year they are idle."—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 24.

work at 6 o'clock in the morning ; some two or three only came. The rest, after being warned, when they again neglected to come to work at that hour, were quietly paid off, and told, that " as they had occupation at home, they had better stay away, as there were plenty willing to work." This gradually had the desired effect ; and they began to work like other labourers. The land all round the hotel was then trenched, drained, and gravelled, and sown with potatoes. The labourers, as they did the work under the agent's superintendence, laughed at him ; saying, " they did not care about working, as they were paid for it, but it was the greatest folly in the world, as nothing would ever grow there." The hotel is now surrounded with a broad belt of potatoes and oats as fine as any I have seen in Ireland. The tenants, seeing this, have begun (urged on by the premiums) to gravel and drain their own lands in the same way, and every where patches of well-cultivated land, and plentiful crops are to be seen.

In 1840 some of the tenants, seeing that every promise to them was strictly fulfilled, thought they would at least *try* for the premiums, and there were 36 competitors, and premiums amounting to 40*l.* were so fairly awarded by the judges that they caused general satisfaction. Last year the number of competitors had increased to 239, and the premiums to 60*l.* I yesterday went through some of the cottages the tenants of which had won premiums for them. There was no dirt, no filth. They were well built and whitewashed. The crockery (they never had anything beyond an iron pot before) was neatly arranged ; there was no smoke in the houses ; and, what was worth more than all, the women showed their houses with pride, and were delighted at the commendations they received, and the men seemed no less proud of their little farms, and showed their crops of turnips, oats, and improvements, with evident pleasure. Two years and a half ago 500*l.* worth of oats were sold by

the tenants at the market price at the store ; last year 1,300*l.* worth was sold ; and this year there is a vastly increased produce. Large quantities of kelp have also been bought from them to encourage their industry.

From the 1st of March, 1844, to the 1st of March, 1845 (I have it from the agent's books), 16,590 days' employment have been given to labourers on the estate. The wages given are 8*d.* and 10*d.* a day. Taking the average at 9*d.* 626*l.* 9*s.* have been paid among them in wages. Working at six days in the week, throughout the year, this would give employment to 53 men and 11 days over. In reality, however, this great amount of labour has been spread over a much larger number of men, and perhaps 100 men may be taken as the number generally employed ; though this, I am informed, is below the mark, as it does not include men engaged in making the roads on the estate, who were paid by the piece.

At the river-side facing the hotel I saw about 30 men at work, lowering the bed of the river. The men, generally, are small in stature ; but I never saw more diligent labourers. These men, who, four years ago, did not know how to use a spade, and neither could nor would work except in their own way, and who were annually starving, are now working well, doing their best, and receiving good wages.

I am glad of this opportunity so to speak of them ; for, much to my regret, I have seen that some observations in my letter from Enniskillen, relative to the marked difference in the populations of Leitrim and Fermanagh, have been misunderstood, and in some degree misrepresented. I am spoken of as "ludicrously extolling the physical strength of the Saxon race over the Celtic," and it is retorted, on the reputed authority of Scotch and French philosophers, that "the Irish Celts are, in strength and stature, far away the first of European men ;" and that the difference I observed in that population is to be traced to the tenant-right existing

in Fermanagh, and not in Leitrim,—which I am supposed to have overlooked. Let no foolish jealousy of “races” be mixed up in an inquiry like this. Neither race can be exterminated; there they are, and we must make the best of them. But what I stated was a simple fact,—that the difference in the appearance of the *people themselves* in Leitrim and Fermanagh is as remarkable as the difference in dress and houses, and in the appearance of the country. At Bal-linamore, in Leitrim, at a fair,—with at least 10,000 men present, amongst whom I walked, and to whom I spoke, I scarcely saw a man above 5 feet 4 inches in stature, and I do not think I saw a dozen men in the whole fair so tall as myself. In the streets of Enniskillen every third man I met was a bigger man than myself. Dr. Kane, of the Royal Dublin Society (page 400), has collected the observations of the Scotch and French philosophers, on whose authority, I presume, the opinion of the comparative strength and stature of the Irish Celts is founded. I will simply quote the data on which these calculations were based:—“Professor Forbes instituted an extensive series of observations on the size and strength of the students attending the University of Edinburgh, who may be *fairly considered* as representing the middle classes of their respective countries.” Professor Quetelet, in like manner, tested the strength and stature of the students at the University of Brussels; and from these *data* Dr. Kane comes to the conclusion that “the Irish are the tallest, strongest, and heaviest of the four races.” I wrote of the Irish peasant and Celtic population of Leitrim as I saw them. Do “Irish students attending the University of Edinburgh” (no doubt as fine men as can be found) represent the Celtic peasants of Leitrim? They are the sons of the gentry of Ireland, for the most part. Are the gentry of Ireland for the most part Celtic? Are the gentry of any country the type of the peasantry of the country? The value of such *authority* melts away on ex-

amination. The idea that the "tenant-right" accounts for the difference, and makes men bigger and taller, is too foolish to need refutation. What does the same Dr. Kane say (page 397) of Irish labourers?—

"A wretched man who can earn by his exertions but 4s. or 5s. a week on which to support his family, and pay the rent of a sort of habitation, must be so ill fed and depressed in mind, that to work as a man should work is beyond his power. Hence there are often seen about employments, in this country, a number of hands double what would be required to do the same work in the same time with British labourers. The latter would probably be paid at least twice as much money per day, but in the end the work would not cost the employer more. When I say that men thus employed at low wages do so much less real work, I do not mean that they are intentionally idle, or that they reflect that as they receive so little they should give little value; on the contrary, *they do their best* honestly to earn their wages, but *supplied only with the lowest description of food, and perhaps in insufficient quantity*, they have not the physical ability for labour, and, being without any direct prospect of advancement, they are not excited by that laudable ambition to any display of superior energy."

These are the peasantry of Ireland; of these I wrote, and not of the sons of Irish gentlemen at the Edinburgh University: and this testimony is the truth, as any impartial man may convince himself who will use his eyesight.*

Let me not, however, forget, after this digression, the conclusion I would wish to draw.

Of the nature of "tenant-right" I shall take a future opportunity of writing, and respecting it now I do not wish even to hint an opinion. But was it the "tenant-right" which converted this former desert and bleak wilderness—this example of barbarism and starvation, into fertile corn fields, the seat of industry and content, and into a humanized abode? In this instance at least it is a fact that the existence of the custom of tenant-right was the greatest possible obstacle to improvement. For every squared farm there were

* See, on this subject, note to the Letter, dated from Enniskillen, *ante*, p. 44.

20 claimants for compensation, though each tenant got a squared farm to himself in place of his former rundale fragments of land; and the opposition, and discontents, and arbitrations, on this score were enough to have conquered patience. Did converting this Roman Catholic population to Protestantism effect this change? They are Roman Catholics yet. Did Saxonizing them and making them Orangemen effect it? They are all Celts. Did the getting up of monster meetings and talking nonsense about "repeal" effect it? No. The remedy was a *social* one. The people were *justly* dealt with, taught, shown by example, encouraged, employed. A community the most hopeless and desperate in condition and circumstances, has by these means been reclaimed, and smiling content and the rewards of industry are everywhere to be seen. A barren waste has been converted into a fine property, which will eventually amply reward its present owner for his great exertions. A starving, and desperate, and degraded peasantry are rapidly becoming comfortable small farmers. The country is improved, and that district, the people of which formerly depended on the charity of England to save them from starvation, now adds to the wealth of the empire by its productiveness. This is the work of one man; and that man is one of the resident landlords of Ireland.*

* For opinions of the press, see Appendix, No. 7.

LETTER IX.

ON THE TENANT-RIGHT OF ULSTER.

How far the Opinion is correct that the Prosperity of Ulster depends on the Tenant Right—What the Tenant Right is, and on what the Custom is founded—What are the Common Law Rights of the Landlord to which the Custom is opposed—The Advantages and Disadvantages of Tenant Right—There is Misery and Want, as well as Prosperity, where it exists—The Prosperity of the Northern and Eastern parts of Ulster to be attributed to other Causes, namely, to the Enterprise and Industry of the People—The qualities which distinguish the Race which inhabits that part of Ulster—Those on the West of a different Race, have different qualities, and must be dealt with accordingly.

DUNFANAGHY, DONEGAL, September 10.

IN some of my letters allusion has necessarily been frequently made to the custom of “tenant-right” which prevails throughout the province of Ulster, and which indeed is a peculiarity attaching to the tenure of land to be found existing nowhere else in the United Kingdom. By some writers it has been attempted to trace the greater prosperity of this province over other parts of Ireland to the existence in it of the tenant-right; and they have therefore advocated its extension to the rest of Ireland. I shall endeavour to-day to examine how far that opinion is well founded, by comparing the general prosperity of Ulster with the general prosperity of other parts of the United Kingdom where no such right is known, and by comparing Ulster with itself—Ulster on the east, and Ulster on the west—Ulster in the county of Down, where the

greatest prosperity of Ireland is to be seen, and Ulster in the county of Donegal, where misery but one remove from starvation and nakedness has ever been found, the tenant-right existing in both.

If it be found on examination that the prosperity of parts of Ulster exists rather *in spite of*, than in consequence of the tenant-right, then it will be impolitic to advocate its extension; to some other cause the prosperity of Ulster must be attributed.

This is, however, a subject of deep importance, interesting almost to every individual in the province, whether landlord or tenant; it is one also of considerable complexity and extent. In order, therefore, to a clear apprehension of the whole subject, I propose to consider—

1. What the tenant-right is, and on what the custom is founded?

2. What are the common-law rights of the landlord to which this custom is opposed?

3. Its advantages and disadvantages;

And, lastly, is the prosperity of parts of Ulster to be traced to its existence?

I enter on this inquiry with perfect impartiality—for I have no possible interest in upholding an opinion either one way or the other, and only seek the conclusion to which common sense points.

First, What is the “tenant-right,” and on what is it founded?

In parts of Ulster to the east, it is founded chiefly on improvements made by the tenant on his farm, which the outgoing tenant claims the right to sell. About the centre of Ulster it is founded chiefly on the competition value of the land over and above the rent demanded. To the west of Ulster it is founded chiefly on the right of possession, or peaceable possession, or on the “good-will” of the farm, as it is termed. In various parts of Ulster it is affected by the character of the landlord, and by the amount of rent exacted;

it also depends in amount on agricultural prosperity, on a supposed interest on the soil, and on locality. But more or less in all parts it has some foundation on each of these considerations. I shall, however, give you an authority for each of these views, as it is very probable that most of them will be contradicted.

Mr. Senior, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, in his evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons on the town-land valuation of Ireland, in 1844, says—(1,090), on a farm, the rent being the same, but the buildings and drainage being bad when a tenant enters, and good when he leaves, he will obtain a larger tenant-right than he paid. And (1,093) he will obtain an increased amount for tenant right for the capital vested in improvements, rents being the same.

The same gentleman says further on (1,134):—

“Tenant-right will result from either of two causes; first, low rents, with reference to value; second, extensive improvements. If land worth 2*l.* an acre is let for 1*l.* an acre, the difference between the two will be given by the incoming tenant, whether that has been from the original state of the soil, or whether that difference of 1*l.* an acre has been produced by drainage or other agricultural improvements.”

At question 1,071 he says,—

“My view of tenant-right is, that it is the difference between the rent actually charged by the landlord according to the custom of the country and the utmost competition value.”

At question 1,079 he says,—

“Tenant-right is a very old custom; it can only exist where lands are comparatively let low; but I do not think it is the cause of their being let low, *but the result.*”

At question 1,117 he says,—

“I before defined tenant-right to be the difference between the fair letting value and the competition value.”

“Competition value” and the “value of improvements effected by the tenant” are, however, very distinct things. The tenant-right is attributed to each by Mr. Senior. One is perfectly equitable; the other is a robbery of the landlord.

Mr. Senior, however, has several other definitions. At question 1,091 he says,—

“An outgoing tenant in a mountain district would receive tenant-right, who had not expended anything upon the land.”

It depends on the price of agricultural produce, for Mr. Senior says (1,115), “it fell during the late agricultural distress.” It depends also, he says, on the amount of rent, for (1087), “as the rent rises, the tenant-right unquestionably falls in amount.” It depends also on a supposed interest in the soil, for he says (1,135), “I can understand that a *certain interest in the soil* may have belonged to the tenant at the period of the first colonization under James I.” (1,141.) “I do not feel myself at all sure that tenant-right may not have existed previous to almost any improvements beyond the mere mud dwelling of the occupier.” (1,142.) “The early settlers were stationed in a hostile country, and could only tempt their retainers to come over, or to remain, by granting permanent advantages in return for the protection they afforded the first chief occupiers. It may, in fact, have been a species of feudal tenure.” This latter view entirely gets rid either of “improvements” or “competition value” as its foundation, and attempts to found it on a customary tenure, like the copyholds of England. But that tenure in England depends on record—on the roll of the manor, in the custody of the steward of the manor, in which is recorded every change of hands to which the property has been subjected, and which is an unquestionable legal title. But there is no record here; nor is the custom of sufficient antiquity to give it the validity of a common law right. In fact, in a legal view this is no title; it is worthless. Nay, it is against the policy of the law to perpetuate such a claim, supposing it to exist, unfounded as it is on any record or common law custom; and the lapse of time, as in the case of any honorary debt or adverse possession, operates as a complete bar to it.

Sir R. A. Ferguson, before the same Committee (481), in the same manner accounts for the origin of the custom, as at first a "feudal dependency;" "but, as at present, it is a payment made for the possession of the ground, whether the man has improved the houses or not, whether the land is improved or not." (484.) "It is the *possession* of the land that sells; in districts of the country you will find the tenant-right running up to 8*l.*, 10*l.*, or 15*l.* an acre, where the landlord cannot raise his rent 1*s.*" The same witness says (492),—"The value of the tenant-right depends a good deal upon the character of the individual proprietors."

Mr. Hancock (agent to Lord Lurgan, and a magistrate of three northern counties), in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (part i. page 483), says,—“It depends to a considerable extent on improvements made by the former tenant.” “It is the sum of money which the new occupier must pay to the old one *for the peaceable enjoyment of his holding*,” or what is called “good-will.” It depends on a kind of feudal tenure, “the strong claims on their landlord and leader” which the original tenants possessed. Further on he says, “The state of the farm and buildings at the time of sale has considerable influence in determining the amount, but *locality and the number of competitors* have a still greater effect.” “Tenant-right varies in value from 5*l.* to 18*l.* the English acre.” “The tenant-right, on an average farm out of lease, at 25*s.* per acre rent, would bring 12*l.* per acre, or nine and a half years’ purchase.” “The purchase is made subject to the rent to be imposed.” He gives an instance of a sale of land to the Ulster Railway Company, in which Lord Lurgan got 2,358*l.* for the fee-simple of fifty-eight acres of land, and the tenants 2,227*l.* for their tenant-right.

Mr. Griffith, the Valuation Commissioner, in his evidence before the Town-land Valuation (Ireland) Committee, says (84), “A man will give 20*l.* an acre for the tenant-right,

where the land has been let from year to year, though the land may be nearly let at its true value."

Such are the alleged foundations of the tenant-right, and such are the values for which it sells.

So far as this right has been made the foundation of bargains between man and man, which have been assented to and connived at by the landlords, and as far as it is founded on improvements effected on the lands by a tenant or by his ancestor, there can be no question of its equity. It would be the height of injustice to put the law in force in order to take from men the capital which they or their fathers have invested in the land, on the faith of this custom, whether by purchase or in improvements. Beyond this, however, the tenant-right has no shadow of foundation, either in law or in equity; and every shilling which is paid beyond this for it, whether because of competition value over the rent, on account of the character of the landlord, the locality, the right to the possession, or for any other cause, is either a robbery of the landlord or an imposition on the incoming tenant. Do not, however, let me be misunderstood; custom sanctions the practice, and those who sell the tenant-right thus founded do not at all conceive that they are either robbing the landlords or imposing on the tenants who buy it. Except as above stated, however, the tenant-right has no foundation in justice. There is clearly no equitable claim to it, and the absence of all legal claim will be best shown by considering,

Secondly, what are the common law rights of the owner of the land; which will be found indeed to upset even those tenant-right claims which *are* founded in equity.

"Land," says Sir Edward Coke (1 Inst., 6), "comprehendeth in its legal signification any ground, soil, or earth whatsoever, as arable, meadows, pastures, woods, moors, waters, marshes, furze, and heath. It especially includeth also, all castles, *houses, and other buildings*, for they consist of two things,—land, which is the foundation, and *structure thereupon*; so that,

if I convey the land or ground, the structure or building passeth therewith."

In considering the just and equitable claims of the tenant, we must not lose sight of that which is just to the landlord. The purchaser of the fee simple of every estate in purchasing the land purchases the erections upon it, gives money for them, and there is no question as to his legal title to them. But, in admitting the equitable claim of the tenant to the value of improvements made or purchased by himself or his fathers under this custom, against the legal, and often also the equitable claim of the landlord, in the case of a recent purchase, we surely in justice go far enough, without giving to the tenant part of those advantages which really in justice as well as in law and equity belong to the landlord, as the advantages of "locality," "competition value," "agricultural prosperity," affecting the price of land, "peaceable possession," and so on.

Blackstone, in the second volume of his *Commentaries* (p. 17), thus defines the rights of the owner of the land :—

"Land hath in its legal signification an indefinite extent, upwards as well as downwards. *Cujus est solum, ejus est usque ad cælum*, is the maxim of the law. Upwards, therefore, no man may erect any buildings, or the like to overhang another's land ; and downwards, whatever is in a direct line between the surface of any land and the centre of the earth belongs to the owner of the surface, as is every day's experience in the mining countries. So that the word 'land' includes not only the face of the earth, but everything under it or over it."

The legal rights of the landlord are, however, too plain to require further notice, and I therefore pass on to consider

Thirdly, the advantages and disadvantages of the tenant-right.

Perhaps the greatest advantage that can be urged on its behalf is, that it promotes improvements in the land where landlords will not improve ; because the tenant feels secure of obtaining the value of his improvements. But this ad-

vantage wholly depends on the hypothesis that landlords will not do their duty, in which case the tenant-right becomes a substitute for their neglect. But, even then, its value is qualified by a want of ability, and the owners of the tenant-right are, in most instances, as the witty Sidney Smith expressed it, but "*playing at soldiers*;" they may *wish to improve*, feeling secure of repayment, but they have not the capital to effect improvements, for that is all sunk in very many cases—in fact, generally—in the purchase of the tenant-right, and the occupier has reduced himself thereby from a small capitalist to a mere labourer.

It is an ingredient of rent, or a value of land, and *pro rata* it escapes local taxation; it pays no poor-rates, tithes, or county-cess. This is certainly an advantage; but, taking a statesmanlike view of it, this does not benefit the community at large, and is nothing in its praise.

By its means the tenant not only reaps the benefit of his improvements, but is also paid for them in the increased value of his tenant-right; it therefore encourages improvements; that is, provided none of the ingredients of which tenant-right is composed change to his disadvantage, for instance, that the rent is not raised; that prices keep up; that he continues to have a good landlord, and so on. But in this respect, in what does it differ in advantage from an improving lease? The forbearance of a portion of rent for twenty-one years by the landlord in consideration of improvements to be effected, in like manner pays the tenant for the improvements, and secures their benefit to him till the end of the lease.

"The tenure, in my opinion, best suited to this district," says Mr. Hancock, in his evidence before the Land Commission, part 1, p. 483,—

"Is that of twenty-one years certain. It is sufficiently long to afford a man a fair remuneration for capital laid out on his farm, and yet not so long but that every man expects to outlive it. A guarantee is thereby

secured that every man will enjoy his own improvements, and a stimulus to exertion is offered, for he knows well enough that unless he improves the condition of his farm during the first period of twenty-one years he will have but little chance of a renewal of the term." The tenant-right is "uncertain;" and "the tenants are, therefore, deterred from the expenditure of capital to the same extent as under a lease."

It establishes security in the possession of land.—This is a mere fallacy. Without a lease the tenant is but a tenant-at-will, and his landlord may eject him if he pleases. The security the tenant has is the security of getting the *value of the possession* if he is ejected. But he has paid that value, and only gets it back again. If his money were in the Bank, or in the funds, instead of being locked up in the land, whether ejected or not, he would equally be able to get at it.

It is conducive to the peace of the community, because the tenant has a stake in the community.—So he would have if his capital were vested in improvements under a lease, and amply repaying him, instead of being vested in the purchase of the right of possession.

It induces the tenant to keep the ground in good heart for his own sake.—The covenants of a lease would compel him to do this by law, if he neglected to do so, and his own interest did not induce him to do it.

It is a security to the landlord for his rent; as he gets his arrears paid out of the tenant-right.—The landlords have taken pretty good care of themselves in this respect; they don't need the security. There is the remedy by distress, which takes every thing on the land for the rent. If the tenant has nothing on the land, there is the action of debt for rent, or, "civil bill process," as it is called here, for "use and occupation," to compel him to pay, or to imprison him if he cannot. Or there is the remedy by ejectment if he cannot or will not pay; and the sooner such a tenant is got rid of the better for all parties.

I think I have stated all the arguments which are urged in its defence.

Of its disadvantages, the first which presents itself is, that the tenant's capital is sunk in the purchase of the possession of his farm, and he often has not a shilling to invest on it in the most obvious improvements. I have repeatedly in this county pointed out to farmers the wet and springy nature of their land, and told them to look at similar land which had been drained, which produced double their crops. The invariable answer to me has been, "The landlord will do nothing, and we have not the means to drain." The very men who have told me this have paid 10*l.* an acre for their tenant-right.* If half the money were spent in draining, it would double their produce; and a twenty-one years' lease would secure to them the return of their outlay twice over. Consider for a moment the benefit of this. The increased produce is *pro tanto* increased wealth; and what an amount of capital now locked up in land would be freed for general improvement and employment, under a system of remunerating leases, the tenant-right being equitably got rid of!

Its next great disadvantage is, that it entirely neutralizes the benefit of a good landlord. Take two landlords; one a good and liberal man, who lets his farms at a low rent—at

* The "good-will" or tenant right of a farm is generally very high, often amounting to forty or fifty years' purchase.

Land being the thing most coveted (as indeed it was the only means of subsistence, employment being uncertain, and at that time no support being provided for the poor), every penny was carefully put by, with a view of being one day employed in the purchase of "a bit of land."

This took all their little capital, and very often left them in debt to some money-lender, who had made up the required sum, and at an enormous rate of interest. It has been so high as five shillings a pound per annum, *paid in advance* on receiving it.

By this means, *nothing was left for the purchaser of cattle or seed*, and many never contemplate anything beyond potatoes sufficient to feed their families for the greater part of the year; five or six half-starved miserable sheep to supply them with clothing, and furnish a few pairs of socks for sale, to buy tobacco or pay the county cess; the little corn grown being ample to meet the demands of the landlord, which varied from 3*s.* to 30*s.* *per annum.*—*Facts from Gweedore*, p. 14.

1*l.* an acre ; his neighbour for the same quality of land screws the utmost value of 30*s.* an acre out of his tenants. The evidence shows that the value of the tenant-right depends on the rent, and the character of the landlord. Suppose a tenant of ten acres of land gives for a farm under the first landlord 10*l.* an acre for the tenant-right, or 100*l.* The interest on 100*l.* at 5*l.* per cent. is 5*l.* per annum, which in Ireland the farmer could at least obtain for the use of his money. He therefore sacrifices 5*l.* a year interest, which added to his rent of 10*l.* makes him pay 15*l.* a year for the use of his land. But 15*l.* a year is just 30*s.* an acre, the amount which the hard landlord screws out of his tenants ; but under the hard landlord the tenant-right is, perhaps, worth little or nothing ; thus the tenant-right tends to equalize the position of the tenants to that condition which the hardest landlord imposes on them. A good landlord, therefore, sees it is of no use to have low rents, for the tenant-right equalizes the rents ; and he is induced to increase his rents, to keep down the value of the tenant-right, which consumes the capital of his tenants to no advantage. It must also be borne in mind that there are two sides to every bargain ; and, though it may be very pleasant to the outgoing tenant to receive a high value for his tenant-right, it is just ruin to the *incoming* tenant, who, perhaps, borrows money to pay it, and who is consequently steeped in poverty for the rest of his life.*

Another disadvantage is, that it takes away all inducement from the landlord to improve his estate, because all control is taken from him. He becomes a mere receiver of the rent at a fixed and unimproving rate ; and this palpable injustice is inflicted on him, that while every kind of property in the country is improving, his estate or property in the soil does not. The control of the estate being taken

* See last note.

from him, it is out of his power to carry out an enlightened system of improvement, if he wishes it.

Without running through a list of disadvantages which must be apparent from the certain effect of the tenant-right in impoverishing that part of the community which cannot afford to be impoverished, and which the anomaly of a whole class of men of small capital, sinking their capital in the purchase of land without turning it to profit, must have, it is evident, that, as a question of political economy, it is precisely the same thing as increasing the rental by the amount of interest of the capital invested. It is a loss to the individuals, and to the community, by so much as the value of the increased produce which the investment of that capital in improved cultivation would insure over and above that interest or increased rental; and the general employment which that capital would give if so invested, and which, when sunk in the purchase of tenant-right it does not give, is a loss still greater to the community at large.

For these reasons it would appear conclusive, that as it is equitable and just to acknowledge *by law* the validity of the tenant-right, so far only as it is founded on improvements effected, or on an equitable purchase, by the owners or their fathers, so it is necessary that the value ought to be ascertained and fixed. And it would also seem beneficial to the community, that that value should be purchased by the landlords, if possible, as they are generally capitalists who can afford to lay out the money, and so increase their rental by the interest of the money thus expended. This is necessarily precisely the same thing to the incoming tenant as losing the interest of his money in purchasing the tenant-right; but the tenant would be in this better position by having his capital—he would have the power in his own hands to cultivate his land to the best advantage, and with a 21 years' lease, he would have his tenure secure so long as he paid his rent and used his land in a fair manner, and would be sure

of realizing out of the land the full value of his improvements.

It will be wise, then, to urge on the Legislature to encourage leases by taking off or greatly lowering the stamp duties on leases which the tenants have to pay ; and to facilitate the means of enforcing the due performance of covenants in leases at slight expense in the local courts, as this will encourage landlords to give leases. If the tenant will not improve under a lease, then at any rate the landlord is not to blame, and has done *his part*. It is contrary to those motives and principles which usually actuate human nature, to suppose that the tenant will not, under these circumstances, in most cases do *his*. If, as is asserted, the landlords will not give leases because they create votes, and favour the objects of political agitators against the landlord's interest, I cannot understand such a reason. In the first place, the landlords have no right to debar tenants from the exercise of civil rights, if they wish for them, and are entitled to them. If tenants are justly dealt with by their landlords, on what ground is it assumed that they will use their political privileges to the injury of those landlords? The very opposite would be their probable course. But if the landlords are afraid of political agitators, why give them a hold by keeping up this food for agitation? Take away the greatest cause of agitation ; give leases, and act fairly by the tenant, and the agitator's occupation is almost gone. This argument can only be comprehended on the assumption, which I should be loth to make against the landlords, that they *know* they *do not act fairly by the tenants*, and therefore they will strive to withhold from them a power which may be so wielded as to make them act fairly.*

* The greatest unfairness of landlords to tenants appears to me to be that careless negligence on their part with which, to save themselves trouble, they give up the occupying tenants to the tyranny and greedy exactions of a middleman, who becomes their landlord, and exacts from them two rents—the rent he himself pays,

If, however, landlords will be so blind to their own interests as not to grant leases and give tenants a fair security that they shall get back the money they may invest in improving the land, then, as *the next best thing*, I cannot wonder that the tenants cling to the tenant-right with that tenacity and strong feeling which they are said to do. With all its injustice and impolicy, if a man has capital and can afford to spend it on the land, it does insure to him, by a kind of mob law, that he shall have his outlay, under ordinary circumstances, returned to him; and it is absurd to suppose that any man will lay out money in improving the land, or in building, as a mere tenant-at-will, without any security of being repaid.

There still remains another point to consider, which I must very briefly allude to:—is the prosperity of parts of Ulster to be attributed to the tenant-right?

Mr. Senior in his evidence before the Town-lands Valuation Committee (1,089) says:—

“I attribute almost entirely to the custom of tenant-right both the absence of agrarian outrage in the north, as well as a much higher cultivation in that part of the country.”

Is this opinion well-founded? The best cultivated part of the north of Ireland is the county of Down; but the best that can be said of that county is only that it equals England and Scotland in cultivation, where no such thing as tenant-right was ever known. They have prospered without it; and the tenant-right is therefore not necessary to prosperity. But the tenant-right exists in this county and in the wretched place where I now write, and is as high in this county as in any part of Ulster. Instances are common of its being *three times* the value of the fee simple

and the profit rent on which he lives. The tenants are thus oppressed by one having a temporary interest; they are severed from the head landlord, and this is at the bottom of much of the outcry against landlords.

of the land. I gave you an instance in my last letter from Gweedore of 1,300 acres of moorland being let for thirteen guineas, the tenant-right of which, without a spade ever having been put in the land by the tenants, was valued at between 500*l.* and 600*l.* Land in Donegal is not worth more than twenty years' purchase, so that here the tenant-right was estimated at about double the value of the fee simple.* Well, *with this right existing here* in full force, a more ill-fed, ill-clothed, badly housed population, or more waste land capable of cultivation, and badly cultivated farms, are not to be found in all Ireland.† The people have starved and gone on here unimproved with it; the tenant-right, therefore, does not prevent these evils. In fact, the tenant-right has nothing on earth to do with the matter. It is a fact that Ulster is more prosperous, and thriving, and improved, towards the east and north, than any other part of Ireland; but there are other causes for it.

Against the authority of Mr. Senior, I will quote that of Mr. Griffith, the Government valuator of Ireland; and on this subject he is the highest authority. He says, before the Town-lands Committee (question 59):—

“The system of agriculture which prevails in the counties of Derry, Antrim, and Down, and other northern counties, is so superior to that which prevails in the west as to amount to full 50 per cent. difference in the value of the land.”

* See note, *ante*, p. 138.

† Except in Kerry. In Lord George Hill's description of the condition of his estate when he bought it, in his book entitled *Facts from Gweedore*, he says (p. 1), —“The social condition of the peasantry, previously to the purchase, was more deplorable than can well be conceived. Famine was periodical, and fever its attendant. Wretchedness pervaded the district.” The schoolmaster of one of the parishes in the barony of Kilmacrennan, on this property, in a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, describes the people as “in the most needy, hungry, and naked condition he ever saw in the United Kingdom, over which he had travelled.” And yet, in the same book, it is stated afterwards (page 14), that “the ‘good-will’ or tenant-right” prevailed there, and “often amounted to forty or fifty years’ purchase.”

"60. There is, owing to the difference in the state of agriculture, full 50 per cent. difference in the produce between the north and the west."

"62. In the county of Down, where the people pay 50 per cent. more rent than in the west of Ireland, the people live better."

"78. Under a good system of farming, do you believe that the farmers in Ireland might not only pay much higher rents, but live much better than they do? Certainly."

"102. Are you prepared to say that in three-fourths of Ireland it is the pressure of rent which renders the people poor? That question is compounded of so many subjects that it is difficult to answer. The people, *if they exerted themselves*, could pay the rent extremely well; but they do not."

"104. MR. COLQUHOUN.—When you said before that the rent in many cases is unreasonably high, you meant, considering the want of industry, and the indolent and bad cultivation of the tenant?—*I did certainly.*"

"105. It would be quite reasonable to exact that, or even a higher rent, if without capital the tenant were to *apply his industry* to the cultivation? —*Yes.* I am certain that the tenants on the eastern coast of Ireland, who pay 50 per cent. higher rent, the quality of land being taken into consideration, are far better off than the people in the west."

"106. VISCOUNT JOCELYN.—Owing to the industrious habits of the people?—*Certainly.*"

Here we have a valid reason for prosperity, and also a valid reason for the want of it. Old habits still clinging to a people remarkable for their adhesion to old habits—the want of any continuous means of employment, the want of sufficient inducement to exertion, and the hereditary effects of the oppression of the Irish penal laws, which it is unaccountable how any people on earth were content to live under and to submit to, no doubt in a great degree account for *that want of industry*. But, considering the causes of this failing, the people must be gradually led into a better way.

Now, I know right well that I write on tender ground, and that I lay myself open to the charge of "national prejudice" if I write a syllable in favour of the population of the north-east of Ireland. But I do not come to bandy

compliments, but to ascertain facts and to state them. It is the *nature* of the men on the east coast of Ireland, by their activity, their enterprise, their intelligence, and their industry, to rise to wealth and to prosperity—to push themselves—to accomplish greatness. It is their history in every quarter of the known world where they have been placed. It is the *nature* of the men on the west coast to cling with strong affection and prejudice to old habits, to their land, to their kindred. Enterprise is forced upon them; they do not seek it as one of the pleasures of existence. The middle classes live by subletting, and subletting, and again subletting the land at increased rentals. This is the extent of their enterprise. My letter is already too long, or I would quote several amusing instances of this.* The poorer classes, who have to pay all these rentals, cling to the land, and to one another. As they increase, they divide and subdivide the patch of land they possess; they submit to live on poorer and poorer food; still they cling to the land, and subdivide it with their children till rent no longer exists, the land will not keep them, and all starve together. *Their* highest ambition and enterprise is to obtain “a blanket and a shelter for Sally,” and potatoes for themselves and children.† This

* See note to Letter, dated Ballyshannon, *ante*, p. 70.

“Lastly, that I may not grow tedious, I shall throw several articles together which, I conceive, may also assist this great design; as, namely, laws to restrain and punish idlers, and oblige those who get their bread by husbandry to a regular, constant course of work and industry; laws against stock-jobbing lands and leases, to prevent the racking and oppressing of under-tenants by those farmers who grind the face of the poor by taking large tracts of ground and cheap bargains, merely to set them at a severe rent to others; and (to add no more) laws to increase, or rather create, an industrious, substantial yeomanry amongst us, instead of the unfed and unclothed beggars, that keep our land as poor as themselves.”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 136.

† In the evidence taken by the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry (Ireland), Appendix (D), p. 75, on “The Condition of Cottier Tenants,” a witness named “Connor,” in the parish of Aghrim, in the county of Galway, states in his evi-

was positively the fact at Tanniwilly, near Killybegs, in this county, on a property belonging to the Board of Education. The people being left to themselves, subdivided their land till they could pay no rent, and at length it would not keep them, and they were found a year or two ago by the Poor Law Commissioners lying in their huts, without food or clothes, all starving together in the most frightful state of destitution. There are numerous instances of the same result when the inhabitants of the west coast are left to themselves; leave the people on the east coast to themselves, and they are sure to prosper. They only want leaving alone, and they will fight their own way. Not so those on the west. Now, is it or is it not more statesmanlike to face these facts than to shirk them? By facing them we may hope to know how to apply help and guidance where they are needed. By shirking them we have Ireland that mass of "difficulties" which it has always been. I am far from praising one race of people or blaming the other for that which is their *nature*, and which they cannot help. This is not the part either of honesty or wisdom. Knowing the qualities of the men on the east, we may safely leave them to take care of themselves; they can run alone. It is the men on the west who, when we find them and ourselves no longer deceived by ill-judging friends, will require our aid, our instruction, our guidance, our example—who will require to be urged on, praised on, shamed on, led on, and, if necessary, forced on. Unfortunately for them, and for the country, the very opposite course has been taken—they have been oppressed, kept back, and *left to themselves*, and—they starve.*

dence,—“ If I had a blanket to cover her I would marry the woman I liked; and if I could get potatoes enough to put into my children’s mouths, I would be as happy and content as any man, and think myself as happy off as my Lord Dunlo.”

* The comments of the press on this letter were so numerous, that I gave up the task of extracting them. The praise and abuse with which it was received were about equal.

LETTER X.

THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER.—INDUSTRIAL
KNOWLEDGE WANTED.]

**Londonderry and its famous Defence—Ingliš's Opinion of Londonderry and its
 ■ People—The "Plantation" in Ulster by James I.—Management of the London
 Companies—Appearance of the Country in the Neighbourhood of Londonderry
 —Dr. Kane's Opinion that Industrial Knowledge is the great Want of Ireland—
 The Templemoyle Agricultural Academy—The Instruction there given calcu-
 lated to meet the Wants of Ireland, and to improve the Country.**

LONDONDERRY, September 13.

THERE are few towns in Ireland of more historical celebrity than Londonderry, or in the prosperity and progress of which Englishmen have a more direct interest and influence. Its rise and colonization, or "plantation," I shall have occasion to notice. Its renowned defence at the period of the revolution, and the bravery of its "apprentices," urged on and supported through all the horrors of a protracted siege by the indefatigable zeal and devotion of a Yorkshire clergyman, whose statue is now the pride of the city, are matters of history. The effects which British habits of persevering industry, and the application of industrial knowledge backed by capital, have had in assimilating the country around in prosperity and appearance to the best parts of Great Britain, will be the object of my letter to-day.

Inglis has thus well described the site and appearance of the town :—*

“The situation of Londonderry is the finest, I think, of any town or city in Ireland. Indeed, with the exception of Edinburgh, I do not know any town of the United Kingdom so well situated. The city stands upon a mount, from all sides of which there is a rapid descent. The river Foyle, a fine broad river, makes a noble sweep on one side of the town, and expands immediately below it into a wide estuary, which terminates in the broad waters of Loch Foyle. On all sides of the town is seen a succession of deep valleys, and corresponding heights, exhibiting every attraction which wood and cultivation can bestow. Up the river and down the estuary on both sides, the slopes and heights are adorned by handsome villas: and in fact I do not know anything that is wanting to render the situation of Londonderry finer, or its environs more attractive.”

The same author thus accounts for the improved appearance of everything and everybody which is observable in the north, as you approach the eastern coast :—

“There cannot be found throughout the north any of that improvidence which is so detrimental to the condition of society in the south and west. The landlord is not a distressed man, and therefore does not grasp at such exorbitant rents. The farmer can save a little money, and is therefore able to give some employment. The competition for land is less, because there is more employment and more resources for the lower orders. The manufacturer and merchant are not men of expense, extravagance, and display; they mind their business, accumulate capital, employ it in wholesome enterprise and give employment.”

“This distinction,” he says, “is not to be attributed to ‘Protestantism,’ but to the character of the people.”†

The city of Londonderry owes its origin to the resolution of James I. to colonize the north of Ireland (large portions of which, during that unsettled period, had become escheated to the Crown), in order (to quote the language of the Privy Council in 1608) to promote “the public peace and welfare of that kingdom, by the civil plantation of those unreformed

* Page 311.

† Pages 322, 323.

and waste countries ;" with that view he was " pleased to distribute the said lands to such of his subjects as, being of merit and ability, shall seek the same with a mind not only to benefit themselves, but also to do service to the Crown and commonwealth." In a publication entitled "*A concise View of the Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings of the Hon. the Irish Society*," it is related that a number of settlers having gone over to Ulster from Scotland and England, " the Court ordained that, for the purpose of conducting the said plantation, a company should be constituted and established within the city of London, which should consist of one governor, one deputy-governor, and twenty-four assistants ; and that the governor and five of the said assistants should be aldermen of the city of London ; and Mr. Recorder of the city should likewise be one of the same assistants ; and the deputy and the rest of the assistants should be commoners of the same city ;" twelve of whom should be elected and chosen annually by the Common Council, in the place of twelve retiring assistants. On the 29th of March, 1613, this company was incorporated by charter, and styled " The Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the realm of Ireland." This company then came to the resolution, that " the city of Derry upon the Foyle, and one other place, at or near the Castle of Coleraine upon the Bann, do seem to be the fittest places for the city of London to plant." The twelve chief companies of London having subscribed 40,000*l.* in order to carry out this " plantation," it appears, according to the charter granted to the society by Charles II., that " the said society did grant unto the twelve chief companies of the city of London (which had taken upon themselves the greater part of the burden of the said plantation), divers great portions of the said lands, &c., according to their several disbursements, and did retain in their own hands such part of the tenements and hereditaments as were not properly divisible for

defraying the charge of the operation of the said plantation." With the exception of the city of Londonderry and the town of Coleraine, their contiguous lands, and the woods, ferries, and fisheries, the management of which were retained by the Irish Society, and their profits accounted for to the twelve companies, each of the companies undertook the separate management of the estates thus conveyed to them; though "such estates were still to be considered under the paramount jurisdiction of the Irish Society, and liable to contributions, if necessary, in common with the indivisible estates in the society's hands, towards supporting the civil government of the city of Derry, &c., and generally for the execution of such measures as tend to promote and improve the civil and religious interests of the tenantry." A recent decision in a long litigated case between the Skinner's Company and this society has decided that the society is the trustee of the funds it receives for the general benefit of the community, and not for the divisional use of the twelve companies.

It will therefore be seen that almost the whole of the county of Londonderry is the property of the Irish Society and the twelve London companies, who are the landlords, and who hold these lands, for the general benefit of the community, and "not only to benefit themselves, but also to do service to the Crown and commonwealth."

So far as the Irish Society—the landlords of this city—are concerned, they are very far from having won popularity by their management. The towns-people complained, in a petition to the House of Commons some few years ago, that the members of the society, being merchants and tradesmen of the city of London, and residing there, are "ignorant of the local circumstances and wants of the inhabitants;" and, that being in office only two years, "they cannot acquire the requisite information to qualify them for the due discharge of their duties;" and they are accused of not profitably man-

aging the estate, to the detriment of the interests of the town ; and of wasting much of its revenues in litigation. In support of this charge a table is published, showing an expenditure in law charges of 18,000*l.* in the last eight years. To this charge the society answers, generally, that it is obvious that their management has been practically beneficial, and they point to the general orderly and prosperous state of the county to prove it. Without, however, entering into purely local matters, it is a fact that the society has given largely to all the local charities out of its means, whatever may be the foundation of the charge against it of not improving those means to the extent of which they are capable, by granting judicious leases. {It appears that in the eight years, from 1836 to 1843, the society has given 27,000*l.* in grants for schools and other charitable objects. Since the governing body were chosen from the Common Council generally, it has given much greater satisfaction, and it is hoped that the recent decision will add to its utility.

The companies, by managing the greater part of the country around by intelligent agents—along with the gentry, who are mostly here resident, and vie with them—have completely changed the aspect of everything, as compared with more western districts. Good farm-houses, large squared fields, good fences, and abundant crops, exhibit ample evidence of the benefits derivable from the application of capital and enlightened industry.

I had the opportunity, on Thursday, of passing through a large district of country, the greater part of which is the property of the Grocers' Company. About seven miles from this town that company has erected a well-built village called Muff. Everything about it had the peaceful, industrious, well-cultivated, and cleanly aspect, which distinguishes the better parts of England. Nothing could be more luxuriant and beautiful than the crops of wheat, just ripe for the sickle. This estate is managed by Mr. Wig-

gins, an Englishman, who is the agent of the company. The Drapers' Company have also a very well managed estate, which is superintended by Mr. Miller, an Irishman. The Fishmongers' Company are also equally well spoken of in their management; and several of the companies are following their example. Many of the resident gentry are in no degree behind them.

How clearly does all this indicate that the evils which oppress other parts of Ireland—which convert its fertile lands into deserts, and its people into starving and turbulent men—are *social*? The thriving population and the generally high state of cultivation of the county of Derry, arising from the well-directed application of the capital of the landlords, and of the intelligent industry of the people, exist under the same laws with, and not many miles apart from—the starvation and wretchedness and waste lands of the Rosses and the Island of Arran, in Donegal.

Dr. Kane, of Dublin, in his book on the *Industrial Resources of Ireland* (page 412), asks—

“Why is it that our people are unemployed, or are driven to seek the means of living by periodical emigration to fulfil the lowest offices in another land? Why is it that our harbours are bare of ships, our rivers undisturbed by the bustle of industry and intercourse, our fields producing but a third of what they might supply?—that where activity exists, or that progress is now being made, it is to be traced, with but few exceptions, to the introduction of the natives of the sister kingdom, into whose possession there thus pass the most valuable domains of enterprise which this country offers, whilst the Irish population rests in the lowest grade, and but rarely manifests the qualities which the time requires?”

“*The fault is not in the country, but in ourselves*; the absence of successful enterprise is owing to the fact that we do not know how to succeed; we do not want activity; we are not deficient in mental power, but we want special industrial knowledge. England which, in absolute education and in general morality is below us, notwithstanding our criminal violence, is far above us in industrial knowledge. The man who knows not how to read or write, who has never been at church, who never taught his child to reverence the name of his Creator, will be a

perfect master of his trade. The machine he constructs, or the products he elaborates, will be most perfect in their parts, most suited to their purpose, and most economical in their cost; from the task which he undertakes nothing will turn him aside; he knows that time as well as labour is required for an industrial result; he invests his time as he invests his money, as regularly and as extensively; his steadiness and perseverance in his pursuits are thus part of his industrial knowledge; his acquaintance with the probabilities of his trade prepares him for difficulties, and hence enables him to surmount them. Such things he knows must be in ordinary course, and thus he works constantly on.

"In this industrial knowledge we are deficient. An Irishman takes up a branch of trade; after a time he finds it requires more capital than he expected, and he becomes involved. He finds that the profits are less than he had hoped, or he discovers that for a long time he can make no profit, and he is discouraged. Circumstances arise which he is not prepared to meet; the conditions of the branch of industry may have changed since he first entered into it, and finally he loses perhaps all that he had embarked in trade, simply because he did not know his trade well enough. An eminent Belgian minister, M. Briavionne, having occasion to describe the importance of attending to the education of the working and commercial classes in that country, drew his examples of the consequences of neglect and of attention to it from the existing position of the British islands. He asks, 'What has produced the difference between the rich and flourishing condition of England and the poverty and weakness of Ireland? Industrial knowledge.' He strenuously urges on the Belgian Legislature the necessity of attending to industrial education, lest Belgium should become like Ireland."

Without stopping to question the "notions" of this author as to the relative "morality" and "education" of the two parts of the empire, at which both well-informed Englishmen and Irishmen who have had the opportunities of forming an accurate judgment will smile, I will proceed briefly to notice those means of affording industrial knowledge which the town and neighbourhood of Londonderry possess.

In the town, besides the usual seminaries, there has recently been erected a very handsome school called the "Glynn School," founded on the munificent bequest of a gentleman of the name of Glynn, who left 50,000*l.* for its

establishment. 100 boys are here educated and taught some trade. They are afterwards apprenticed, and, until their apprenticeship has ceased, a care and supervision is exercised over them. This establishment has since its foundation been attended with the most beneficial results to the community.

In 1826 a number of the gentry of the neighbourhood established an Agricultural Seminary at Templemoyle, the object of which was to give a substantially good English education to the sons of farmers, and also to instruct them in the scientific and practical knowledge of farming pursuits. The Grocers' Company contributed 1,500*l.* towards the establishment of this institution, the Irish Society 200*l.*, and other large sums were subscribed by the gentry and other companies. A commodious and well-planned school was built on a farm of 172 acres of poor land rented from the Grocers' Company. Each subscriber to the funds to a certain amount has the privilege of nominating a pupil, the whole cost of whose education to his parents is but 10*l.* a year. One half the day the pupils are instructed in the school; the other half they are practically taught farming by a Scotch farmer, and made to labour on the land. The sphere of the society is confined to no district; pupils are received from every part of Ireland, and indeed from all parts of the kingdom. Its object is to train up young men as agriculturists—to fit them to become either clever practical agents or skilful farmers. The system pursued necessarily inculcates in them habits of great cleanliness and order, as well as practical and scientific knowledge; and there cannot be a doubt but that such habits, carried home by these young men to the dwellings from which many of them come, must have the most beneficial effect. This has been found to be the case in practice. The great bulk of the young men taught at this establishment settle down at home in agricultural pursuits, and by their superior knowledge of

agriculture succeed well in life, and set a valuable example to their neighbours. Many become surveyors, clerks, and agents, and not a few emigrate. Sir Robert A. Ferguson, M.P., Sir Robert Bateson, of Castruse, and many of the gentry of the neighbourhood, deserve much credit for their exertions in getting up and supporting this institution. I had an opportunity of being present at its anniversary on Thursday. The seventy young men who there receive agricultural instruction went through a very creditable examination in the different branches of their studies, and had afterwards a lecture delivered to them by Mr. Johnson, Professor of Chemistry to the Durham University. The Bishop of Derry and his family, Sir E. M'Naughten, and most of the gentry of the neighbourhood were present, and stamped the ceremony with importance in the eyes of the pupils.]

The object, however, which I have in drawing attention to these seminaries, and to similar institutions, is to mark the effect which the *industrial knowledge* they inculcate produces.

It is this knowledge, backed by the capital of the landlords of Derry, which has made this county like one of the best districts of England. Apply the same means of instruction, and support the industrious application of those means in the same manner, by the capital which the country produces, in the other provinces of Ireland, and what reason is there that they should not prosper like Ulster? * It is difficult, however, to say how this common sense *social* remedy can be enforced. Its benefits are obvious. Heinous crimes are comparatively rare. There is scarcely a soldier or an armed policeman to be seen. The community is a peaceable

* "The want of capital is often talked of as the cause of defective farming amongst the occupying tenants in Ireland, but what would capital avail them without the knowledge of its application?—whereas personal instruction and encouragement would make their present capital—their labour—produce four-fold."—*Visit to the Glencask Estate of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society*; by Major Ludlow Beamish, of Cork.

and prosperous one. Yet the Union exists, and Catholics as well as Protestants partake of the prosperity. The effect of public opinion, and reflection on facts brought before them, may however do something in other parts of Ireland—may teach the peasant that more is to be gained by rearing and draining his land than by walking a dozen miles to a “demonstration,”—may teach the landlord that the performance of the “duties” of his position is both more profitable and more praiseworthy than the “*vox et præterea*” of talking about “Justice to Ireland,” but forgetting to do justice to Ireland.*

* “It is not more certain that we are a poor, distressed, and unfortunate nation, than that the worst evils we labour under proceed from the great causes I have just now mentioned—our own extravagance and laziness, and an equal want of common care of ourselves and regard for our country. It is therefore clear and obvious, that the remedy must also come from ourselves, by our getting better economists, and universally resolving on a steady course of frugality, industry, using and encouraging our manufactures. If we would grow rich easily, it must not be at the expense of our neighbours, but on our own bottom, labouring to help ourselves; and, as the famous Balzac said,—‘He never expects to be made an abbot unless he built and endowed the abbey himself,’—so we must search for wealth by our own efforts entirely, and not by begging and bawling the charity of others. Had we acted with common sense or providence—we had attended either to our private or our public interests—had we watched over the management of our own fortunes, or the condition, and substance, and industry of our tenants and tradesmen—we had never fallen thus miserably low.” *Preface to Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society.

LETTER XI.

SLIGO AND ITS NEGLECTED CAPABILITIES.

Sligo, its Harbour and its want of Funds for Enterprise—The neglected Advantages of Water Carriage and Water Power which it possesses in its Locality—Its Exports and Imports—The Iron and Coal Mines of its Neighbourhood—Dishonest Tricks in the Butter and Corn Trades—The shifting Sand-hills—Example of what individual Energy and Industry in a Farmer may accomplish—the Character of the People ought to be considered in legislating for them—Teach them, stimulate them on, and encourage them.

SLIGO, September 18.

THE town of Sligo forms the chief export market for the produce of five of the adjoining interior counties. It possesses a fine harbour, capable of being made first-rate, having 25 feet of water over the bar at high water. It is, however, stricken with the prevailing want, under which every object of public utility in Ireland languishes—*a want of funds* to make its natural capabilities available.

This town is built on the borders of the river Garogue, which empties itself into the bay of Sligo. This river takes its rise in Lough Gill, a lake of considerable extent, about two miles from Sligo, and which is navigable to Dromahair, a village about six miles from Sligo. A glance at the map will show you that Dromahair is but 10 English miles from Lough Allen, which is the source of the river Shannon.

Thence the Shannon is navigable to its mouth, for upwards of 200 miles through the heart of the country to below the county of Clare, and by canal communication from Longford, through which this magnificent river flows, to Dublin, by the Royal Canal.

At Drumshambo, on the borders of Lough Allen, 20 miles from Sligo, there are extensive limekilns, where lime is burned for agricultural purposes, and sold at 6d. per barrel. The cost of lime at Sligo is 1s. per barrel, because of the expense of land carriage. At Arigna, on the borders of Lough Allen, 17 miles from Sligo, there are extensive coal-mines, now in full work; there are also iron-mines there, which were formerly extensively worked, and copper-ore has been found in the mountains. The populous town of Sligo, containing 15,000 inhabitants, is, however, shut out from nearly all these natural advantages from the want of energy and the want of enterprise of the people. The 10 miles of land between Lough Allen and Lough Gill has been an obstacle so great, such a "lion in the way" to the inhabitants of the counties of Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon, that they could not overcome it; and the town of Sligo is positively, at this moment, supplied with coals from England and Scotland, with a fine coal-mine within 20 miles of it, 10 only of which are land-carriage. Nearly every cask of butter exported from Sligo—and 50,000 are annually exported—costs the farmers four times as much in land-carriage to the town as it would by water; and the cost of land-carriage is so great that all light goods required by the inhabitants, even to the borders of Lough Allen, within 20 miles of the seaport town of Sligo, come by Dublin and the Royal Canal into the Shannon, and thence to Lough Allen, across the whole country by water-carriage, at less cost. The superior energy and enterprise of the inhabitants of Dublin have secured them this advantage. It is, indeed, almost inconceivable that a large and populous seaport town should

have hitherto permitted 10 miles of land-carriage to shut out the interior in a great measure from the advantages of its port, and its port from the advantages of the interior. There is, however, a rather Irish sort of project now on foot to connect these two loughs (Lough Gill and Lough Allen) by a railroad—the Sligo and Shannon Railway, for which, it is said, good gradients have been obtained. This, no doubt, will be of great advantage, though a canal would seem to be a more feasible connecting link.* A small steam-boat has also recently been placed on Lough Gill, by Mr. George Lane Fox of Yorkshire (I was informed), who is the proprietor of an estate here, which plies between Sligo and the extremity of Lough Gill, and which has very considerably increased the export of pigs and other produce by the facilities of carriage which it affords. The water-communication from Lough Allen to Longford, down the Shannon, is chiefly through a line of lakes, into which that river expands, which are shallow at the margin, and horse-power, therefore, cannot be applied to the navigation; the boats which ply on this part of the navigation are punted along with poles by men on board. This mode of navigation is slow, dangerous, and expensive, six or eight men to each boat being required; and the advantages of this natural high road to the greater part of the counties of Leitrim and Roscommon are thus lost. The obvious remedy is a steam-tug or steam-vessels; but it would require energy and enterprise to set these going, and these qualities are not very common in the west of Ireland, and *the want of capital* stands in the way. There are, therefore, no steam-boats on this part of the Shannon.

* It is proposed, I understand, that the railroad should run into a kind of dock or slip in one lough, and that vessels, without unloading them, should be floated on to carriages, and be conveyed bodily, cargo and all together, to the navigable water of the other lough. If, however, good gradients for a railway can be obtained, it would appear to be equally possible to get good gradients for a canal, which would seem to be the more feasible mode of communication.

Notwithstanding, however, the neglect of these many natural advantages, there is a very considerable export trade from Sligo. The exports from Sligo average annually about—

60,000 pigs, slaughtered, value . . .	£200,000
6,000 cattle	60,000
50,000 firkins of butter	125,000
22,000 tons of oats	182,000
12,000 tons of meal	132,000
	<hr/>
	£649,000

Besides poultry, eggs, and salmon.

The average annual imports are—

16,000 barrels of herrings.
10,000 tons of timber and deals.
15,000 tons of coals.
4,000 tons of iron.
5,000 tons of slates.

And there is a steamer plying weekly to Liverpool, Glasgow, Donegal, and Mayo.

I have already drawn attention to the import of coals, owing to the want of communication with a fine mine of coals within 20 miles of the town; you will see, by the imports above, that iron is imported.

Some 10 years ago, the iron mines at Arigna, on the borders of Lough Allen, were extensively worked by an English Company, under the superintendence of an English manager. Great numbers of people found employment at them. Every man who chose to labour could find work, and those who had horses and carts found plenty of employment for them. This gentleman was reputed to be a kind-hearted, good man. His house, however, one night was surrounded by a gang of ruffians, whose object, it seems, was to plunder it of the money intended to pay the labourers, and he was shot dead on putting his head out of the window. Since then the

iron works have been at a stand-still, and there is no employment to be got.

There is immense water-power in the neighbourhood of Sligo, which has been applied, to some extent, to meal and flour mills; but there are no other manufactories. At Colloony, a few miles from Sligo, there is water to the extent of 1,000 horse-power, and a fall of 30 to 40 feet; at Ballysodare, also, in the immediate neighbourhood, there is still greater water-power, and a fall of 80 feet in about 500 yards. There is also extensive water-power at Dromahair. Most, if not all, of these natural advantages are neglected.

The country-people complain a good deal about the way in which the butter sales are conducted. A weighing-master and inspector are appointed to weigh the butter, and brand its quality, as 1st, 2d, 3d, &c., and the butter was formerly sold according to the brand of these officers. The brand is still retained, but under an act of Parliament passed in 1830 the trade is thrown open, and it is optional to individuals to adopt the regulations of the market or not. Under this system, the weighing-master's brand is regularly altered, and inferior butter is sold as first quality butter. This, it is said, tends to injure the character of the market, and to promote the production of an inferior article. The brand of the officer has ceased to be of any value, and each cask has to be examined and tested by the purchaser. In this manner the farmers are often imposed upon; they cannot sell their butter by the market price of the brand; the dealers test it with their augers, and bid what they choose for it less than the branded value. The farmers are generally dissatisfied with this price, and hawk their butter about from one dealer to another, till it gets so bored into as to become deteriorated in value, and they are then compelled to sell it for less than its worth. It would seem advisable either to resort strictly to the old law, and make the officers' brand the test of the quality of the butter, protected by penalties, or to do away

with the brands altogether, as they are now merely deceptive.*

On the coast of Sligo, near the bay, large districts of

* Mr. William Christian, the deputy weigh-master of the town of Sligo, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (Appendix, Part 2, p. 219), says,—“The present state of the butter trade is this: a man brings a cask of butter into the market for sale; he lays it down for inspection; the inspector examines the butter, and puts on it a mark to denote its quality; the man goes to the crams and gets it weighed; and he then sells his cask of butter, by the weigh-master's ticket, to the merchant, a duplicate of which is kept by the weigh-master, that reference may be had to it hereafter. The merchant buys it, and marks the price on the ticket—say 70s.—the man goes with the butter to the merchant's store to deliver it; the merchant then takes his own auger to try the butter, and examines it himself; after it has undergone the operation of the public officer, he finds fault with the butter, and says,—‘I will not take this butter at the quality that is marked on it; I must get a reduction.’ The seller says,—‘No, I will not allow of any reductions; I have had it regularly inspected by the public officer.’ The merchant says,—‘I will not give you the price for that quality.’ The seller then takes away the butter, and gets back his ticket. He goes to another merchant to see if he can get a better price. The merchant sees the mark on the ticket of the first buyer, and says,—‘I will not take it at all; it has been rejected.’ The seller goes to a third, a fourth, or fifth merchant, in succession, and they all say they will not take it. He then has to go to the first man to whom he sold it, and to sacrifice 4s. or 5s. in the price. If a man has a lot of butter, and brings it into a merchant's store, he selects the good qualities, and throws back the inferior ones. The object of doing this by the merchant is that he may change the qualities marked by the inspector. They often make the second quality first, and sometimes the third quality first. I have even seen fourths made first; and he ships them in that state as if he had bought them originally of those qualities. This system is now carried to such an extent that, with the exception of one or two shippers, scarcely a cask of butter leaves this port with the original market-brands upon it.”

“Do you know, of your own knowledge, that the merchant falsifies the inspector's marks?” “Yes, it came under my own knowledge this day, as it continually does. There has been a great deal rejected this day in the market by the purchasers. The object they have in doing it is to substitute one quality for another. The established rule of the market was to make a reduction of 6s. between a first and second quality; 8s. between second and third; 10s. between third and fourth; and 10s. between fourth and fifth. . . . They rank second quality butter as the first quality by their own forgeries in their private stores. The effect of this practice is, to deteriorate the character of the butter, and thereby injure the producer.”

Thus it is that the natural mind of the people of the west of Ireland mistakes *cunning* for *wisdom*. By this piece of roguery they of course lose their trade. I was informed there that the country people near Sligo prefer carrying their

country, and some of the finest lands of the county, have been destroyed by the drifting of sea-sand. The sand blows with the north-west wind from Rathlye-point, and from

better all the way to Enniskillen market, because they are more fairly dealt with there. It was by practices like these that the Irish nearly ruined their export trade in flax. They twisted up pebbles in the knots of flax, which, being sold by weight, the purchaser bought pebbles at the rate of 40*l.* or 50*l.* a ton. As soon as he found it out, he would either not buy Irish flax at any price, or, if he did buy it, he bought it at a price below its value, calculating so much loss by roguery in pebbles. The *cunning* of the Irish mind delights in overreaching a neighbour; but it is not *wise* enough to foresee that the neighbour, though overreached once, may not be a fool, may find out the deception, and refuse afterwards to have dealings with dishonesty.

The same system of unfair dealing is carried out in other things. They cheat one another, and therefore suspect one another; and mutual want of confidence and want of enterprise are the result. The same witness says, in the next page, speaking of the corn trade,—“A great deal of the oats brought into this market are drawn in by carmen for hire. When these men come into the town with the oats, they will not weigh at the public scale, the oats not being their own; but they sell them, probably to customers they are in the habit of selling them to. I have known a carman to get two hundredweight of salt, or two or three bars of iron, and I have known him get 5*s.*; and he brings home to the owner of the oats the merchant's ticket, and pays him accordingly. There is a great deal of that kind of system carried on in the country. The poor people cannot come in themselves, and they send the corn in by carmen; and in every case where that is done, and the merchant knows it is not weighed in the market, he mulcts the owner of the corn.”

“By means of a bribe to the carrier?” “Yes. I have seen a car-load of oats brought into the market, first sold in the public yard, and then weighed at the crane; and there was a man there, kept by a merchant, to carry messages, to point out to him every sack of oats that might be weighed in the market, which his man would buy. He would run away when he saw a sack of oats with his master's mark on it weighed in the market, and give notice in the store, that they might know how to treat it; but any sack that was not weighed he (the seller) was sure of being mulcted in. . . . It is impossible to get the country people who do accompany their own corn to weigh at the public crane. They think that you have some design or some interest in it.”

“When a merchant buys corn from a man who brings it in, does he weigh it in the yard, or at the top of the store in the loft?” “In the yard below; and if the man selling to him is an ingenious fellow, who does not like to be cheated, he stands at the crane to see them weigh it. They have what they call a lever, to hook up the scale which has the weights in it upon the crane; and they are so trained to it that they put the top of the crook on the end of the beam, and while the owner is looking at the scale the craner pulls it down and raises up the other end of the beam.”

Knocklain-hill, to the neighbourhood of Ballymullary. Upwards of 1,000 acres of arable land have in this manner been covered with sand. Above 100 acres of land have thus been destroyed by the sand from Knocklain-hill during the last two years. The cottages of the small farmers are often covered up with sand, and they are obliged to shovel it away to creep down to their doorways. They are frequently obliged to shovel the sand from the thatch of their houses, to prevent its weight breaking through the roof. Lord Palmerston is one of the owners of this district of country, and

“Are you aware that those frauds are punishable by law?” “If the party discovers the fraud, money is given to him, and we hear no more about it. If a man happens to see the crook, he says,—‘You are cheating me.’ The man at the crane calls out the weight to the clerk inside, and he puts down a less weight; and yet the countryman will come next time to the same man with his oats, because he gets 6d. a sack more. He will say to me,—‘I will watch him; he cheated me last time, but he shall not do it now.’ But he cheats him still to a great extent. I am sorry to say we have not many respectable merchants in the trade.”

“What plan would you propose as a remedy to that system?” “The only remedy would be to make it imperative to weigh at the public scales. We make no charge for it. We do it gratis for the people, and yet we cannot get them to do it. If the corn which is sold at the market were all weighed at the public beam, it would save the countryman an immensity of money, and he would get the fair value for his corn. But, under the present system, I cannot describe the extent to which they are robbed at the private scales; and it is the same with pork and everything else.”

These are pitiable examples of littleness, chicane, and low cunning. Minds capable of such tricks as these are incapable of enterprise, or of wisely striving to realize a great trade by fair dealing. They are not wise enough to see the value of a *good name*; and they lose the wealth and the greatness which honest industry would realize, by peddling tricks, and trying to cheat in halfpence.

Dr. Madden, who wrote a century ago, says,—“How often have we slaughtered ill-conditioned cattle, as well as under-aged, in despite of our laws, and sent both them and our butter, so pickled, salted, and packed, that the very slaves in the Indies would not eat them, and in casks as faulty as the victuals that were barrelled up in them, to the loss of our credit and the ruin of our trade. While there is business in the world, the fair dealer will never fail of being employed to his advantage in it; but if the world was starving and naked, they would be as unwilling to send for our provisions or linens, while we cheat and defraud them, as one would be to employ noted thieves to quench the flames or remove the goods when a house is on fire.”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Rev. Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 154.

has done much to prevent this evil. He has planted about 1,000 acres of bent—a coarse kind of tall grass—in a line with the sea-shore; and this has been found to have the effect of arresting the blowing of the sand. Fine grass then grows under the bent, and affords good pasture. Many of the landlords, however, have not taken this necessary precaution, and the result is, that the sand is gradually creeping over and destroying their lands; and it is of little use for one landlord to plant bent, unless he has a very large extent of country, if another will not.

Mr. Francis Barber, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (Appendix, part 2, p. 206), says,—

“That part of the country would fully remunerate the landlords for fixing the sand; it is a valuable part of the country, and many of the inhabitants are starving for want of provisions; it is a very fine land, and there are many inhabitants living on the sand. You may be walking over the top of good land and not know it. At another time it may be blown off; but it is advancing, and I should not be surprised if it covered 1,000 acres more.

It is, however, seen that a little energy and the outlay of some capital will stop it.

The landlords generally have the character here of being fair landlords. The evidence of Mr. Kincaid before the Land Commissioners (part 1, p. 30), shows that Lord Palmerston has greatly improved his estate in this country. The rundale system of cultivation has been abolished by him, and a most numerous and subdivided tenantry have each been placed on squared farms, whilst no tenant has been removed.

In former letters I have shown to you what the energy and persevering attention of good landlords is capable of accomplishing in benefiting themselves, the people, and their country. I have also endeavoured to show that the prevailing wants or failings of the population of the west coast of Ireland are want of energy and want of enterprise;

and that these wants *must be met*—that it is the *duty* of the Government, if satisfied that this is the case, to encourage the people—to train them—to urge them on and lead them on—to spur them into the attainment of these qualities. The description of Sligo and its neglected natural advantages are evidence more than enough to prove how little enterprise and energy are to be found here. Do not, however, let it be supposed that it is the middle and upper classes alone who want these qualities. Their want is universal.

It is quite true, that during periods of excitement the energy of the people is enormous; but this fact is quite compatible with habitual and long periods of inaction. The small gentry, or “squireens,” as they are called—men of 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year, strengthen these failings by the most ridiculous pride. Such men are too proud to send their sons into the counting-houses of merchants, to learn some business and fight their own way as good citizens, and they are too poor to bring them up to professions; but they will raise heaven and earth in patronage-hunting to get a son into the Post-office, at 80*l.* to 100*l.* a year. Their pride is sufficient to prevent their seeking independence by praiseworthy and honest industry and enterprise, but it is not sufficient to prevent them becoming the slaves and sycophants of every “great man” for the most paltry advantages.

The small farmers and labouring classes in everything about them exhibit this habitual want of energy and enterprise, though at certain periods capable of great exertions. An hour’s labour of the wife with a needle and thread would prevent the man’s torn coat hanging in shreds about him. An hour’s labour of the man would fill up the puddlehole at his door, through which his children paddle, every day, in and out of his cottage, rendering it and themselves filthy. I intend, in my letter to-day, to show what may be effected by persevering energy and industry by the labouring classes themselves.

In reading through the evidence taken before the Land Commissioners, I was struck with that given by Francis Barber, a small farmer near Sligo. As it carries out the object of my letter to-day, I shall quote portions of it. It will be found at page 203, Appendix, part 2.

This farmer, after saying that "he had improved his land so that an acre was equal to an acre and a half of the land about him," and that "he had laid out 1,300*l.* of his own cash in the improvement of the land in draining," and, "as it paid him as he went on, he laid out the money as cheerfully as it came in," says, question 31,—

"I have been set going with not 5*s.* worth of capital when I started; the thing was just left in my hands. My father left me the property, but it was embarrassed greatly; and I laid out and went on improving it, and never got any allowance from the landlord. I made everything pay me as I went on, from all the sources of industry I could apply myself to."

His industry was seen and appreciated by his landlord, and because he went to the expense in improvements which he did, his rent was reduced, and he had a larger farm given to him, and that encouraged him to go on still more vigorously. The witness says, question 35,—

"I was greatly disheartened by the people round me, who said my landlord would take advantage of me; but he has abated my rent. He is satisfied, and I am happy to be under such a landlord; and I think it would be the best thing that could be done for us all to let the landlords give every assistance. There are some gentlemen taking a very active part in improving their property, and others are not. If the landlords would put their shoulders to it, and assist in making the improvements, and give a portion of it, all would go on well; but the landlord takes a portion and puts it into his pocket, and the tenant takes his part and expends it, so that the farm goes to the bad. If the people would go on improving, two acres of land would be more than three acres in its present condition."

After describing the great improvements which have been effected on the estate of Sir Robert Gore Booth he is asked (question 49),—

"Do you perceive the tenantry much improved in their condition since?—Yes, I do; *but I think that the people will fall away again if they are not kept to it. They have not a spirit of industry about them: they require a person to keep them as a spur to it.*"

The Irish, however, can work and do work well, if they see the prospect of immediate advantage before them, but if the advantage be remote or doubtful, or if it be only the probability of increased comfort, then they appear to want energy, or, as this witness terms it, "the spirit of industry," to strive for it; they must be "spurred to it."

I determined to see this farmer, for this reason,—that there is more to be learned from one energetic industrious man, of any class, than from fifty common-place individuals of any class. I found him precisely what I had anticipated,—a clever, shrewd, active, respectable man. He detailed to me his history; as it forwards the object of my letter, and may give encouragement to farmers to follow his example, I shall relate it just as he told it to me. His father occupied a farm of twenty-seven acres, under Sir Robert Gore Booth, for which he paid 40*l.* rent. His father died before he was fourteen years of age, leaving his mother and ten children depending on the farm, and himself as a mere boy to manage it. His father was 183*l.* in debt, and his whole stock was two cows, a heifer, and two horses; two-thirds of the farm were in wretched condition, growing little beyond thistles and weeds. The first year he expended 2*l.* 15*s.* in draining a field: the following year he expended 4*l.* on another field. Finding the benefit he derived from these improvements, the third year he spent 10*l.* in draining. The following year he was about to carry out more extensive improvements in draining and trenching, but the people of the country and his neighbours went to his mother and advised her to prevent him laying out more money on the farm, as they said "he would destroy the family." His mother, in consequence, took the charge of the farm out of his hands. He

begged for half an acre of rough land to manage for himself, and pursued the same plan on this half acre, the produce of which he sold the following year for a profit of 4*l*. His mother then let him have another acre of waste land unfit for anything else. On this he expended 10*l*. in draining and trenching. He had but his 4*l*., and borrowed 5*l*., and got credit for 1*l*. worth of labour, from a neighbour who helped him, thus making up the sum. His half-acre again left a profit of 4*l*., and the crop on the acre of land sold for 7*l*. He had thus cleared himself and had got an acre and a half of good land. His mother seeing that he succeeded let him have two more acres of waste land. On these two acres he laid out 16*l*. in draining and trenching, borrowing part of the money, and the neighbours helped him, and he sold the whole produce of his three acres and a half for 15*l*. profit the following year, over and above the cost of bringing in the two acres. His mother then, finding that he had gained so much by the improvements, gave him back the charge of the farm. He then continued improving to a greater extent, according to his ability, and he found the farm paid him for all his expenditure as he went on. The agent, taking notice of his improvements and perseverance, said he was entitled to have a larger farm, and added fifty acres to the extent of his farm. He continued improving the remainder of the farm, and having laid out a large sum of money upon it, his landlord gave him a lease at a reduced rent of 4*s*. 6*d*. an acre. He continued this course, and his landlord became so pleased with him that he extended his farm to 160 acres. The whole of this land he has improved, and has laid out upon it no less a sum than 1,300*l*., every shilling of which was created by his own industry. He has paid off his father's debt, supported his mother and her family, and, according to the custom of the country here, has given portions befitting their station, as farmer's daughters, to six of his sisters. As first one and

then another of his sisters married off, he was often left without a shilling, in order to pay them their portions. From having a small farm at will, much of it swamp, and feeding snipe and wild duck, he has now got a large well-cultivated farm on lease, which will amply repay him all his outlay, and is a substantial farmer. The same spirit of energy has induced this farmer to contract for making the sewers through the town. In making these sewers he has unexpectedly come upon an extensive foundation of solid rock, through which it is necessary to blast. Instead of throwing up his contract as a losing concern, he is persevering through it, to the admiration of everybody, and there can be no doubt that the gentlemen of the county and the grand jury will not permit him to lose by it.

It is also proper to add, that he was fortunate in having a good landlord. Had he been badly treated, and had his rent been raised in proportion to his exertions, the result would have been disheartening to himself, and the example of his treatment would have had a most injurious tendency, instead of being beneficial to the neighbourhood.

Now, what has effected all this beyond individual energy? No man could commence under more disheartening circumstances. Yet what this farmer has accomplished is in the power of every farmer to attempt, and in most cases to accomplish also.

It may be said that this example of energy subverts my own theory as to the general want of it. The build and appearance of Mr. Barber induced me to ask him the question, and he informed me that he is of English descent, as his name also would indicate. It would, however, be very unjust to conclude that there are no examples of energy and enterprise here. I wish only to show the fact that these qualities are not common, and that the want of them accounts for much of the poverty and misery that prevail. That this is a fact I think any man of any obser-

vation may convince himself. Taking it as a fact, I now come to the object I have in view in pointing it out. So long as the government of Ireland is carried on upon the assumption that the whole island is peopled with an energetic and enterprising population—a population of one character—and measures are passed under which only such a population can prosper, so long will Ireland present “difficulties.” The energetic population of the north and the east will thrive, be English partisans, and triumphant Orangemen, while the patient and much enduring, but unenterprising and unenergetic population of the west, will be steeped in poverty and discontent, and be violent Repealers.

How is this difficulty to be met? The people of the west are small farmers, and live almost entirely by the land. From a bad and ignorant system of cultivation, their land is, much of it, unimproved, and does not produce one-half of what it is capable, whilst the people starve for want. They have no energy to set about improvement. Meet these circumstances as they exist. The establishment of a number of agricultural schools, combined with model farms, similar to the college at Templemoyle, would do much to urge on, encourage, and improve the people. Such establishments having land enough attached to them to support them, on which the youth of the country could be shown how to improve, and be taught the advantages of such improvements, whilst at the same time they were trained in-doors in habits of order, industry, and cleanliness, would, in a few years, materially change the habits of the people. Each establishment might also give small government premiums, to be awarded by competent parties, to encourage and urge on the peasantry to habits of cleanliness and persevering industry; for, to repeat the words of Mr. Barber, “the people require a spur, or they will fall away again.” I avoid, however, matters of mere detail.

Some may be disposed to ridicule this proposition. To

such persons, however, I will simply put the plain question,—is it not wise for a father to discover the *character* of his children before he governs them? One son requires encouragement and urging on; another restraint. One horse requires a “spur,” another the rein. Seek out, then, first the *character* of the people of Ireland, and, having found it, urge on, teach by example, and encourage those who need this treatment. Those who prosper without it may be left to themselves.*

Before closing my letter, I would wish to say one word to the poor farmers on the example set to them by Mr. Bar-

* “There is no principle in political economy more universally admitted than this—namely, that *capital* will always find means for its profitable occupation, as far as it is possible to accomplish it. Now, the small farmer, being a man of limited education, has generally no other means of employing any savings he may accumulate except by laying them out in the increase of his farm; and in conformity with this, it is notorious that, as his circumstances improve, every opportunity to enlarge his farm is attentively watched and laid hold of with avidity. If a landlord, therefore, wishes to have large farms, let him endeavour to better the circumstances of his tenants, and, as their capital increases, the enlargement will proceed therewith *pari passu*, without his adopting any violent measures to effect the change.

“The question then comes to this:—How can a tenantry that is poor be most readily made rich? The true answer to which most plainly and undeniably is, *by stimulating their industry, and teaching them to make that industry productive to the greatest possible extent.* And how can this be more reasonably and practically set about than by teaching them how to cultivate their farms, and lending them a little assistance when wanted? If, by so doing, the possessor of a small farm can obtain triple the produce without increasing his rent, the road to advancement is opened to his view, and his exertions increase with the increase of his crop. And what is the final result? It is this: when his capital has, in this way, been augmented, the small farmer, finding himself possessed of the means of purchasing and occupying more land—being the only method he is acquainted with of turning his accumulations to profitable account—immediately endeavours to enlarge his farm; and if he cannot do this where he is, he removes to where he can; and thus, in accomplishing his own wishes, he affords an opportunity for the neighbour he leaves behind to accomplish his wishes also, by annexing to his own the farm quitted, which is thus brought into the market by the plan herein recommended, which would perhaps never have been the case without its adoption, and the work of consolidation proceeds from natural causes, without violence, ill-will, or inconvenience to any party concerned.”—*Preface to Mr. Blacker's Essay on the Improvement of Small Farms*, p. 10.

ber. Opposite the hotel in which I write is the Repeal meeting-room, in which some three hundred frieze-coated farmers are assembled, and cheering some orator who is addressing them as "the bone and sinew of Ireland." This is as true of your horses and heifers as it is of you. Strive for a more elevated character; strive to improve; and to be distinguished rather as the intelligent, the industrious, and the thriving people of Ireland. This is within your power, for Mr. Barber, one of yourselves, has accomplished it. But he did not accomplish it by going to Repeal meetings to receive compliments on his "bone and sinew." I would not wish to prevent you freely expressing and acting upon your political views, but don't waste your time listening to such rubbish as these "bone and sinew" addresses, nor permit your minds to be unsettled by them. As long as there is anything whatever that you can do, either on your farms or in your houses, it is a *loss* to you to attend these meetings; and you may depend upon it, that so long as you employ yourselves on your farms you will have plenty to engage your thoughts, without being made the dupes of others, in shouting on political subjects, which your occupations prevent you thoroughly understanding. I have had many opportunities of observation, and I earnestly assure you that I never yet saw a man run after politics and political meetings, to the neglect of his business,—waste his time in bothering his head about the concerns of the nation, instead of about his own,—who did not come to a ragged coat and to want. I have seen many a stupid man with just sense enough to mind his business thrive—because he minded his business; whilst his neighbour, possessing the advantages of intelligence and acquirements, but who would mind anybody's concerns but his own, has "gone to the dogs." Follow Mr. Barber's example; each man strive to improve; and, like Mr. Barber, you will improve and prosper, and, in your aggregate prosperity, the nation will prosper also.

CHAPTER III.

THE MANUFACTURE OF SILKS—AND ITS VALUE-POWER.

INDUSTRY OF SILKS.—The industry of Lombardy will secure Comfort and Prosperity to her People—Source of Immense Wealth which depended on Export of Silks—Improvement and Extension of the Industry—The Importance of cultivating a class of Manufacturers dependent on Labour, and not on a Foreign Field—Influence of Manufacturing on the West of Lombardy—Reasons for the Union with the East—Advantages—Distinction of the narrow-minded view that Employment must be here—“Employment may be in the English”—In the great Value-power of Improvement, and the possibility of Profitable Manufacturing Investment which it affords, as a means of giving Employment to the People.

Lombardy, Sept. 30, September 30.

Since my last letter from Silg, I have had the opportunity of seeing a large portion of this beautiful country. I have already stated to you that the majority of the landlords in the neighbourhood of Silg are resident and improving landlords, and the effect of their supervision and attention is everywhere perceptible. Lord Palmerston, one of the largest landowners, though from his public position necessarily an absentee, expends large sums liberally on the improvement of his estate and of his tenantry. So great, however, was found to be the subdivision on parts of his estate, on the expiration of some old leases, that with the wish not to remove any tenant, but to give each a squared farm, the holdings of many of his tenants are extremely small, and they

are consequently very poor.* Mr. Wynne, of Hazlewood, whose domain is on the borders of Lough Gill—perhaps one of the most beautiful lakes in Ireland—has taken great

* Mr. Joseph Kincaid, land-agent, Dublin, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners at Sligo (Appendix, Part 1, pp. 30, 31, 32, 33), says,—“On looking over my papers this morning, I took a memorandum of six leases, which had been granted, about sixty years ago, upon Lord Palmerston's estate, for three lives or thirty-one years. These six leases all expired about the years 1837 and 1838, by the death of the last *cestui que vie*; the years were gone before. William IV. was a life in a good many of them; the late Mr. Wynne was a life in one. The lives died within a year or two of each other; but the first of them expired by the death of William IV. In the lands comprised within those leases, when they expired, we found two hundred and eighty occupying tenants.”

14. “Can you state the extent of the ground?” “I myself rent the land to those two hundred and eighty tenants. I did not turn out a single tenant; and the average of the size of the holding was under five acres, comprising altogether about one thousand four hundred acres.”

32. “In letting those two hundred and eighty pieces of land, was any uniform system pursued as to any improvement by building or draining, or was the land let to the tenants to do the best they could?” “In the first place, the land was all squared, and roads were laid out in straight lines through the town-lands.”

33. “At whose expense were those roads made?” “They were laid out by me, as the agent, or under my superintendence; and the agriculturist or steward upon the estate fixed the price to be paid for forming and making the road and side fences and planting the hedgerows. The tenants were each allotted a certain number of perches of that road, and they were allowed half the sum which had been so settled by the steward.”

34. “The other half being given by the tenants in the shape of labour, for the advantage they derived from the roads?” “Yes; and I hold in my hand a tabular statement of the improvements effected upon the Sligo estate of Lord Palmerston, for the three years previous to June, 1841, chiefly upon those holdings. There were 94 new houses built, 56 houses were then in progress, and 19,000 Irish perches of ditches and fences were made, 1660 Irish perches of new roads were made, and 523 perches were then in progress—all of which have been long since finished—47,000 forest trees and 660,000 quicks had been given out to the tenants. The general average expense of those roads was 8s. per Irish perch, of which Lord Palmerston paid one-half. . . . Lord Palmerston allowed us to offer premiums for improved systems of agriculture. We give out seeds to the tenants, every year on credit, and we give about 30l. a year among the small tenants for green crops, &c., and we have effected some improvement in the growth of green crops and the regular rotation of crops; I should say, upon an estate on which there are nearly eight hundred tenants, the progress is not at all equal to the expenditure which Lord Palmerston has made upon the estate. I should state, however, that, owing to the abundance of sea-manure, it is not the custom to take a number of white crops in succession. After manure they generally take one crop of potatoes,

pains, by personally visiting and encouraging the tenants and labourers on his estate, and building them better cottages, to lead them into habits of neatness. I was in the cottages of several of his labourers. They are two-story, well built slated cottages, with red brick floors—a kitchen or house-room, and dairy on the ground-floor, and bed-rooms above. Each of these cottages was as clean and orderly as any in England, and each had a neat vegetable garden attached to it. The cottagers' wives seemed to be most grateful to their landlord for their state of comfort. So contrary to the notions of the people, however, were these cottages when first erected, that the neighbours nicknamed them the "golden knockers;" their notion being that for a labourer to live in a two-story cottage, and in a state of cleanliness and comfort, was something so out of the way

and then a crop of oats, and then manure again: so that the ground is not so much exhausted as it would be in other places: and, though the land is mountainous and poor, the oats are considered of good quality, and the potatoes are abundant."

53. "There has been a considerable expenditure by Lord Palmerston in the improvement of the harbour there?" "Yes."

54. "Has that enabled a great number of the tenants to obtain a livelihood by fishing?" "I should think it has enabled a great number of the tenants to obtain a livelihood: but it was by means of the expenditure upon the harbour, which has been about 15,000*l*. The fishing is also increased."

55. "Were the peasantry in a very pauperized condition when the leases expired in 1838:—were their houses very bad?" "Yes; I found them living in villages, and occupying a few acres in several different spots. It was to remedy that evil, which had grown to such an extent that it became necessary to square and consolidate the holdings; and of course it was necessary to throw down the houses in those villages, and make the tenants build new houses on the road-side on the sites pointed out to them. I would not say, however, that the tenants were pauperized."

57. "Did you find any objections to the new arrangement you proposed to make?" "Not generally. There was on some town-lands a good deal of opposition, but it was more as to the square which fell to the lot of the individual than any general opposition."

58. "Was there a full understanding among the tenantry that no one should be dispossessed?" "Lord Palmerston's distinct orders were, that no man should be dispossessed unless he chose to go, and then he was to have assistance to enable him to go to America or elsewhere."

and absurd, that he only wanted a "golden knocker" to his door to cap the climax. The constant supervision of their landlord compelled them to be clean, until they began to appreciate that luxury which has been termed "next to godliness." Mr. Charles King O'Hara is another resident landlord, who is universally well spoken of. The system of this gentleman appears to be to let his land at its full value, and to pay his tenants for all the improvements of which he approves, whilst his personal supervision and advice encourage them in their efforts. The effect has been greatly to encourage a spirit of order, cleanliness, and industry among them. Mr. Cooper, of Markree Castle, near to this place, the chief landowner in this neighbourhood, at his own expense established an industrial school for the purpose of teaching trades to the sons of his tenantry, and thus providing a means of livelihood for the increasing population. Masters of trades—tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c.—were engaged to teach the boys, and it was expected that work would be found for them by the tenantry, for the benefit of whose sons the school was built. The tenantry were loud in their praises, and sent their sons willingly and in great numbers to the school; but, after expending upwards of 1,000*l.*, this gentleman had the mortification of finding the project totally fail for want of the support of the tenants: they brought no work to the school to be done.* This is

* *Examination of the Rev. Lewis Potter, before the Land Commissioners at Sligo, Appendix, Part II. p. 199.*

1. Where do you reside?—I am rector of Drumard, in this county, and I reside there.

2. Have you prepared any statement relative to the transactions of Mr. Cooper, in endeavouring to establish industrial schools upon his property?—Yes. At the special desire of Edward Joshua Cooper, Esq. of Markree Castle, county of Sligo, I beg leave to submit to you the following statement, relative to the schools of trades established by him (for the benefit of his tenantry and their sons) on his property at Collooney, in this county. My object in doing so on his behalf, is to enable you to form a judgment of the difficulties which have attended him as a landlord in carrying out his plans in this matter for the advantage of the people

one of the many instances which are to be met with here of the necessity of studying the Irish character before anything is attempted either for the benefit or guidance of the people.

intrusted to his care. Although the institution in its establishment appears to have been hailed by the tenants as a great boon and advantage to the rising generation, still I am very sorry to be obliged, in the commencement of this statement, to observe that the failure of Mr. Cooper's object can scarcely be traced to any other cause than a want of encouragement and co-operation, generally, on the part of those whom he conceives should have been foremost in upholding and supporting an institution where their work could have been well executed, at the usual charges of the country: and where, at the same time, their sons and dependants, who required instruction in the several trades, could be properly taught. Mr. Cooper feels that the case should be concisely and satisfactorily stated to you, as members of this commission, in order that, through you, an opportunity may be afforded to those in authority, as also to the public generally, to form an opinion of the discouragement that a landlord is subjected to, when induced, by a high sense of duty, to put into operation a plan of this kind for the amelioration of his tenantry. I must, however, observe that I have only to deal with facts in making this communication. It is no part of my purpose to undertake the invidious task of tracing to any particular motives the line of conduct adopted by those from whom Mr. Cooper had good reason to expect active assistance in this undertaking. It is quite sufficient to show that, under the most promising appearances of kindness on the part of the whole body of his tenantry, his project has not only not succeeded, but has most signally failed, with very considerable loss to him. The schools are now closed; the several masters are discharged; the apprentices are being transferred to other masters; and the whole concern, which was intended by its generous founder to be the nursery of industry, improvement, and morals, stands only as a spectre—the monument of disappointed hope. It would, however, be comparatively less distressing, if the history of one of these schools of trade (the tailors) did not afford a melancholy example of the evil disposition of some wicked ones, who are to be found in so many instances the abettors and perpetrators of crime. In the month of June, 1843, the workshop of this school was set fire to, either on Sunday night or on Monday morning, and the entire of the goods contained therein was consumed or damaged; and so persuaded were the grand jury of the county that the act was a malicious one, that they granted a presentment, amounting to over 66*l.* for the injury done to the property in this school; and not only this, so convinced were the same gentlemen that this act was not perpetrated by people coming from a distance, that they assessed the entire sum on the inhabitants of the town of Collooney. Before I enter into a statement of the expenses incurred by Mr. Cooper in establishing and supporting these schools of trades, I will refer the members of this commission to the several documents connected with them. The first of these documents to which I would call attention, is the copy of a letter from Mr. Cooper, which is printed and dated Brighton, December 10, 1840, and addressed to the tenantry on the Markree estates:—

MY FRIENDS—An anxiety has long been strongly felt by me, to endeavour to

They must be encouraged and spurred on by a superior energy to do everything, or every project that depends on themselves will fail. This gentleman some years ago had a

open some new sources of employment for your children, the number of whom is far too numerous to admit of their earning a comfortable livelihood as farmers, from the subdivision of land. It has, consequently, occurred to me to establish a school of trades in Collooney, where certain of your children may learn, at my expense, to become carpenters, smiths, tailors, or shoemakers. The masters shall (if I can obtain them sufficiently qualified) be selected from among yourselves. A model farm will also be shortly laid out, near the same town, with a view of instructing others of your children in the best mode of tillage, &c. &c., to enable them to become efficient farmers, should they hereafter become tenants, or to qualify them for the situation of stewards. I estimate that about twenty pupils may be always employed, and that about three years' tuition will be, in most cases, sufficient. The accounts of the expenditure and produce of the model farm will be regularly kept, and submitted to the examination of the tenantry, for their instruction and encouragement.

The conditions required to be observed by the candidates for entrance into any of the schools, will be as follow :—

The boys must have attended some school either wholly or partially supported by me.

They must be recommended by their clergyman for good conduct, as well as by the visitor to, and master of the school they have attended, and they must pass a general examination as to their proficiency.

Their parent or parents must have testimonials as to their general good moral character, industry, and punctuality in observing their engagements with their landlord.

The boys must be bound by indenture, at the age of sixteen, for five years, but will be discharged from the agricultural and trades' school as soon as they are considered to be sufficiently instructed. The parents will be expected to provide their children, while learning their trades, in diet and lodging, and to procure for them decent clothing, as no fees will be charged for their indentures.

The boys in the agricultural school will be lodged, and under the entire control of the superintendent, with whom their parents must make an arrangement for their diet and clothing.

No boy, in any of the schools, to be permitted to absent himself, except upon illness or special leave. A premium will be given to the best conducted and most advanced of each trade, at the end of the third year of apprenticeship.

As it is expected that the schools will be ready for pupils about the 1st of May next, the parents of children may now make application for their admission.

EDWARD COOPER.

I would next beg of the members of this commission to read the account of a meeting of the above tenants, which was held at Collooney, on Monday, the 18th of January, 1841, the proceedings of which meeting were published as an adver-

village of small tenants close to his domain. The inhabitants were in the most wretched poverty; they rarely paid rent, lived in mud huts, held but three or four acres of badly

tisement in the Sligo Journal, on Friday, the 22nd January, 1841, and from which paper I take the following copy:

At a meeting of the Markree tenantry, held in the town of Collooney, on Monday, the 18th of January, 1841,—

It was moved by Mr. C. W. Armstrong, seconded by Mr. Thomas Tyghe, and resolved unanimously—That Mr John Benson do take the chair.

Moved by Mr. George Barker, seconded by Mr. John Mitchell, and resolved unanimously—That a respectful and thankful address be presented to our most excellent landlord, Edward Joshua Cooper, Esq. M.P., in reply to his kind letter addressed to the tenantry on the Markree estates, on the subject of the schools of trades, and model farm, to be established at his sole expense, in and near the town of Collooney, for the benefit of the sons of his tenantry.

Moved by Mr. A. Busby, seconded by Mr. William M'Shine, and resolved unanimously—That the address now read by the Rev. Mr. Potter, be adopted as the address of this meeting.

Moved by Mr. C. W. Armstrong, and seconded by Mr. Andrew Buchanan, and resolved unanimously—That the warmest thanks of this meeting be and are hereby tendered to the Rev. Mr. Potter, for his lively interest in our welfare, and the kind share he has taken in our proceedings this day, and that he be requested to transmit to Mr. Cooper our address, with a copy of the resolutions adopted by us.

Moved by Mr. Peter Durham, seconded by Mr. James Benson, and resolved unanimously—That these resolutions be published in the Sligo papers.

Moved by Mr. Joshua Woodland, seconded by Mr. William Morrison, and resolved unanimously—that Mr. John Benson do leave the chair, and that Mr. Peter Durham be called thereto.

Moved by Mr. George Simpson, seconded by Mr. Thomas Newburn, and resolved unanimously—That the best thanks of this meeting are hereby given to Mr. John Benson, for his very proper conduct in the chair.

(Signed.) PETER DURHAM, *Chairman*.

The following is the reply to Mr. Cooper's address:—

Collooney, January 18th, 1841.

HONOURED SIR,—Permit us most respectfully to assure you that your kind address to the tenantry on the Markree estates has been read by us with great pleasure and sincere gratitude to you, as our benevolent and liberal landlord. It is an addition to the many pledges we have received, from time to time, at your hands, that not only our welfare, but the best interests of the rising generation among us, is an object very near to your heart. You have been the conciliating arbiter of our differences (when such have occasionally existed)—the faithful counsellor in our difficulties—the ingenious friend in our trials—the generous benefactor of the distressed—the kind protector of the orphan and widow—the unbounded dispenser of clothing to the naked, and of food to the hungry; this is only a just

cultivated land each, and were nearly starving, getting work occasionally to support themselves when their potatoes failed. They were, in fact, labourers without the usual incentives to

expression of what we experience and witness, and we place it before you, not in the spirit of flattery and adulation, but as a testimony which justice demands from us. In addressing you on this occasion, we most thankfully and unreservedly accept your letter as a further pledge of the interest you take in us and in our concerns, and we consider the conditions set forth by you as most useful in detail; but we most specially notice with our approval, that one which makes it necessary that all candidates for admission into the school of trades, &c., should be educated at some school either entirely or partially supported by you; while this will secure to them advancement in all useful knowledge suited to their station, it is gratifying to us to feel that their moral and religious instruction will be advanced. We, therefore, fully admit the value of this condition, and rejoice to acknowledge that, at your hands, the children on the Markree estates have the privilege of attending schools established on the basis of Christian principles. That your proposed plan (under God's providence) will prosper, we believe; and while we acknowledge His goodness in causing our lot to be cast under a landlord whom we have every reason to regard and respect, we hope we shall, by our conduct and demeanour, continue to deserve the kindness and affection of you, our landlord and friend. Praying that God's blessing may ever be vouchsafed to you, your valuable lady, and family,

We have the honour to remain, honoured sir, your faithful and attached servants,

JOHN BENSON, *Chairman.*

[*Here follow the signatures.*]

To Edward J. Cooper, Esq., M.P.

All things thus having promised so well, Mr. Cooper, accordingly, gave directions to have a large house suitably fitted up for the school trades about to be instituted. This was accomplished at an expense to him of about 400*l.* Forms of application and indentures were also provided; and, in the course of the year 1841, the whole machinery was supplied; masters were provided with every requisite, and twelve apprentices were admitted to be taught the several trades to which they were bound, their applications being approved. The additional rules for the regulation of the schools, a copy of which has been given to each master, are as follow:—

RULES.

1st. As it is the chief object of the founder of this school to afford instruction to those apprentices admitted which may enable them to contribute to their own support, and thereby render them as far as possible independent, it must be distinctly understood that they cannot be permitted to remain in the institution should they prove incapable or unwilling to receive instruction, or in any other respect appear unfit.

2nd. The school to be opened at six, A.M., from the 1st of April to the 1st of October, and at eight, A.M., from the 1st of October to the 1st of April; half an hour to be allowed to the apprentices for breakfast, and one hour for dinner. The

labour—constant dependence upon labour. They became, therefore, notwithstanding their poverty, indolent and inactive. As long as the potato-field lasted each man would prop up his door-way with his shoulders, and, with a spirit of contentment as happy as it was unfortunate, exclaim, “Sure my father before me lived on praties and buttermilk, and praties and buttermilk will do very well for me.” Mr. Cooper conceived that the only way to improve them was to *make them* labourers, and, in order to accomplish this, to make them dependent on labour. He built for each man a good slated cottage, each having two acres of land attached to it, and offered these tenants constant labour on his domain.

actual time of work of the apprentices is not to exceed twelve hours of the twenty-four in each day and night.

3rd. The master will be held accountable for his watchfulness over and care of the apprentices under his charge, and must report any misconduct.

4th. The four masters employed in the institution are expected to superintend in rotation, weekly, the dormitory, to see that the apprentices are in bed every night at ten o'clock, at the latest; and to lock the doors of the building at that hour.

5th. Where persons bring materials to be worked up by the trade, they must be examined by the master, and approved of by him as being of sufficiently good quality, before he engages to do the work desired.

6th. The master must be accountable for the preservation and proper usage of the tools provided for the school.

Having laid before you all the documents connected with the establishment and management of these schools, I now beg to state, that, independent of the sum of 400*l.* already alluded to as having been expended on the repairs and fitting-up of the house, there was an additional outlay of 1,774*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* by Mr. Cooper, in the purchase of tools, the erection of fixtures, the payment of masters, the allowances to apprentices for work done by them, and the purchase of goods and stock; on the whole of which a loss was sustained by him amounting to no less a sum than about 600*l.* This added to the 400*l.* makes 1,000*l.* thus expended and lost in a period not exceeding two years and nine months. No course was left, under all these circumstances, but to close a concern which, if continued, must have resulted only in the waste of property, loss of time, and an abuse of that charity which led its founder not only to establish it, but to exercise very great patience in continuing it so long under such disheartening and vexatious disappointments. I need scarcely add, in conclusion, how much greater pleasure it would afford me to have it in my power to report the favourable success instead of the signal failure that has attended Mr. Cooper in this his benevolent undertaking.

He took on himself all the taxes payable, to save them from that very frequent source of distress—the enforcement of small payments which they are not prepared to meet—and let them their cottages and land at the land rent. In order that they might have the opportunity of working at their own land, and yet not lose their time as labourers, he fixed their wages at 1d. the hour, being at the usual rate of payment per day, thus giving an industrious labourer the opportunity (on giving notice the day before that he wished to be absent on his own land half a day), of labouring for wages the remainder of it. These tenants, however, as they were to have less land than they held before, absolutely refused to come into the arrangement. Their landlord, however, was firm, and after in vain attempting to convince them that it was for their own benefit to have constant work enough to keep them, and some land besides, rather than to starve on a patch of land, working only occasionally ; at length forced them into the arrangement, by offering them either the two acres or an ejectment. The unpopularity and ill-will he brought on himself by this measure were unbounded. He, however, persevered ; instead of starving tenants in the position of labourers, these men are all now labourers comfortably off. Their rent is deducted from what they earn ; they have, therefore, nothing to pay in money, and everything they earn over and above their rent, together with the produce of their land, is clear gain to them. These men are now most grateful for the change, and not one of them would return to his former condition. The habits of industry and prudence thus forced on these cottagers have led to their being far more prosperous and comfortable than the small tenants in their neighbourhood.*

* Charles K. O'Hara, Esquire, one of the principal landed proprietors of Sligo, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (Part II. p. 194), says,—
“The condition of the small farmers and labourers—for they can scarcely be separated—is improved by increased industry ; viz., in their houses, dress,

These examples are striking proofs of the advantages which result from the exertion and supervision of a resident landlord, and of efficient agents. There are, however, cases of an opposite complexion. Mr. Bere, an extensive land-agent of this and other counties, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners,* states that an absentee landlord of Sligo, by his neglect and mismanagement, permits the driver, or bailiff of his estate, to do just as he likes, and this man, whenever he pleases, "can go out at any time when he wants 8*l.* or 10*l.*, and drive the whole of the estate, and get his 10*l.*, and let the cattle out again and not care about the rent," pocketing the money he thus gets himself, the tenants not daring to complain. This gentleman further says,—“ I know many cases of that kind. Even with some of the gentry living in Ireland, the drivers take these liberties and plunder the tenants.” Mr. O’Hara, the gentleman before alluded to, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners,† attributes “to good or bad agency much of the improvement and prosperity, and many of the existing evils.” He says, “ Relations, creditors, ignorant, inexperienced young men, have too often been intrusted with the very important office of land-agent, to the great injury of landlord and tenant, and of the peace and prosperity of the country. I am sure that the peace is repeatedly broken from the bad management of agents and underlings, forcing on the rent in the quickest and easiest manner through the

education of their children, and in general comforts. The increased demand for and value of land and want of other employments, has made them more prudent, intelligent, and industrious. Capital bears no proportion to extent of holding. A man without capital is often most eager to get possession of land, whilst a labourer with a cabin and garden only, often, *by the industry of his family, acquires capital*, grazes and con-acres the land of another, and ultimately purchases the interest thereof. I have often found that the case, thereby proving, *that not to the extent or cheapness of the holding, BUT SOLELY TO THE INDUSTRY AND PRUDENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, IS PROSPERITY TO BE ASCRIBED.*”

* Appendix, Part I. p. 274.

† Appendix, Part II. p. 194.

means of underlings, pocketing the salary or per-centage, and utterly indifferent as to the state or condition of the tenants."* There can be no doubt as to the truth of this description from abundant examples, whilst the advantages of proper care and supervision of his tenants on the part of the landlord are as apparent. It is, in fact, but a reiteration in other words of what I have already repeatedly stated—that the evils which oppress Ireland are, for the most part, *social*; and that when a social remedy is applied in the proper care and attention of the landlord, either personally or by an able and resident agent, they disappear. It is difficult to conceive by what perversity of judgment or obliquity of vision the evils of Ireland can be attributed to English connexion. The examples of good landlords existing with that connexion are a sufficient refutation of such an opinion. The evil or the good is in the landlords themselves, and in the people themselves. A repeal of the Union will alter neither the landlords nor the people. A Parlia-

* "The embarrassments under which gentlemen of landed property in Ireland too generally labour, may, in most cases, be traced to the improper selection of their agents. Upon the holders of this important office most commonly devolves, not merely the management of the estates, but also of the private concerns of the owners. Too indolent to mind their own affairs, and too fond of pleasure and amusement to attend to the details of business, it might at least have been expected that men of fortune would have been at some pains to select proper persons to attend to those matters which they found too irksome to attend to themselves, and that, being unwilling to take this burden on their own shoulders, they would have felt the necessity of finding others properly qualified to relieve them from such important duties. But, however reasonable such expectations might have been formed, the very contrary seems to have been the fact; and, until of late years, the importance of the appointment, however apparent it might be, seems to have been almost universally overlooked; and without reference to any particular qualification or fitness for the office, men have been too often chosen to fill it from relationship or private regard, as little capable of attending to its details as their employers. These things being left to take their own course, it is not very difficult to understand how that wasteful and expensive habits should arise, debts accumulate, creditors become clamorous; and, finally, that the man of fortune, from being at first too indolent, should soon become *unwilling*, and at last *afraid*, to look into his affairs."—*Prize Essay on the Management of Landed Property in Ireland*, by William Blacker, Esq.

ment in College-green will not even make landlords resident. By how much a year will the Sligo tenant be benefited by his landlord living six months in Dublin instead of in London—that is, supposing him to have Parliamentary duties? Out of the whole number of the landlords of Ireland, supposing every Irish member of Parliament to be a landlord, and to have no profession or estate in England requiring his residence there (which is not the case), only 105 are required to be absent at the House of Commons, and twenty-eight peers in attendance in the House of Lords, or, on an average, four landlords out of each of the thirty-two counties in Ireland. Without going into the question of how many of these gentlemen would be absentees from their estates whether the Parliament were in London or Dublin, let any Irishman ask himself what proportion four landlords bear to the number of landlords of any one county, and how many landlords are absentees who have no Parliamentary duties whatever? Yet well-meaning men, without sufficient reflection, will expect all the benefits which resident and good landlords can effect to flow from a repeal of the Union! It is, however, a waste of space to notice such an argument; and did it not occupy men's attention in the place of more common-sense views, it would be utterly unworthy of notice.

The course pursued by one of the above gentlemen, Mr. Cooper, is suggestive to me of the subject of my present letter. With its great, and frequently almost starving population, Ireland presents the anomaly of being almost without a labouring class. The great bulk of the population of England consists of labourers, mechanics, artisans—of men who have not a yard of land, but who subsist entirely by labour. An entire dependence upon the fruits of labour is the strongest incentive to industry that can exist: it *makes* the great body of the people industrious; they *must be so or starve*; and it is the aggregate amount of their industry

which creates the wealth of England. In Ireland, in the west and south, the great bulk of the population are small tenants, with from two to five acres of land. They can just exist on the potatoes they grow; they therefore *depend* on their potato crop, and their industry is generally limited to its production. As I heard it well expressed the other day by one of the best resident landlords of this district, who may be presumed to have some knowledge of the truth, "the peasantry are occupied one half the year hiding their potatoes, and the other half of the year in looking for them." Setting a crop of potatoes and digging it up, and sowing and reaping a few oats, is the year's work of very many of them. If 5*l.* must be earned by some means beyond the value of their patch of oats to pay the rent, many of them migrate to England as harvest labourers for two months. For that short period they work like horses, come back with the 5*l.*, and the necessity being met, beyond digging up their potatoes, reaping their oats, and setting another crop, they will not do a single thing till harvest time comes again, when the same routine is gone through. Their patch of land grows them potatoes enough to live upon, and they are satisfied.* The very virtues of the poor peasants, their quiet contentment with the poorest fare, are their ruin. The want of steady and continuous productive industry on the part of the great bulk of the population, accounts for the absence of wealth, and for the presence of general poverty in Ireland. Whatever, however, may be the character and disposition of the people, we must not leave out of consideration the process of education they undergo. Man has been called "a bundle of habits." If you habituate a man from his youth upwards to long periods of inactivity, and to only occasional demands

* With his potato-heap for food and his turf-stack cut out of an adjoining bog for fuel, the Irish cotter and farmer lives through the winter in his hut without a desire for anything better, and without either incentive or inclination for exertion.

for severe exertion, can you expect him to exhibit habits of steady industry? But the small tenantry system—a patch of land just enough to find a man in potatoes, requiring only some six weeks hard work at harvesting to pay the rent—inevitably rears a man to habits of indolence. It is scarcely necessary to prove this self-evident truth. It may, however, strengthen this view to quote the opinion of Mr. Otway, in his “Report on the state of the hand-loom weavers as a class in Ireland,” page 594:—

“Periodical seasons of a total want of work, and a sudden demand for the most active work, operate fatally on the industrious habits of the Irish labourer, destroy industry, and encourage sloth. The habits of idleness thus engendered are by no means inconsistent with occasional active and laborious exertion of the most extraordinary kind. Under strong exciting circumstances, the Irish peasant will work harder than the labourer of any other country; but his toil is neither steady nor continuous. The season of total inactivity comes as regular as the season of violent exertion, and the character of the peasant is rendered all the worse by the striking magnitude of the vicissitude.”

It would not, perhaps, be difficult to trace many of those scenes of combination and violence which continually disgrace Ireland to these habits of listless inactivity. Men usually get into mischief when they have nothing to do.

But how are you to create a class of labourers when there is no labour to give to them? It is an admitted fact, that to increase the size of the farms of the small tenants would greatly tend to the improvement of cultivation, to the increase of produce, and consequently add to the wealth and comforts of the people. But how are you to increase the size of farms without turning out and ruining many poor peasants, when nearly the whole of the land is let in five or six acre farms? It is manifest that you can only bring about the benefits which larger farms will secure by giving employment to a large body of the people as labourers or mechanics; for to turn people out of their land without giving them employ-

ment on which to live, is as cruel as it is impolitic and impossible.

Instead, then, of "talking nonsense" about repealing the Union as the panacea for all Irish grievances, let us talk *common sense*, and consider *how we can give the people employment*.

I have before me the letter of a very well-meaning gentleman—a Roman Catholic priest. He fully concurs in the view taken in one of my first letters to you—that *want of employment* is the bane of Ireland. He then asks, "Will I have the candour and the courage to recommend the proper remedy? England is a commercial and manufacturing country, England, therefore, will neither encourage nor recommend what will clash with her national interests in either of these respects." Is it possible that England and her every-day history are so little understood in Ireland? This gentleman must pardon me for saying that any view so narrow-minded and so huckstering as *England for the English* is in theory despised by Englishmen, and the very contrary is their every-day practice. Is it not a fact notorious that very many of the manufactories in Belgium belong to Englishmen, are worked by English capital, and directed by English skill, for the very purpose of competing with the manufactures of England by means of the lower wages and cheaper food of Belgium? Is it not a fact that English capital has formed the railroads and canals of America—nay, is at this moment constructing the railroads of France, our greatest rival, with English engineers and English labourers? Nay, are not the very war-steamers of France, which boastingly threaten our shores, fitted with machinery made from English models, or made in England, and worked by English engineers? Is there a manufactory in Europe, having any pretensions to excellence, whether opposed to the commercial interests of England or not, which is not fitted with English machinery? And, to finish the picture, do we not,

to the prejudice of our own often badly paid artisans and labourers, give employment in England to half a million of the population of Ireland? Yet, with all this existing as an every-day notorious fact, we are seriously asked if we should not, on the score of *jealousy of Ireland*, from a national prejudice of "England for the English," refuse to recommend manufactures and commerce as the means of employing the Irish people!*

I will answer such a challenge, not by appealing to the capitalists of Ireland to establish manufactories and to create employment, for such an appeal might possibly fail; but by appealing to the plain, straightforward, business-like, and intelligent capitalists of Manchester, in the way in which they like to be appealed to—by a simple statement of facts.

The village from which I now write is built close to a river containing about twice the volume of water of the river Irwell, which runs through Manchester. Within a distance of 500 yards close to this village there are a succession of falls in this river amounting to 75 feet. These falls afford six sites for water-power mills on each side the river. An extensive miller—Mr. Culbertson—has erected very large mills for the manufacture of oatmeal on one of these sites. He uses, therefore, one-twelfth of the power of the river. With putting only one-half of this power in requisition, he can grind into meal 500 tons of oats in a week. On one side of the river a perpendicular fall of water can be obtained of from 75 to 80 feet, and a constant and equable volume of water, equal to 1,000 horse power, can be made available at a very trifling expense. The bed of the river and the banks

* "Labour is like a perishable commodity; the smallest over-stock is sure to lower the market in an undue proportion. Take away but the trifling surplus, and a fair remuneration will be obtained. Even the employment of the Irish poor at home would produce an immediate effect upon the demand for English labour, which it is difficult duly to estimate; and thus the good of both countries seems to invite in encouraging a trial to be made."—*Prize Essay on the Management of Landed Property in Ireland*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 38.

are composed of shelving rocks of fine limestone in large blocks fit for any building purpose, and in the greatest abundance at the very foundation where mills might be built. The port of Sligo is five English miles off, and vessels of 100 tons can get up this river into a basin made by the lowest fall, where there is 20 feet water. The river empties itself into the sea within three miles from this place. Wages are 8*d.* and 10*d.* a day, and provisions as cheap as they are to be found anywhere in Ireland. Supposing that wages would be a little raised by employment, I take Dr. Kane on *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* (page 68) as my authority for stating, that "the average wages at a spinning and cotton-weaving manufactory on the east coast of Ireland are 6*s.* 9*d.* per week. The average in Lancashire is 10*s.* 6*d.*" The export trade from Sligo is very much greater than the import trade; vessels have consequently to come there in ballast: rather than sail there in ballast, they would accept very low freights, and cotton could be brought here at 4*s.* to 5*s.* per ton from Liverpool. The steam freight for goods from Sligo to Liverpool is now 10*s.* to 12*s.* per ton; in winter 15*s.* per ton. The port of Sligo is twenty-six hours' sail from Liverpool and twenty from Glasgow.

I will now point out the relative cost of steam and water-power. Dr. Kane (page 107) states the cost of steam-power to be 30*l.* per horse-power, and the cost of water-power to be 3*l.* per horse-power on the Upper Bann, in Ireland.* In Glasgow, he says,—“It is customary to pro-

* “Water-power is certainly much cheaper than steam-power, not merely in Ireland, but in all places where it is available. An eminent manufacturer in Leeds said to me, that ‘water-power is cheaper than steam at the mouth of this coalpit.’ All evidence bears this out. In Mr. Fairburn’s report and Mr. Bateman’s letter this point is decided as regards the Upper Bann. Even at present it may be taken at 3*l.* per annum per horse-power, steam costing from 20*l.* to 30*l.* It may thus be averaged at one-eighth. But Mr. Bateman considers, that ‘when the reservoir system is worked out, the horse-power will be had for 20*s.* per year, not one-twentieth of the cost of steam.’ Here, however, no reservoir is

vide a house for the manufacture, with the steam-engine, great gearing, and steam-pipes, and keep the engine going twelve hours a day, and heat the work, for 50*l.*, for each horse power." After going through the items of the cost of erecting a steam factory in Glasgow, and calculating the rent at 8 per cent. on the cost of everything except the steam-power, and deducting this sum from the rent paid for the factory, including the steam-power, he estimates the cost of each horse-power at 36*l.* annually. The whole cost of water-power for one horse-power in Greenock, including interest on the cost of the water-wheel, arc "trows," &c., he estimates at 5*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*, or 30*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* less than the cost of one horse-power by steam at Glasgow. From various calculations, Dr. Kane estimates the expense of water-power at "not more than one-tenth of the cost of steam." Taking, however, the example of Glasgow and Greenock, for the people pride themselves on managing things as economically there as anywhere, the difference, in round numbers, is a saving of 30*l.* per horse-power in favour of water-power. Apply this calculation to the existing circumstances here. 1,000 horse-power and a perpendicular fall of 75 feet can be easily obtained here at trifling cost, without any reservoirs or viaducts, as at Greenock, requiring large outlay. The height of fall will render applicable the overshot water-wheel, the most steady, economical, and best description of water-power; and a thousand horse-power thus secured will give a saving in the manufacturing power alone of 30,000*l.* per annum over the cost of the same amount of steam-power. Another advantage is, that water-power is found to be more steady and regular than steam-power, and more fit for delicate work. Dr.

needed, the supply of water being constant and equable."—*Dr. Kane's Industrial Resources of Ireland*, p. 107.

"Mr. Thom of Glasgow estimates the cost of steam-power at 30*l.* each horse-power."—*Ibid.*

Kane (page 110) states that—"cotton spun by water-power bears, and has always borne, a higher price than cotton spun by steam-power," on this account.*

I am, however, informed by a most intelligent gentleman, who has practically considered the matter, that it is doubtful whether a manufactory established here by a resident individual could be worked to his advantage. The payment of commissions for the purchase of the raw cotton, and afterwards the payment of commissions on the sale of his manufactured stuffs, and the risk of his article not suiting the market, in a great measure would do away with the advan-

* "The total mill-power inspected in Lancashire consists of—

Steam, 32,123 horse-power.

Water, 4,323 ditto.

In order to estimate how far water-power is valued in Lancashire, where coals are so cheap, we must learn not merely how much is used, but how much is left unused. Now I have endeavoured to calculate, on the same principles as I adopted for the surface of Ireland, the theoretical water-power of Lancashire. I have found that it is represented by 72,600 horse-power, taken as working continuously. Now the 4323 horse-power economized makes six per cent. of the entire; and as there are in Ireland a million and a quarter of such horse-power, it follows that, if we economized our water all over Ireland, in the same degree as water-power is actually economized in Lancashire, we should have at work a force of seventy-five horse-power; that is to say, almost equal to the mill-power of England returned by the factory inspectors. This shows how water-power is valued in Lancashire. In fact, advantage is taken of every possible situation. The river Irwell, which passes by Bolton and Manchester, and washes the heart of the factory districts, is the hardest worked stream probably in the world. It has, from its first mill at Bacun to Prestolee near Bolton, a fall of nine hundred feet, of which eight hundred are actually economized by mills. I do not know another example of such complete application of water-power as in that place, where coal is on all sides available. We may therefore pass away from this question, of whether water-power answers for mechanical purposes, which I should not have at all noticed, but that the public often receives a bold statement from a public man without troubling themselves to examine whether it be likely that he understands what he talks about.

"Contrast with this the actual economy of water-power in Ireland. By the returns of 1839, there are employed in Ireland—

Steam, 1503 horse-power.

Water, 2147 ditto."

—*Dr. Kane's Industrial Resources of Ireland*, p. 111.

tages of the water-power, low wages, and cheap provisions. In his opinion, a manufactory here could be worked to the greatest advantage by a Manchester house making it a branch of their establishment. The raw cotton could be brought here from Liverpool at a cost of 4s. to 5s. per ton, or less (from the fact, already mentioned, of a large proportion of vessels trading to Sligo coming there in ballast), and therefore as cheaply as it could be conveyed to Manchester. A few hands and superintendents from the parent establishment would insure the accurate execution of orders, which might be received in Manchester and executed and shipped from here.

This plan is really worth the consideration of Manchester capitalists and manufacturers. I have taken every pains to become acquainted with the facts, and believe I state them accurately. If, then, there is no hidden source of loss, which from want of manufacturing knowledge I may have omitted, it is clear that on the first cost of 1,000 horse water-power alone (and more than double that may be had here), there would be an annual gain, all other things being equal, of 30,000*l*.

One of the falls is magnificent; but I have no space now to dilate on fine scenery.*

* Immediately adjacent to the waterfall, and overlooking it, are the ruins of an old abbey or church, around which is the Roman Catholic burial-ground of the district. Perhaps no place could be found more invitive of contemplation, more fitting to lead men "to ponder with their own hearts," or to calm the ruffings of spirit which the turmoils of the world are calculated to excite. The ruins of the abbey overlook, and are built within thirty yards of the waterfall. The only feelings, however, which can arise in the mind of any visitor to this abbey church-yard are those of pain and disgust. When I entered the church-yard, I saw several parts of coffins strewn about on the grass; some with only their lids off—some with the sides broken in. Human bones were scattered about; some of them scarcely denuded of their covering of corruption. Against the ruins of the church, amongst the stones, numbers of human skulls were piled and thrown, and strewn about on the grass without order or care; and two or three pigs, which appeared to have free access to this church-yard, were rolling about and snuffing, and rooting up these last relics of mortality. Every grave looked as though it

But what will the Repealers say to this,—the gentlemen who “talk nonsense” about Repeal as the “cure-all” for every disease of Ireland? Pray, in the name of common

had been made, and the corpse tumbled in, and the earth covered over it in a hurry. Such as had tombstones over them had the stones rarely set square, generally with one corner sunk and another raised up. Big stones from the ruin were thrown about and strewn amongst the rank grass; all had the appearance of irreverence and neglect. It was a painful and disgusting sight. Until my visit to Ireland, I had been inclined to think that the Celtic races, amongst other virtues of strong attachment to kindred, excelled us in respect for the remains of the dead. Those who have travelled in France, and have visited the cemeteries there, cannot but have remarked the clinging remembrance of those who have departed which their graves exhibit. In the *Père la Chaise* at Paris little chapels over each grave are as common as monuments. In these is often seen a chair and a lamp burning, and surviving relatives resort to them for prayer. Most of them, too, are decked with garlands. In Wales, nothing is more common than to find flowers growing, carefully reared and watered, over the graves of the poorest peasants. I remember, on one occasion, giving great offence to a peasant in Wales, who came up to me in high excitement, and asked me why I had dared to walk over his son's grave, which I had just done, perfectly unconscious of hurting his or any one's feelings. In the cathedral at Llandaff, some three years ago, I saw a tombstone in the church over an old lady who had been buried *forty years*, strewn with fresh flowers. I asked the verger who had done this. He told me that the servant of the old lady had strewn flowers over her mistress's grave as long as she lived, and that on her death her (the servant's) daughter still continued to do so regularly every week. I remember mentioning this to Dr. Reece—an old and most respectable inhabitant of Cardiff—soon after I had seen it. The old man was silent for a moment, and then said to me, in a tone of strong emotion,—“Yes; and for ten years after my mother died, the choicest flower in my father's garden was laid by me every Sunday morning on her grave.” Evidences of feeling like this one cannot but respect; and I confess that I was disposed to look on the cold decencies of Christian burial common in England as denoting less of feeling, or, at any rate, more transient feeling for departed relations than our Celtic neighbours exhibit. Ireland, however, has dispelled this illusion. We respect the remains of the dead, and give them a decent, though frequently a coldly formal burial; and if those decencies are ever discovered to be infringed upon, general indignation is sure to arrest the outrage. But in Ireland, in the west, the dead are tumbled into a hole like dogs, and seem, as they have departed this life, to be forgotten. Their remains are unprotected, and the church-yards are frequently the disgusting resort of pigs.

On this subject, however, I cannot do better than quote an extract from a published letter of Mr. Eneas M'Donnell of London, a gentleman who took a warm interest in the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act, and who is interested in the county of Mayo:—

“*Burial and burial-places reform.*—It is impossible that anything short of an obdurate usage could reconcile the Irish peasantry to the absence, generally, of

sense, say no more about it; but strive, by every means in your power, thus to cement, closer and closer, your union with the industry and skill and capital of England. Seek

their pastors from the interment of the poor, and their attendance, as generally, at the interment of the rich. The known doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church respecting prayers for the dead, and its most interesting rites, should secure to the departed its benefits, and to the surviving its consolations. But, for some reason or other, it is not so in Ireland, so far as the poor are concerned. Too often the poor man's grave is neglected, at the same time that the factious meeting is attended, and the mourning relative or friend is left to indulge in the reflection, that a Catholic minister would be more profitably, more decently, and more suitably occupied in commending the souls of the deceased to heavenly peace than in exciting the hearts of the living to uncharitable strife. I am persuaded that the remains of 130,000 poor Irish Roman Catholics are annually consigned to earth, unattended by a clergyman. I believe that, in the county of Mayo alone, the number so bereft of Christian burial is not less than 7000 in each year.

“How general and how just would be the outcry of the clergy and the poor were this grievance enforced by the British Parliament! How inconsistent it is to reproach others with slandering the Irish peasantry as uncivilized and unchristian, and yet to treat them, at the same time, as if they were such! In truth, it will be difficult, in future ages, to explain how it had come to pass that a Christian and civilized people endured or tolerated a practice opposed to the word and the will of our God and our Church, and not required by penal laws, or enforced by the strong arm of hostile authority. Desertion of the poor and devotion to the rich form no part of the great Christian system, but are offensive to its principles and obnoxious to its primary policy. Those ministers of religion who labour to excite the Irish Catholic peasantry to complain that they are not admitted to the enjoyment of equal benefits and privileges with their British fellow-subjects, and who most loudly demand ‘equal justice for Ireland,’ are bound, by all the obligations of honourable consistency, to aid in promoting a reform of this bad practice; for they well know that the poorest Protestant peasant of England dies in the consoling certainty of a Christian burial, while the Catholic peasant of Ireland, who, on account of his faith, estimates the value thereof far more highly, dies in the desponding fear, nay, generally in the disheartening certainty of being excluded therefrom; and that, too, for no fault on his part, but because he is poor. Certainly, this is not a practice that ought to be retained. Bitter and numerous enough, Heaven knows, are the miseries attendant upon poverty during life; and it is too bad that the poor Irish peasant should be reminded of the odious distinction of his condition at the hour of death. The curse of poverty which had afflicted his life should end, at least, with that life; and it would be monstrous, and cruel, and unchristian, to hold out to him, in his last moments, the prospect of its continuance at his grave.

“Many of the burial places in Ireland present spectacles truly revolting. Often have I seen graves turned up by swine, and grave-yards unprotected by any enclosure whatsoever. I have recently solicited that eminently useful public officer, the county surveyor of Mayo, Mr. Brett, to favour me with a return, in tabular

to amalgamate yourselves with her,—to equal her,—to rival her,—to join with her,—and to partake in the glories, whether of peace or war, of one unrivalled empire.

form, of the number and condition of the burial-places within that county, together with an estimate of the probable cost of erecting or repairing enclosures thereof, as occasion may require, and adding houses or cottages for the residence of watchmen, and the accommodation of officiating clergymen.

“ I find, by it, that there are 143 burial-places in Mayo, making an average of 1 to 3,000 of the population. The following summary shows the number and condition thereof in each of the nine districts, called Baronies, into which that county is divided, as also the funds necessary for enclosures, repairs, and small houses; to which I add a column setting forth the amount levied on each barony by the grand jury within the last year; for which information I am indebted to the respectable authority of an esteemed private local friend, viz. :—

Name of Barony.	Enclos'd Burial Places.	Without any En- closure.	Par- tially Enclos'd	Total Number in each Barony.	Funds requisite for enclosures, Repairs, and Houses.	Grand Jury Cess, for the Year 1840.
					£	£
Burrischoole	2	3	8	13	118	3,140
Carra	4	3	12	19	223	4,281
Clanmorris	0	6	4	10	123	3,931
Costello	2	0	17	19	156	5,546
Erris	1	7	12	20	185	2,797
Gallen	2	3	17	22	187	4,749
Kilmain	4	1	6	11	59	5,982
Murrisk	2	2	7	11	77	2,147
Tyrawley	1	4	13	18	132	6,814
Total	18	29	96	143	1,260	39,387

“ Here, in a single district of a Christian land, we see that of 143 burial-places there are not more than 18 enclosed, and 96 even partially enclosed, with no less than 29 without any enclosure whatsoever; in all of which the poor have been generally interred without the benefit of Christian burial: and it may be truly added that this district illustrates the present condition of by far the greater portion of Ireland. The grand jury cess of Mayo for a single year (1840), levied chiefly from the peasantry, and amounting nearly to 40,000*l.*, is 31 times larger than the sum required to erect or repair all those burial-places, together with houses for the residence of a gatekeeper or sexton, and the accommodation of officiating clergymen. The cess in one barony (Tyrawley) is 50 times, and that in another (Kilmain) 100 times larger than the sum so required in each of those baronies. I cannot say whether the present grand jury laws would warrant the levy and outlay of public money for such uses. If not, they could, and I, for one, think, should be amended with that view. If, on the other hand, a collection should be approved, it would, surely, be more worthy of the patronage and favour

But, "talk nonsense" about Repeal,—excite the people,—plant hatred in their breasts against the Saxons, and against England,—make it dangerous, or, at any rate, not pleasant for Englishmen to reside among you,—and what sane Englishman, with capital to go where he likes, will come here and spend his thousands at the risk of being shot for his folly? I will simply put these facts before sensible Irishmen, and I feel satisfied that there is no sensible Irishman who, after calmly reflecting upon them, will not come to the conclusion, whatever may have been his previous opinions, that it is not wise, either for the welfare of Ireland or of Irishmen, to perpetuate agitation and disturbance, whether for Repeal or for any other object, and thus to drive away capital and skill, which alone can give *employment to the people*.

of the Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, than those political and unavailing pecuniary levies on the poor now so prevalent; particularly when, contrasting the required sum of 1,260*l.* with the number of Catholic inhabitants in Mayo, it would appear that the contribution of a single penny from each would more than suffice to complete the necessary funds.

"Knowing as I well know, and fondly prizing the warm sympathies of my poor countrymen and countrywomen, I feel assured that no measure of "reform" could be devised more agreeable to them than that which would secure, for the future, the decent Christian burial of deceased relatives, and neighbours of all degrees, poor as well as rich, attended by their pastors for the administration of the religious rites of their Church; nor could any subject be named more deserving of the early attention of the prelates and clergy, at their meetings, called 'Conferences.' The disedifying scenes which sometimes occurred at burials were generally owing to the intemperance of individuals, and the absence of the priest. The people have remedied the intemperance, and it would well become the prelates and clergy to remedy the absence of the priest. In truth, no more suitable companion for the present Temperance Reform could be found than this Christian Burial Reform."

LETTER XIII.

THE PEASANTRY OF MAYO.—LEASES AND ABSENTEES.

Appearance of Peasants' Cottages—The Criticisms of the Dublin Press—Rundale Villages—Waste Lands—Leases—Their Disadvantages and Advantages—Advocated when containing proper Covenants—Evils of Absenteeism.

BALLINA, MAYO, September 25.

THE chief features of the country which strike a stranger entering the county of Mayo from Sligo, are the wretched and filthy cottages of the peasantry, denoting a state of great debasement and poverty; and the vast tracts of level unreclaimed bog-land, capable of producing wealth, and giving the means of comfort to the wretched-looking and squalid peasantry that live on its borders. Each cottage has its dunghill and filthy cesspool close to the door, rendering cleanliness impossible, and generating fever and disease. The pig routs up the dunghill, and the ducks dabble in the cesspool, and run in and out of the cottage at pleasure. The children roll about on the mud floor, made damp and filthy by the feet of the ducks and pigs, and nothing can exceed their ragged, dirty, and lost appearance, unless it be the forlorn aspect of their bare-footed mother. There are exceptions to this condition of the people; here and there a whitewashed cottage, cleanly and orderly within, and the dunghill out of sight, show progressing improvement; and,

generally, the people are said to be much better off than they were, owing to the more remunerating prices for provisions, which the small farmers have obtained during the last three years.

It will be the object of my letter to-day to show the causes both of that improvement and of the general neglect which the country exhibits. I shall prefer doing this chiefly from evidence which has already been ascertained on authority. It will then be for reflecting men to form an opinion, on unquestionable data, how much of this condition is to be traced to bad or good legislation, and how much of it is to be attributed to the conduct of individuals in their *social* capacity.

I have had the opportunity of seeing the Dublin papers at the news-room here, and their inveterate partisanship, right or wrong, has not a little amused me. Considering the spirit in which each is conducted, it was consolatory to find each, in speaking of my letter on the tenant-right, no matter what might be its party views, "hint a fault and hesitate dislike," yet each on different grounds; for this assured me that I had not taken a party view, and strengthened my conviction of the accuracy of the view I had taken. The *Freeman's Journal*, of Repeal politics, "deplores the course into which I seem unhappily diverging," as one not likely to "effect much good" for the people. The *Pilot*, a Repeal paper, is of opinion that all my conclusions are based on an opinion that "absenteeism" is the monster grievance of Ireland, and that anything I may write about that evil is mere "moonshine," unless I trace the cause of it (which it attributes to the attractions of London society), and show its remedy, which it indicates to be a repeal of the Union.* The *Mail*, which is a high Tory and Orange paper, writes in a pouting

* That is, a repeal of the Union will put an end to the attractions of London society! Such is Irish logic.

tone about "research in blue books," and says, I "might have found all my conclusions without trouble or care, many times during the last two or three years, in the columns of the *Mail*," and then funnily terms that which I "might have found" "*twaddle*."* It then wishes to direct my attention to the subject of "leases," which it indicates to have been the cause of that "subdivision of land, and its baneful consequences," which my letters to you have described.

My letter of to-day will, perhaps, show the value that is to be attached to these three different opinions. I am much mistaken if the evidence, fairly put, will not prove that wherever the landlords have been resident, and have attended to the duties of their position, there has been improvement; and that the injury which has resulted from leases, has been owing to their total neglect, either of inserting proper covenants in them, or of not enforcing them if inserted. That the repeal of the Union will lessen the attractions of London, to those who prefer them to attention to their duties at home, may well be doubted; and with or without resorting to the desperate remedy of Repeal, the question will still remain the same—by what means can legislation deal with the evil of absenteeism? The sifting of these questions may, perhaps, "effect much good" for the people.

Each of these subjects, however, in their order.

I have had the opportunity of riding over the estate of Mr. Vaughan Jackson, of Carramore, in the neighbourhood of this town. Some years ago, when he undertook the management of his estate, many parts of it were held in rundale, or joint-tenancy. This mode of tenure was for-

* The *Mail*, too, in criticising the letter, speaks with an air of amusing superiority about there being much unnecessary show of "Schoolboy learning" relative to the rights of real property. I should say he "was a fine *boy* of his age," who knew much about the second volume of Blackstone on "The Rights of Things." And then, *Coke upon Littleton* laughed at as "Schoolboy learning!" How amusing people are when they get out of their depths!

merly common. Some half dozen or more tenants took a portion of land on lease, and jointly and severally bound themselves to pay the rent. This was their only obligation. As long as they paid the rent they were left to themselves to do as they liked. As their numbers increased and their children grew up, they subdivided this land with their children, and built their cottages in a cluster, without the slightest attempt at regularity, and without street or lane, crooked passages in and out between the cottages being the only means of communication with one another; the only uniformity observed being that each cottage had a filthy cesspool and dunghill close to its door. I rode on horseback through two of these villages yesterday, still held in joint-tenancy,—one named Carrowbeggin, belonging to a gentleman named Atkinson, and another named Balderig, still held on rundale lease from Mr. Jackson. There was just room, with care to ride my horse on the crooked pathway between the dunghills and cesspools. I went into one of these cottages. It had one room, no chimney, and a turf fire on the mud floor. Its furniture consisted of a bedstead with some hay on it, and one blanket, a deal box, and an iron pot. There were five children in it, so ragged that they were nearly naked, and two pigs, begrimed with the soil from the cesspool at the door. The mother was scarcely clad, and barefooted. Cottage, children, pigs, and mother, were all equally dirty. No description can convey an idea of such a collection of dunghills and filthy hovels. The people were all alike, wretchedly poor, and many of them had but an acre and a half of land to subsist themselves and families upon. They are perpetually quarrelling and fighting with one another about their ducks and pigs, and about trespassing on one another's lands. Mr. Jackson, on coming to his estate as a resident landlord, devoted his time to remedy this deplorable condition of his tenantry. He drained a lake of considerable extent; made main drains through his bog-land, that

his tenants might run their drains into them; put each man on a squared farm of from 5 to 10 acres (which they call here "stripping" the land) on the land thus recovered; gave them a plan on which to build their houses, in the centre of their farms; superintended their execution, and engaged himself to pay the tenants the value of such improvements as he approved of. Formerly his rents were never paid; now they are paid with the greatest punctuality, there is an absence of all quarrelling, they have got into habits of comparative cleanliness and order, and their industry has been remarkably increased, every portion of their land now being cultivated.* To effect this, however, has been a work of time, patience, and diligent attention. The land is let at 25s. an acre rent, and many of the tenants have constant work given to them at 6d. a day in jobbing about and effecting improvements in draining. In this manner about fifty men are employed.

Lord Arran has thus remodelled the whole of his estate in this county from the rundale system, and has established a model farm. Colonel Knox Gore, Mr. Howley, Mr. Knox, of Mount Falcon, Mr. Knox, of Netley, and other gentlemen, have given great means of employment to the labourers by building and carrying out similar improvements. But these gentlemen have attended to the duties of their station, and the result has invariably been to beautify and improve the country, to increase produce, and to benefit both landlord and tenant. Some idea of the progress made may be formed from the fact that from 4,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* worth of manure is annually sold in Ballina, chiefly sea-weed. This year 150*l.* worth of guano was purchased, the most part by the small tenants. On the other hand, to use a common phrase in

* A large portion of their time and means, when living in rundale villages, was consumed in attending petty sessions on charges of assaults and trespass, and in paying lawyers' bills. That state of things has ceased where the rundale system of holding has been got rid of.

Ireland - there is great room for improvement." Mr. Griffiths, the General Valuation Commissioner, in his returns of waste lands in each county in Ireland, says, that much of the low-lying bog and moor-land on the road between Sligo and Ballina—

"offer great facility for improvement, inasmuch as there is abundance of clay and gravel immediately beneath the bogs, which are frequently shallow, and in consequence the surface when drained can be easily and cheaply raised with the subsoil."

The land is, however, waiting to be improved. The same gentleman estimates that there are—

"150,000 acres of unimproved bog and coarse pasture-land, about 50,000 of which may be advantageously drained and cultivated, and 100,000 acres may be drained for pasture."

Speaking of the county of Mayo, he says—

"This county contains a greater extent of unimproved waste lands than any other in Ireland, yet a large portion of it presents unusual facilities for reclamation and cultivation." There are "500,000 acres of unimproved land, of which about 170,000 acres might be improved for cultivation, and 300,000 might be drained for pasture."

The neglect of improving these wastes, and the poverty-stricken condition of the people may, in a very great measure, be attributed to the absenteeism of many of the more wealthy landlords who totally neglect their estates, on the one hand, and on the other to the very general want of judicious leases.

First, with regard to the question of leases; and I will state the disadvantages which have resulted from them before we consider their advantages. In the present consideration I confine myself to the *terminable* leases of tenants.

I have already stated the evils which have arisen from a lease to a community in joint-tenancy. The people under it subdivide in rundale, and come to certain starvation. A

* Land Commissioners' Report, p. 51.

lease, however, is a mutually binding bargain, or agreement, made on certain terms. If the terms of the lease merely bargain for a certain rent in return for permission to live on the land for a stated period, and the land is ill-used and covered with paupers under such a lease, is this the fault of the principle of a *lease*, or of the landlord who makes such a lease? Such, however, were the rundale leases.

In the evidence taken before Lord Devon (Appendix, Part I.), it is urged by Mr. Henry Kennedy (p. 12) that a tenant has more opportunities of being litigious under a lease, and that—

“The landlord has not the command over the possession of the land which he would have if the tenant had no lease.”

Of course not. What is the object of a lease but to take away that power from the landlord, on certain terms, and to give greater security of possession to the tenant? The landlord, however, who looks after his estate, while he gives encouragement and security to his tenants by leases, will take care to have such judicious covenants inserted in his leases as will guard against subdivision and subletting, and will insure a proper system of cultivation. He will then have complete power to eject the tenant whenever he breaks his bargain in any one of these respects; and he surely retains as much command over the possession of the land as is compatible with any beneficial arrangement between landlord and tenant.

Mr. Kincaid, the agent of Lord Palmerston's estates in Sligo, mentions (Appendix, Part I. page 30) six leases granted for three lives, or 61 years, which terminated in 1838. The lessees appear to have become middlemen, and immediately to have sublet, and when the leases terminated 280 pauperized tenants were found on the leased lands.* This

* See first note to last Letter, p. 175.

is certainly a monstrous evil for the landlord. But was this to be attributed to the principle of leases? Considering the character of the Irish people, such a lease as this was most injudicious. Had the leases contained covenants against subletting and subdivision, and had those covenants been enforced, this abuse could not have arisen. On one of these leases, of the town-land of Mullaghmore, there were 201 Irish acres, and when the lease fell in, there were upon it 135 tenants. There cannot, of course, be a greater evil to the country and to the community than a lease which permits such a state of things as this, and prevents the interference of the landlord. But it was most gross neglect and mismanagement on the part of those who gave such a lease. Instances of this kind, however, are very numerous in the evidence.

"The first thing a man does when he gets a lease is to get under-tenants" * says Mr. Mayne, of Monaghan.

Mr. Taylor, of Fermanagh,† thinks tenants-at-will—

"Improve just as much, and sometimes more than those who have leases."

The tenant-right is a kind of substitute for leases here. The tenants are paid for their improvements.

Mr. Wray, of Ardnamona, near Donegal (p. 167), thinks—

"The improvement is greater on farms held at will than by lease; the tenant's interest who holds by lease being considered sufficient encouragement for him to make permanent improvements on his land, he seldom receives the same assistance from his landlord."

"In this district," says Mr. O'Hara, of Annahmore, an extensive landowner, near Sligo (p. 192),—

* Appendix, Part II. p. 129.

† *Ibid.* p. 141.

"Long leases have proved injurious to the condition of the tenants and to the improvement of the land. The tenant having secured a long term, procrastinates, gets into lazy habits, neglects his business, alienates portions of his farm to meet his rent or engagements, or provide for his family; goes on con-acring and impoverishing until his land is exhausted and himself a pauper, or his land is covered with paupers—himself the greatest. Four marked cases now present themselves on my property in proof of the bad effects of long leases. First by the termination of a lease made in 1773, to one tenant of eighty acres at 9s. per acre; the original tenant sold his interest to the present occupier, who is in the worst condition, and no improvement whatever is made: the land is con-acred to exhaustion, and three sub-tenants on it. I know this myself. The second is a farm leased in 1772 to one tenant (by whose death it terminated), of 70 acres at 5s. per acre. The tenant had only 16 acres in his possession at his death, having sublet the remainder. I believe there are about fifteen families upon it. The third case is 368 acres, leased in 1784 to one tenant, of excellent land, in the best condition, at 10s. per acre for 256 acres of upland, with 112 acres of bottom and bog not charged for. This farm is now occupied by the four sons of the lessee, holding in common, they have no division, and all the buildings, walls, and fences, and drains are decayed or destroyed, the land lying unfenced and exhausted and covered with weeds; and I will venture to say that if now surveyed, I shall not be able to find the number of acres of upland that was leased to them. They have let some of the lower part go back to bog. The term of the original lease was for three lives. The fourth case is 208 acres, leased in the year 1784 to one tenant, at 5s. per acre: the lessee apportioned it among his three sons; they among six, and it now has twenty-four families upon it. *Each of these farms should have made the fortune of the tenant, had he been possessed of common industry.* I could state several similar instances; but these have occurred within the last few weeks. There was one case of a farm about the same size, leased by my father to one tenant. The lease lasted for many years. I found the son on it with 30 tenants, and himself the poorest man of the whole. The tenants admitted that they had been in the habit of contributing to his support. That was from drink."

It is true that these instances indicate lamentable indolence and absence of exertion so soon as a sufficiency of potatoes are secured. But these leases appear to have been made without any covenants to protect the landlord, and

were therefore, under any circumstances, injudicious, and in Ireland were certain to produce such results.

Mr. Burchell, of Drumshambo, near Leitrim (p. 247), says, the land is generally held under middlemen under determinable leases.

"Wherever there are leases the land is always subdivided." But that "the clauses against subletting, or setting, or selling, are *seldom enforced*."

Mr. Jackson, of Carramore, near Ballina, says (p. 398),—

"In cases where they have old leases at low rents, the better class of farmers almost all go to ruin."

I have now stated every opinion against leases which I could find in the evidence. With regard to what Mr. Maync, of Monaghan, and other witnesses state, proper covenants in a lease *enforced* would prevent subletting, by taking a man's farm from him if he attempted to sublet. If, considering the Irish character, long leases are not found to be beneficial, then do not give long leases. But the alienation and impoverishment of land of which Mr. O'Hara speaks, could not take place if proper covenants were strictly enforced. There must, however, whether with or without leases, be strict attention to the management of an estate, or, like every other thing, it will go to ruin from neglect. But with proper attention and good management, it is common sense and human nature that a man who feels certain that he shall reap the rewards of extra industry on his land, will strive more to improve his farm than the man who has no such certainty,* and who is served with a notice to quit from year to year (as is often the case), in order that he may be treated as a trespasser, and be turned out at any time. That this is the fact, I will now proceed to show from the evidence.

* A witness named Nixon, in giving evidence at Dromahair, Leitrim, before the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry, Ireland (Appendix F, p. 145), says,—“ I hold some fields from year to year, and I should consider myself a fool were I to lay out anything on them.”

Mr. George Shegog, grazier, of Cloves, Monaghan (Appendix, Part II. p. 124),—

“Thinks tenancy-at-will injurious to both landlord and tenant.”

Mr. James Walker, farmer, of Ballyloughan, Donegal (p. 157), says,—

“The mode of tenure-at-will prevents all improvements, and, therefore, keeps the tenant in poverty; it promotes sub-division, for the tenant cannot be worse off thereby, and it acts detrimentally on the rent.”

Mr. James M’Gowan, merchant, of Ballyshannon, Donegal (p. 175), says,—

“The tenant holding at will has no encouragement to improve his farm, and if he did expend money to improve his land, and the landlord was a covetous man, he would take advantage of it, and charge him a higher rent, which I have known to be the case in this town, even in improvements on tenements, and charging them quadruple what they paid before.”

Mr. George Beattie, farmer, of Finnod, county of Sligo (p. 184), thinks,—

“The tenants would be inclined to improve more if they held under a lease.”

Mr. John Brett, land-agent, of Tubbercurry, Sligo (p. 189), says,—

“If leases were granted, the tenants would not require any aid; I am satisfied they would make improvements themselves.”

Mr. Andrew Baker, grazier, near Boyle (p. 197), says,—

“There is very great anxiety for leases; and I think they would insure to the landlord his rent. If the tenants had leases, it would give them an interest in the land.”

Mr. Martin Garrety, land-surveyor, Sligo (p. 208), says,—

“The tenants mostly being at will, they improve very little until they get a lease, and then they do what they can.”

Mr. Thomas Fibbs, grazier, of Collooney, Sligo (p. 211), says,—

“There is great anxiety on the part of the tenants for leases; with leases they would make permanent improvements that would be benefi-

cial to them, which, as tenants-at-will, the greater part of them will not do."

Mr. William Clarke, land-surveyor, of Calry, near Sligo (p. 216), says,—

"I think there could be a great deal of improvement made in the country, if there were leases upon proper footings granted."

Mr. James M'Gan, of Sheepwalk, Roscommon, farmer, grazier, and land-agent (p. 228), says,—

"Holding by lease has a good effect upon the improvements of the farms and the tenants."

Further on he says (p. 232),—

"The tenants should get leases binding them to follow up a system of green crops, house feeding, and manuring, and also not to divide their holdings. If this were done, and *proper attention paid from the commencement to enforce the clauses in the leases*, I am of opinion that all would go on well. For instance, take a town-land with twenty tenants; you could calculate on eighteen of those doing what you required out of the twenty; then, in that case, it would be considered no hardship at all to turn out the two defaulters; you would have eighteen to two with you, and you would hunt the others down. *To do this well, the landlord should look a little after his own business.* Schools should be established to educate the children in reading, writing &c., as well as agriculture. *If the sons of small farmers were better taught, they would never calculate on getting one-half of a miserable farm from their parents, thereby making paupers of themselves, as well as the remaining portion of the family; they would assist to till the land in such a way that grazing would be upset in this country.*"

Speaking afterwards of some tenants who had their rents increased for making improvements, he says (p. 233),—

"When I asked the people 'What is the reason you do not go on with the improvements?' they all came forward and said, 'By so and so, since we were charged that money, I never dirtied my shovel in the gravel;'—that was the expression made use of."

Mr. J. Duckworth, magistrate, farmer, and delegate Poor Law guardian, Mount Erris, near Boyle, says (p. 238),—

"Those who have leases appear to me to improve their lands more than those who are tenants-at-will."

Captain K. Lloyd, magistrate, private gentleman, small proprietor, and land-agent, Corradoey, Sligo, says (p. 243),—

“I am satisfied tenancy-at-will has a most injurious influence in checking improvements.”

Mr. Patrick Mackeon, of Drumshambo, Leitrim, farmer, says (p. 252),—

“In his opinion tenancy-at-will prevents the tenant improving the property as much as he would do if he had a lease.”

Mr. James Cowan, of Cahirtown, Leitrim, farmer, says (p. 257),—

“Where there is tenure given the tenants improve.”

Mr. James Duke, surgeon, of Mohill, says (p. 270),—

“There is the greatest possible anxiety to get leases. Farmers have offered to build slated houses if they got leases.”

He says afterwards (p. 271),—

“The tenants-at-will are trying to deteriorate the appearance of their farms lest a valuator should be sent out, which they are frequently threatened with.”

The Rev. George Gearty, parish priest of Annaduff, Leitrim, says (p. 278),—

“He considers a twenty-one years’ lease a reasonable tenure to encourage improvements. Thirty-one years is what would be considered a good lease.”

I think it is unnecessary to give any further quotations on the subject. It is clear that general opinion accords with common sense, that men are more likely to improve if they are sure they will profit by it than if they are in doubt, and when the probability is that their rents will be raised immediately if they do improve.

It would seem, then, to be a correct opinion that it is advisable in all cases to give leases, *provided “the landlord looks a little after his own business;”* and what else has he to do?

This question leads to the consideration of the subject of

"absenteeism;" for the fact that "absenteeism" exists to an enormous extent in Ireland proves that they find something else to do. I have not space in my present letter to copy a number of quotations I had marked, showing the evils which result from absenteeism. In the words of one witness. — *It is the ruin of the country.*" This, however, I think, will scarcely be disputed:—There must be dearth of employment where there is no resident gentry; and there must be the loss of moral influence and example in improving and teaching the people.*

* The following evidence on this subject is taken at random from a vast number of similar statements. Mr. Isaac Gibson, farmer of Drumshan, near Ballisborough, in the county of Carra, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (Part II. p. 106) says,—"We have not a resident landlord within ten miles of us. Though there is between 50,000*l.* and 60,000*l.* a year taken out of the neighbourhood, we do not get 100*l.* of it returned."

The same witness says, further on (*Ibid.* p. 104),—"There is one suggestion I would make as to agricultural societies. If there could be a possibility of forcing non-resident landlords to pay something to support agricultural societies, it would be a noble institution. We have not a resident landlord within twelve miles of us Mr. Ruly, farmer. The landlords only sent us 2*l.* towards our society. An absentee tax would be a good thing for us."

Mr. John Cassidy of Any, in the county of Monaghan, farmer (*Ibid.* p. 116), says,—"There is about two thousand acres of land subject to the flood. I would suggest that, if the tenants were all under the immediate landlord, it would be better for them all; and if a landlord is resident in the country the tenant lives more comfortably than when he is away from it."

Mr. William Patterson of Gutmore, near Fivemile-town, in the county of Tyrone, land-agent (*Ibid.* p. 119), is asked,—"Is there any difference between the management of estates where the proprietors are residents, as contradistinguished from those where the proprietors are absentees?" "We have no absentees at this moment. I may say there is a manifest improvement in the management of the properties. I am happy to say that the landed proprietors are paying more attention to it, and encouraging their tenantry."

John Pearce Hamilton, Esq. of Oakfield, in the county of Fermanagh, agent (*Ibid.* p. 132), is asked,—"Is there any difference in the management of the estates of absentee proprietors?" "No, I do not know that there is. Where there is a resident proprietor they are generally looked after better. He is an eye-witness how things are going on."

Mr. James Donleavy of Glenties, in the county of Donegal, landholder (*Ibid.* p. 153), says,—"We are under the agents and bailiffs, who have no feeling for the people, our landlord being an absentee nobleman. He never comes near us to see if we are oppressed or tyrannised over. We should have some hopes if our

It may be conceded that you cannot by direct legislation force any landed proprietor to reside on his estate ; it would be an arbitrary interference with his liberty which is not

landlord would visit us once a year, as other landlords do, that we should have some redress."

Mr. James Walker, of Ballysloughan, in the parish of Killaghtee, in the county of Donegal, farmer (*Ibid.* p. 158), is asked,—“Is there much difference in the management of estates of different proprietors?” “The tenants of middlemen and absentee landlords are much worse managed, especially when the agent is a non-resident. As far as I can see, the agent's duties consist in getting the rent by any means.”

Mr. John Crommer, of Drummish, farmer (*Ibid.* p. 159), says,—“The landlord and agent are both absentees, and it is a great loss to the tenantry upon a large estate when it happens so. I think it would be better if one or both of them were living upon the estate.”

The same witness, further on, says,—“I see estates where landlords are resident, and I think the tenants are better off, though they pay a high rent. They have some advantages in that case. There is a great deal of money laid out, and more labour given, and many other things.”

Mr. George Cecil Wray, of Ardnemona, near Donegal, farmer (*Ibid.* p. 169), is asked,—“Is there any difference in the management of estates of different classes?—for example, the estates of large or small, or absentee or resident proprietors?” “There is a very marked difference in the management of the estates of absentee and resident proprietors: on the estates of absentees the tenants do not receive the same encouragement as from resident proprietors; and the waste lands, possessing great natural advantages, are totally neglected. On one of the largest estates in this district, even the agent is not a resident, seldom visiting the property except once a year, when he comes to collect rent in the depth of winter. An agent should reside on the property under his management; he should perfectly understand the value of land; should also possess a thorough knowledge of farming, otherwise he cannot correct abuses in the management of the land, nor can he otherwise appreciate the exertions of an industrious tenant. By his residing on the property he can settle all the disputes among the tenantry; he can acquire a knowledge of the local advantages possessed by different farms, that a non-resident, merely visiting the property occasionally, could never possibly know anything of. The resident agent can, by timely assistance, often save a sinking but deserving tenant from ruin. There is no limit to the good that may be done by a proper agent who is constantly among the people. The evil effects arising from non-residence are but too evident.”

There are a great number of similar statements, which it is unnecessary to repeat. These are taken from the first hundred and fifty pages of one of the Land Commission blue books, and are sufficient to bear out the text.

The effect of personal instruction and encouragement on the part of the landlord is strongly exemplified in the case of Sir Richard O'Donnell's management of his smaller tenantry in the county of Mayo,—“a system of dealing,” says Mr. Smith of Deanston, “which, if followed over two-thirds of Ireland, would go far to remove

Westport, however, exhibits as much of squalid poverty and wretchedness as is anywhere to be seen in the country. It is a singular fact that the further you travel westward in Ireland, the more bountiful does nature appear to have been in heaping upon the country natural resources, and the less has been done by the hand of man to use and improve them. I speak advisedly when I say that there is no part of England which possesses one-tenth of the means of creating wealth and prosperity which are to be found in this very county of Mayo, which in the best of times exhibits a degree of degraded wretchedness, such as will be in vain sought for in any part of England; whilst in time of need and bad harvests, England—less favoured England—has stepped forward to save the population of Mayo from starvation. I propose to-day to glance at those advantages, and at their neglect: the investigation may suggest means of profiting by them.

In the Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works in Ireland (page 6), is a description of the half barony of Erris, which lies a few miles to the north of this town, and embraces the north-west portion of the county of Mayo. "This district is 29 by 23 miles in extent, and contains 230,016 acres; 34,664 acres are under tillage and pasture; 184,013 acres mountain and bog, all capable of being highly improved; the remainder lakes and high mountainous tracts." It is "so deeply indented by bays, creeks, and inlets, that no point in it is more than six miles from the sea;" and "it is intersected by several rivers and streams, *the available water-power of which, though sufficient to work the machinery of 250 mills*, even in the driest season, flows uselessly to the ocean." The deep sea fishing banks off Erris, "swarm with fish of every kind, especially cod and ling." There is anchorage in the different creeks and bays covering "a space of 84 square miles." The report goes on:—"It is much to be deplored that this inexhaustible source of national wealth is almost entirely neglected; at this time there is not a single

have some public duty to perform, who are complained of as absentees; it is the men who have nothing to do, and who do nothing but amuse themselves in wasting their time and often their means also, away from their estates. How can you reach them? If their own interests and the calls of duty will not prevail upon them to reside, you can only reach them by legislation to compel them to reside, whether there be a repeal of the Union or not. It is conceded that you cannot reach this evil by direct legislation, but you may perhaps by indirect legislation.* Where would be the injustice of imposing a tax of 20 per cent. upon every absentee landlord, defining an absentee to be a landowner who did not reside four months in the year on his estate. Appropriate the sum thus raised towards the payment of the county cess of the district where his estate is situated, and to that extent relieve the tenants from the burden of the county cess. This would enable him to pass seven months of the year in London, attending to his parliamentary duties, if he had any, and to spend a month on the continent where he pleased. Surely this is scope enough for any man. Even this, which appears to me to be the only feasible plan, has its mischiefs. There would still be absentees who would neither reside nor pay the tax, but who would coolly write down to their agents to impose the 20 per cent. on their tenants in increased rent. Such is the intense competition for land, that the tenants would pay this, or promise to do so. This would more than neutralize the relief the tenants would get in the county cess in many cases, and increase the misery of the tenant, until at last that misery became so great as to begin to effectuate its own relief, as it has done in parts of Ireland, by the invention of "good-will," "tenant

* Absenteeism was made the subject of complaint in the reign of Edward I., was taxed by Richard II., and threatened to be punished with forfeiture by Henry VIII.

right," and other contrivances for cheating the landlord and one another.

It is clear, however, that the time is fast approaching when landlords who neglect their duties will be compelled by some means to perform them. It is but justice that they should be so compelled. The clergyman neglects his duties at the risk of losing his benefice; the barrister loses his clients, the physician his patients, the tradesman his business, as the certain punishment of neglect. On what possible pretext, therefore, can any landlord complain that he also should be compelled to fulfil the duties of his station? There exists not a more useful member of society than a good landlord. He is the example, teacher, arbitrator, helper, friend of the poor, and the patron of every good work. Can there be a prouder position? Yet there are landlords proud of doing nothing—proud of being useless beings in creation—proud of cheating their country out of every good thing, and giving nothing in return. The lowest artisan does something for his country. Devoid of every advantage of birth, of education, and of wealth, he yet returns to his country an equivalent for all that he receives from it. He *creates* something—does something by his own exertion—to benefit the community. But the absentee, idle, spendthrift landlord, born with every advantage, deriving benefits from everybody, cheats everybody, by doing, creating, effecting nothing in return. He is proud of being less useful to his country than the lowest artisan,—proud of being a nonentity. *What right thinking man but from his heart despises the idle, useless, absentee landlord.*

LETTER XIV.

THE NEGLECTED NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF MAYO;
AND THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

Description of Westport, and Condition of the Mayo Peasantry—The Capabilities of Improvement, of creating Wealth, and of giving Employment, which Erris affords—Comparative Value of Turf and Coal for Fuel—Lancashire deficient to Erris in Natural Advantages—Neglect of these Advantages, and Poverty of the People—Means of Remedy suggested for bringing Waste Lands into Cultivation, and employing the People.

WESTPORT, MAYO, September 29.

THE town of Westport lacks few of those advantages which nature has so liberally bestowed on almost every part of Ireland. So far as the town itself is concerned, it is tolerably well built, and it has in its neighbourhood some very picturesque and beautiful scenery. The mansion of Lord Sligo is close to the town, and the rich hanging woods of his domain are a great ornament to the place. Clew-bay, dotted over with a vast number of islands, lies at its foot, and the magnificent pyramidal mountain, Croagh Patrick, or as it is called here "The Reek," is within a few miles of it. From this hill the view of Clew-bay and its 365 islands is perhaps one of the finest sights of Ireland.* The neighbourhood of

* I was told there, that the son of a cook in Roscommon, on ascending this hill with some friends, and seeing the vast number of islands in the bay, and their picturesque beauty, characteristically gave expression to his admiration by exclaiming,—“Oh, what a number of beautiful little islands! sure they are scattered about like peas on a flooded trencher!”

Westport, however, exhibits as much of squalid poverty and wretchedness as is anywhere to be seen in the country. It is a singular fact that the further you travel westward in Ireland, the more bountiful does nature appear to have been in heaping upon the country natural resources, and the less has been done by the hand of man to use and improve them. I speak advisedly when I say that there is no part of England which possesses one-tenth of the means of creating wealth and prosperity which are to be found in this very county of Mayo, which in the best of times exhibits a degree of degraded wretchedness, such as will be in vain sought for in any part of England; whilst in time of need and bad harvests, England—less favoured England—has stepped forward to save the population of Mayo from starvation. I propose to-day to glance at those advantages, and at their neglect: the investigation may suggest means of profiting by them.

In the Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works in Ireland (page 6), is a description of the half barony of Erris, which lies a few miles to the north of this town, and embraces the north-west portion of the county of Mayo. "This district is 29 by 23 miles in extent, and contains 230,016 acres; 34,664 acres are under tillage and pasture; 184,013 acres mountain and bog, all capable of being highly improved; the remainder lakes and high mountainous tracts." It is "so deeply indented by bays, creeks, and inlets, that no point in it is more than six miles from the sea;" and "it is intersected by several rivers and streams, *the available water-power of which, though sufficient to work the machinery of 250 mills, even in the driest season, flows uselessly to the ocean.*" The deep sea fishing banks off Erris, "swarm with fish of every kind, especially cod and ling." There is anchorage in the different creeks and bays covering "a space of 84 square miles." The report goes on:—"It is much to be deplored that this inexhaustible source of national wealth is almost entirely neglected; at this time there is not a single

wherry or fishing smack in the entire barony; and all the fish taken by small boats and curraghs scarcely suffices for domestic consumption. The soil of Erris with ordinary cultivation yields excellent crops; its oats bring an advance of 2d. to 4d. in the 45lbs. in the English and Scotch markets, and its beef and mutton are greatly prized." The report goes on to attribute the want of improvement to "high rents," and the "lack of enterprise" of the people.

In a former letter I have shown you that water-power is 30*l.* a year per horse-power cheaper than steam-power for manufacturing purposes. Not only, however, is there this immense water-power, but there are vast tracts of bog. These very bogs, instead of being, as now, wild, bleak, and unprofitable wastes, would, if managed with industry and enterprise, be sources of wealth, vying with the coal-fields of Lancashire. Dr. Kane, in his work on the *Industrial Resources of Ireland* (p. 39), says, that "Turf is peculiarly useful in its application to boilers, as there is no liability to that burning away of the metal, which may arise from the local intensity of the heat of coke or coal." He says, further on (p. 59), that "the effect of turf is one-third of that of average coal," by measure or by weight, in getting up steam-power; but, from its greater cheapness, the comparative cost of turf in working the same amount of steam-power is one-half less than coal. In 1843 the Shannon Company's steam-boats consumed 7,000 tons of turf at 3*s.* 6*d.* a ton, costing about 1,200*l.*; the equivalent quantity of coal for performing the same work would have cost 1,800*l.* (p. 58). In the evidence of Mr. Bald, in the first and second Reports on Public Works in Ireland (1835, p. 214), that gentleman says, from experiments in Scotland, "that ton for ton of compressed peat has been found, as compared with coal, to give as much heat." He further says,—"Carbonized peat or bog would also serve to make excellent malleable iron. The iron of Sweden owes its high value and good qualities to its

being manufactured by pine charcoal. The sulphur in the coal deteriorates the iron manufactured in Britain. The malleable iron manufactured by carbonized heat would be unequalled for making chains for bridges of suspension, cables for ships, &c."

Now, what advantages have the bleak hills and mountains of Lancashire compared with these? They have got coal. That is their sole advantage. With that advantage its population has created manufactories which clothe the world, and their enterprise and industry are rewarded by the daily acquisition of enormous wealth. But here you have the proof that compressed peat "is ton for ton equal to coal" in caloric, whilst it is cheaper in cost. The Lancashire people could not get at their coal without sinking expensive mines and employing costly machinery. The turf of Mayo lies exposed, and inviting industry to use it; and the only machinery required to win it is the "loy" or spade of the labourer. The Mayo people have left their turf neglected, save to warm the wretched hovels of the peasantry. The river Mersey, the only outlet to the sea which Lancashire possesses, has been made by its people the second port in the United Kingdom. On its marshy banks, where wild fowl and a few fishermen some century and a half ago were the only inhabitants, they have raised a Liverpool, with its miles of docks and its hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping. But the bays and creeks and natural harbours facing the Atlantic, which abound in Erris, have not "a single wherry or fishing-smack" floating in them. With all this waste land capable of improvement, the land is left unimproved and almost in a state of nature. In the evidence relative to this district, taken before the Land Commission, all the witnesses concur in saying that "there is great room for improvement." Mr. Garvey, a landed proprietor and magistrate, residing at Murrisk, in his evidence (Appendix, Part II. p. 413), says, he does not know of any case of land-

lords either improving themselves, or assisting their tenants to improve; nor is he "aware of any encouragement being given by the landlords to the tenants to improve." He tried to improve fifteen acres of mountain land near Murrisk, and had a very good crop on it. The only machinery put in motion by this immense water-power, capable of working 250 mills (I again quote from the Sixth Report of the Commissioners of Public Works), is "a rude and solitary tuck-mill on the Owen-more, and a still more wretched contrivance for bruising illicit malt on a stream in Ballycroy."

Notwithstanding that it will grow superior and high-priced oats, if brought into cultivation, five-sixths of the soil are uncultivated; and Mr. George Glendining, agent to the Marquis of Sligo and Sir R. O'Donnell (who are both improving landlords), in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (page 418), says, "The small tenantry are getting poorer and poorer, owing to the subdivision of land." Mr. Garvey, the gentleman before quoted, says in his evidence (page 414), "I would suggest to the Commissioners that employment would be a great advantage to the population of the country, *if it could be obtained!*" Mr. Bland, a considerable farmer, holding land under both the Marquis of Sligo and Sir R. O'Donnell, says in his evidence (*Ibid.* page 420), "There is plenty of land, sufficient to give food for man and horse, and the whole country is crying out against the people for *doing nothing*." But we have not done yet; the coast "swarms with fish of every kind." Do the people look after that means of wealth and comfort? Mr. Garvey is asked the question,—“Is the fishery carried on with any spirit on this coast?—There are a good number of fishermen, *but it is not half fished*.” It is a positive fact that the herrings caught on the coast of Scotland are sold to the people here, and there is at this moment a vessel loaded with Scotch herrings discharging her cargo at the port of Galway. There is an uncertain summer fishery here, the principal fishing

season being in February. Fish-curers used to come from Dublin; when the season was bad they lost money, and there were hundreds of men seeking employment. When the season was good, and they had the means of repaying themselves, the fishermen combined for high wages, and neutralized their benefit; they therefore do not prosecute the fishing.* There is but one feature wanting to finish the picture, as the result of indolence, neglect of opportunities showered upon the people, and want of energy—and that feature is starvation and beggary. In 1831 there was a partial failure of the potato crop. As there were just enough oats sown to pay the rent, which the landlords took care to get, and just enough potatoes put into the ground to feed the people, and *no more*, the natural consequence was a kind of famine, and the most frightful destitution. Through the benevolent exertions of Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, a gentleman interested in this district, the then starving condition of the people was fully laid before the people of England, and the people of England at once subscribed upwards of 50,000*l.* for their relief; of which sum upwards of 30,000*l.* were distributed in food to the people of this county, and the rest to the people of Galway. I say "*the people*" of Mayo and Galway, for nearly all classes received it. I am informed, on the best authority here, that the majority of the landlords of the starving peasantry refused to subscribe one shilling towards their relief, and exacted their rents. The vessels which brought out meal and potatoes from England to the coast of Mayo, met vessels going from this coast freighted with oats, sold by the tenantry of Mayo to England to raise money to pay their rents. The people would have consumed their rents sooner than they would have starved; so that in

* The fishermen here, however, complain much of the risks they run from the want of safety harbours, and that they dare not go out to fish in consequence, if the weather is at all changeable. As to the evil effects of combinations, see the last Letter, dated Dublin.

reality the landed gentry of Mayo and Galway, so far forgot all decent pride (whatever other pride they might possess) as to subsist on the *charity* of England. Could a more perfect exemplification be found of that game at which children play—"open your mouth and shut your eyes, and see what God will send you?" Now, I put it to the plain common sense of Englishmen to judge of what is here wanted. I have stated *facts*, and I challenge their denial. Do you think Maynooth College has anything to do with it, or the theology of Dens? Or do you think Repeal would work a wonderful change in all this? Or do you not rather think that it is that "sweat of the brow" which is wanted, by which only shall man "eat bread?" But you will see nothing of this in the Dublin papers, and in the columns of Irish news, copied into the English journals. No; there the evils of Ireland are enveloped in a mist of words about the dismissal of magistrates, Orange tyranny, Repeal demonstrations, and bloody murders. If you read the weekly speeches of Irish patriots delivered in that building in Dublin nicknamed "Conciliation-hall," you will meet with many rhapsodies about "justice to Ireland;" about "misgovernment," and about everything but the right thing—" *De omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*" The last thing discovered there by one learned pundit, I see is, that "with one-sided partiality I had gone many miles out of my way to have a fling at a nobleman of Liberal tendencies, whilst I had passed over thousands of Tory landlords every jot as culpable;" and that "the only object of my mission to Ireland was to damage the tenant-right." Till this gentleman informed me of the fact, I must confess to that great fault in Irish minds, of being quite ignorant of the tendencies, whether Liberal or Conservative, of the nobleman alluded to; nor did the thought ever cross my mind of making a circumstance so utterly beside the question a subject of inquiry. I must also plead guilty to never having either heard or dreamt of such a cus-

tom as tenant-right before I entered Ireland. Much is to be *hoped*, but I am afraid little to be expected, from legislators so bound by the trammels of party. Would that *Irishmen* would do "justice" to Ireland. The closer do we examine her wants, the more do we become convinced that the "misgovernment" of which she complains is the misgovernment of her own sons. The landlords, for the most part, so misgovern their estates, that their tenantry are disheartened; and the tenantry almost universally so misgovern their farms, that they do not produce one-third of the produce of which they are capable; while all unite in so misgoverning the natural capabilities of the country, that instead of being, as she might be, and as she ought to be, the richest and most prosperous, she is about the poorest and most neglected country in Europe.

I do not, however, probe her wounds for my own amusement, still less from any narrow-minded prejudice. The more prosperous and happy is Ireland rendered, as an integral portion of the British empire, the more prosperous and happy will be the British empire; therefore would I rather strive for her prosperity and happiness. Many landlords are willing to improve their wastes, and to afford employment, but they have not the means. The improvement of those wastes and the employment of the people are the things absolutely required to lead Ireland towards prosperity; and if the landlords cannot accomplish this, or will not, it is the *duty* of the Government to do it for them. I am not a Conciliation-hall legislator, called in to prescribe, and can therefore only humbly suggest remedies. A remedy for individuals to adopt, which would in many cases be efficacious, I take from the example of Mr. Keogh, of Mount Jerome, near Dublin, who has an estate between Boyle and Sligo, at a place called Geevagh. His plan is to let portions of waste land at a fair rent, along with arable land, to each tenant. He exacts payment of the rent of his arable land,

but the rent of his waste lands he terms a labour rent. His steward marks out on each man's portion an amount of draining, fencing, gravelling, and liming equal to the rent, which, if done, the tenant gets a receipt for this rent. If he does not choose to do it, payment is exacted, and a labourer is paid with the money to do it. By this means and steady perseverance, wastes which were unproductive and good for nothing have been brought into profitable cultivation without cost to the landlord, and in reality without cost to the tenants, as they have no other call for their labour. This, however, will only be partially beneficial, because it will only suit certain localities, and certain individuals only will pursue it.

Another plan for individuals is that adopted now on the estates of the Waste Land Company—to portion out five acres of waste bog bringing half an acre of it into cultivation, so that it will grow potatoes, and to build a cottage on it. There is then a house and food for a tenant; and he is left to bring the rest of his five acres into cultivation. This requires some outlay of capital, and will not, therefore, be very generally followed, though it is a sensible working plan.*

A Government plan might be such an one as was adopted by Napoleon Bonaparte to bring into cultivation the marshes of France. Commissioners were appointed, and a general

* "The outlay of capital by the Waste Land Company has repaid them seven per cent."—*Major Ludlow Beamish's Visit to the Kilkerrin Estate of the Irish Waste Land Company.*

"For the comparatively small outlay of 25,000*l.*, the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society have placed under a system of progressive culture 18,000 acres of waste lands, and have given constant employment to two thousand persons."—*Ibid.* p. 4.

Dr. Kane says, "It has been calculated, that of the land at present waste, 4,600,000 acres are really available for agriculture; and from my own investigations, I am inclined to consider that estimate as certainly not exaggerated."—*Industrial Resources of Ireland*, p. 244.

Surely here is ample means of profitable employment for a people starving for want of it. The Census Commissioners state, that out of 8,175,124 persons (the population of Ireland in 1841), 2,385,000 were *absolute paupers*, and this with 400,600,000 acres of reclaimable waste!

survey of the marshes was ordered at the expense of the Government. The boundaries of each proprietor were distinctly marked upon the face of the maps or plans, describing the number of acres, and annexed to the map was a valuation by the Commissioners, prior to any drainage. The Government then undertook the drainage at its own expense, and the lands were afterwards offered to the respective proprietors at the expense of drainage which the Government had been put to. If they chose to redeem the property, they paid the money ; those who did not choose to do so had their part sold by public auction, and the balance over and above the cost of drainage was handed over to the proprietor, from whom the land had been taken. This was an arbitrary proceeding which would not perhaps accord well with our notions of freedom. There is no question, however, that it would effect great good in reclaiming the wastes, bringing in small capitalists as purchasers, increasing produce, giving employment, and in reality injuring no one. Another plan for the Government to pursue I submit with greater diffidence, for I cannot quote precedent for it. It is this :—The majority of Irish estates are burdened with mortgages and settlements to such an extent that frequently the nominal owner is in a state of the greatest narrowness of means, and he finds it impossible to afford anything towards improvements, or to be able to do otherwise than exact the highest rent. His estate therefore deteriorates, his tenants are starving, and he himself is in a hopeless state of poverty. He cannot sell any part of his estate to free himself from his difficulties, because the mortgages and settlements are charges upon every part of it, and he cannot make a title for a purchaser ; all this time he is paying 5 or 6 per cent. on these encumbrances. I would suggest that the Government should pass an Act of Parliament, enabling any landed proprietor to offer a portion of his estate equal in value to the encumbrances upon it, at a fair valuation, to be properly ascertained and agreed upon

by both parties, and giving a clear title to the Government as the purchaser of such portion ; the Government, with the purchase-money to pay off at once the mortgagees, or younger children having settlement claims, or to offer them funded securities as they might prefer. The Government then to offer in the market the portion of the estate purchased, with a clear title founded on the act of Parliament. There would be no want of small capitalists to purchase ; and every such capitalist who bought such an estate would set to work to improve it, and spend money upon it. The original owner would hold the remainder of his estate clear of encumbrances, and, if anxious to improve, would then be able to do so. Fresh capital and energy would be let into the country. Vast and badly managed estates would be broken up into smaller and more manageable bulks, and a great amount of employment would be afforded to the people, whilst the immediate prospect of gain, and competition, would urge them on to improve, and into habits of steady industry. If Irish members of Parliament would turn their attention to some feasible project of this kind, and endeavour to secure a cheap jurisdiction by the barristers of local courts over leases below a certain amount of rent—say 10*l.* or 20*l.* a year, so as to insure that a lease shall be a binding agreement on *both sides*, then landlords would no longer be embarrassed, except by their own fault ; they would be induced to give leases, tenants would be encouraged to improve, and the people would have employment, and live in consequent comfort and content. If, however, they must have Repeal first, or Protestantise the whole country first, they will find that the chances of obtaining either object are about equidistant : they will have ample opportunities of judging “how profitable is talk,” but they will not remedy the evils of Ireland.

LETTER XV.

NOTICE OF ATTACK IN CONCILIATION HALL. — THE
ROYAL AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY.

Notice of Attack in Conciliation Hall—Annual Meeting of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society—The Irish Waste Land Improvement Company—Subletting and want of Enterprise—Oppression of one another—Neglected Improvements.

BALLINASLOE, GALWAY, October 2.

THE course which I have hitherto pursued, in describing facts simply as I have found them,—in telling the people of England that which they are most anxious to learn—*the truth*—regarding Ireland, unbiassed by the violences and absurdities of party,—appears to have excited the most virulent dislike in a quarter where such a feeling least might have been expected. That the peasantry of Ireland are, in many parts of it, living in a condition of misery and wretchedness degrading to human nature is too true. There exists a party which has never ceased to picture forth that wretchedness, and to call for the application of a peculiar remedy. Honesty of purpose, in any party, courts investigation; and, if that purpose be the amelioration of the condition of the people, it will gladly accept that end, obtained by whatever means, and will aid investigation, in order that the best means may be ascertained. The political quack, on the contrary, like every other quack, has his *nostrum* for everything;

the cure of social evils is with him a secondary consideration to the adoption of his nostrum ; inquiry—the investigation of truth—the fair consideration of facts with a view to point attention to remedies fitted to the facts—he shrinks from, because his] *nostrum* is endangered ; he therefore “shuns the light,” will wheedle, abuse, or vilify to save his *nostrum* from disgrace, because it is *by his nostrum that he lives..*

The latter course seems to be the one which the leaders of the Repeal party in Dublin are taking with regard to the investigation which you have intrusted to me. If *their* remedy be dictated by an honest purpose, why do they fear inquiry ? Why do they resort to the quack's game, of first wheedling, then abusing, and at last attempting to vilify, hoping to damage the investigation of truth ? It is because *their nostrum* is in danger.

I feel most unwillingly compelled to notice some recent proceedings at a Repeal meeting held in a building termed “Conciliation-hall” in Dublin. On Monday last Mr. John O'Connell, M.P., read the following letter at a public meeting held at the above place, which he said he had received :—

“ Halesworth, September 24, 1845.

“ SIR,—I have this moment read in *The Times* of yesterday your dirty and unmanly remarks concerning *The Times'* Commissioner, and I do not lose one moment to tell you that you are a liar and a blackguard.”

This letter has a signature to it similar to my own name, and is, as you see, dated from England. It is unnecessary for me to tell you that I never either wrote, or authorized to be written, any such letter, nor would I for a moment countenance such a letter being written on my behalf.

Now, this letter is either a forgery got up by these very parties, for the purpose of making it the subject of the speeches which were made upon it, or, if genuine, and from England, as Mr. John O'Connell in his speech says it is, he had the opportunity of knowing well—nay, he did know—

that it could not have been written by me; first, because it is notorious enough that I am in Ireland, and not in England; and secondly, because it does not bear my signature or name. The course which Mr. John O'Connell thought befitting him to take was, however, without hesitation, to attribute this letter to me.

Upon this letter he founds a speech, the character of which I need not describe to you, and in the depth of his distress for something to talk about, and amidst cheers and approving laughter from the audience he was addressing, defends his *astrum* by calling me "ugly."*

He is followed by Mr. Daniel O'Connell on the same subject. I extract his speech from the *Freeman's Journal*, which I hope you will insert, for your readers to inform themselves of the character of a Dublin Repeal meeting. After this, Englishmen will know how to estimate the value that is to be attached to Repeal meetings in Ireland.

"The LIBERATOR.—This letter is such a splendid sample of English politeness that, for the benefit and edification of the Irish people, I move that it be inserted in the minutes. (Cheers and laughter.) It would be a great pity—but as I see two or three respectable English persons on the gallery looking intently at me, I withdraw the term 'English politeness,' and admit this blackguardism is peculiar to the person himself. (Cheers.) But it would be a great pity not to give the man his proper name. Formerly, when elections were carried by force of money—and you and I, Mr. Chairman, are old enough to remember it,—there were every sort of agents, from the law agents down to the gutter agent. It so happens also, that we have every sort of commissioners, from the commissioner of the great seal down to a gutter commissioner. Now, I hope I have influence enough with the press to have this fellow called in future the gutter commissioner. (Loud laughter.) Do you know what he says? That the Irish women are ugly—he really does. (Loud cries of 'He's a liar.') Oh! how ugly they are! (Cheers.) I was beginning to wish that the fellow was here, but may he never have the happiness of seeing

* The whole of the proceedings in Conciliation Hall regarding this Letter will be found in the Appendix, No. 8. They are sufficiently absurd and contemptible to disarm animosity. It is, however, melancholy to think that men should waste their time by giving countenance and support to such exhibitions.

such a sight. (Laughter.) I think we have done with this gutter commissioner, and I move, therefore, that the letter be inserted on the minutes. (Cheers.)

"Captain BRODERICK seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted."

The press of Ireland are at liberty to designate me as they please. If they think there is sense and wisdom in calling names, probably they will follow Mr. O'Connell's advice. I fancy, however, I see the lips of every Englishman, and of every sensible Irishman, curl with contempt as he reads this rubbish. That a parcel of scolds or old washerwomen should begin to call names and accuse one another of being "ugly" might not excite surprise; but to find grown men thus seriously demeaning themselves, is at once an indication of their utter unfitness for that office which they would assume,—the government of Ireland,—and of the desperate shifts to which they are compelled to resort. The best excuse perhaps for the gentleman who delivered this precious speech is, that he is *growing old*.

One word, however, to the gentlemen who choose to pursue this course. If you imagine that you will either sway me, or divert me from my object, of thoroughly ascertaining what is the condition of the Irish people, and the cause of that condition, and of impartially publishing what I find to be the fact, by such tomfooleries as these, it may save you some trouble to tell you at once, that *you have mistaken your man*. You may copy old washerwomen week after week, call names, and comment on one another's "ugliness," as much as you please; I shall steadily pursue the course I have marked out for myself.

I regret to have occupied your space with such stuff as I have been compelled to notice, but now pass from it, with the indifference of contempt, to the object of my letter.

This town is the seat of an annual great fair—by far the greatest in Ireland—and the Royal Agricultural Improve-

ment Society of Ireland also hold here this year their annual show during the present week. As may be supposed, it is a centre for the gentry to flock to from every district.

The society itself is but of recent origin, and is supported by annual subscriptions and contributions amounting to about 3,000*l.* a year. This sum is distributed in prizes for the best cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, poultry, flax, cloth, &c., and, under the effect of these premiums, a very fair show of all these kinds of stock and produce has been obtained.

Its great value, of course, is in the encouragement to improvement which it affords, and in the knowledge which it conveys to the farmers who may visit the annual shows.*

* I could not, however, but remark the apathy of the working farmers—the men to derive benefit from the operations of such a society—to its proceedings. The first day, or ‘grand show-day’—a half-crown admission-day—the yard of the society was crowded with gentry, their ladies, and fashionable parties. There were no farmers. The second day, or shilling admission-day, was the farmers’ day, but scarcely a frieze-coated farmer seemed to think it worth a shilling to go and see improved breeds of stock, specimens of agricultural implements, new agricultural inventions, and samples of fine produce, with accounts of their means of growth. So far as frieze-coated farmers were concerned, the show-yard the second day was nearly without them, and was thronged only by people of other grades of society and avocations. It would seem that the calibre of the peasant farmers’ mind is scarcely reached by such means. There is much of truth in the following observations of Major Ludlow Beamish of Cork, in his pamphlet, “A Remedy for the Impending Scarcity:”—“The steward of a wealthy member of an agricultural association, by means of forcing, watching, and liquid manuring the sunny portion of a favoured field, produces twelve gigantic roots of mangel wurzel, for which his lord, sitting, perhaps, leisurely in his study, is awarded the first prize. The owner’s health is toasted at the agricultural dinner, where the heroes of mangel and turnip reciprocate laudations upon their respective merits, and science crowns their triumph with an exposition of the several portions of nitrogen, ammonia, gluten, albumen, *et hoc genus omne*, which they have unconsciously called into action. The praises of green crops and stall-feeding are duly sung—the visitors separate—the prizes are recorded—the speeches figure in print; but in vain do we look for the effects upon the holding of the working farmer. Perhaps, even in the close vicinity of those whose skill and science have been thus rewarded, the very tenants of the victor may be found ignorantly or obstinately pursuing the most unprofitable mode of culture. And why? Because the exertions of the proprietor have terminated with his speech, or are, at most, extended to the limits of his own farm.

“If the agricultural reader consider this picture too highly coloured, I would

As examples of what may be done in the way of improvement in this country, a sample of Hopetoun oats was shown—the straw at least six feet high and very strong, the grain large, full, and heavy, grown by Mr. H. J. Potts, on a thorough-drained bog *with 20 feet of turf under*. On the flax-stall were many bundles of flax out of Mayo and Down. Some of the flax from the county of Down, owing to the improvements in its manufacture, was of beautiful texture, and was said to be worth 120*l.* the ton; whilst some brought from Mayo for competition was so rudely manufactured as not to be worth 28*l.* the ton; the poor peasants who brought

invite him to travel the mail-coach road from Cork to Bantry—a district favoured by the presence of no less than three Agricultural Societies. I would request his candid opinion of the condition of the land held by working farmers on each side of the road, and I would abide by the result.

“The ordinary Irish farmer is not easily turned away from the beaten track, in which he has followed from boyhood those who have gone before him. He has grown two or more white crops in succession, with a return that satisfies himself; his manure for potato-land has been allowed to bask in the sunshine before planting, without injury, as he believes, to his crop; his pig has fattened without a sty; his children have been bred and born in the atmosphere of a dunghill; his cow has thriven without turnips; his potatoes have been raised, and abundantly, without drill husbandry; weeds have grown up, and shed their seed, and grown again, without altogether covering his land; the liquid manure has run waste into the neighbouring brook, without his being sensible of the loss; draining, he thinks, would never pay—subsoiling he cannot comprehend. To make the cottier tenant alive to these radical defects in the mode of culture which he ignorantly pursues, requires something very different from the ordinary operations of agricultural societies, and can only be effected by a course of personal superintendence, instruction, and encouragement, similar to that which has been so successfully practised on the estates of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society. The main feature of this system is the control of *resident agriculturists* upon each estate, who, by means of coaxing, persuading, threatening, encouraging, or, if necessary, coercing, effect the adoption of a prescribed course of tillage, and otherwise instil into the minds of the tenants higher notions of social comfort. This is the most important part of the machinery of the Waste Land Society; it is also the most expensive part, but one upon which the whole fabric depends; and there can be little doubt that any landed proprietor in Ireland adopting the same system would be amply repaid by the improved condition of his tenantry, the more certain payment of his rent, the improvement of his land, and the mental satisfaction which would be afforded him, by the establishment upon his property of order, cleanliness, civilization, and peace.”

it in looked at the fine flax in despair, and appeared to be most anxious to learn how to manage their flax properly. The society has sent over men to Belgium to learn the culture and manufacture of flax, and it was under the management of these agriculturists that the fine flax was manufactured. A crop thus managed, from the estate of Sir Richard O'Donnell, gained the second prize, and presented a curious contrast to another grown near it by the untaught peasants. Skill and knowledge here, therefore, showed a difference of about 90%. a ton in the value of the produce of a flax-field. Ten years ago fine mill-spun yarn of 14 hanks to the pound was imported by the weavers of Belfast from France and Belgium, as their own coarse badly-manufactured flax would not spin so fine a thread. Now the spinners of the north of Ireland are able to undersell the French and Belgians in this yarn, spun from their own home-grown flax.

At the Council dinner of the Society, the speeches of most interest were those of Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., and of the Earl of Devon relative to the improvements effected by the Irish Waste Land Improvement Company. Mr. Crawford quoted the evidence of Colonel Robinson before the Land Commission, to show the benefits which have been effected by that company. It appears from that evidence, that two estates were purchased in the county of Galway, the tenants on which were "miserably poor, dwelling in turf hovels," and that "green crops, and the value of manure and hay were unknown." There was no such thing as hay made on these estates, and so absurdly ignorant were the peasantry as to getting in a hay crop, that (to quote the evidence of Mr. Robinson) "they actually asked four guineas an acre for mowing hay." At the estate of Gleneaske, purchased by the company, Mr. Robinson says, "It was with the greatest difficulty we induced the tenants to forego the cultivation of potatoes and adopt the cultivation of turnips, d wurzel, or other green crops." An idea of the

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difficulty of leading the tenants may be gathered from the following fact:—On one of these estates Colonel Robinson was applied to by a tenant for a farm, which he agreed to let to him on condition of his fulfilling the rules of the company, and cultivating his land on the system laid down. The tenant scratching his head said, “Sure, your honour, if I pay you the rent, mayn’t I cultivate the farm as I like?” Colonel Robinson told him he could not have the farm on such terms, and endeavoured to reason with the man that it was for his own interest to cultivate it on a system of green crops and rotation. The man’s answer to this was, “Sure, if I’m satisfied with praties and buttermilk, you may be the same wid the rent.” Colonel Robinson tried again, endeavoured to convince the peasant that his system of cultivation was an ignorant and unprofitable one, and put to him this question, “If you did not know your road, and wanted a guide, would you follow this gentleman (pointing to a gentleman beside him) with a bandage over his eyes, or me with the full use of my eyesight?” “Sure, and I’d follow the gentleman,” was the Irishman’s answer. “Why so?” “Because he couldn’t see to lead me astray.” Such is their prejudice to old habits and their suspicion of every attempt at improvement.* We must bear in mind, however, the influ-

* Major Ludlow Beamish, of Cork, in a pamphlet describing a visit to the Gleneaske estate of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society, in the county of Mayo, says (p. 12),—“I doubt much whether any oration or dissertation can supply the absence of that personal superintendence which is *absolutely necessary* in order to make the ignorant Irish cottier-tenant take the proper steps to ensure a good crop. ‘When I insisted on the turnip-plants being thinned out to nine inches distance,’ said Mr. Lermont, the steward, ‘and showed them the distance by pulling up a few myself, it was like pulling the hairs out of their heads; some actually cried!’ And then the waste of liquid manure by allowing the rain to sweep it from the dung-heap down the slope of the hill—the increase of weeds from allowing them to stand and shed their seed—the indispensable necessity of cleanliness, and the absence of all extraneous lumber in the dairy, to say nothing of the filthiness of keeping animals in the dwelling-house,—all these points are strongly impressed upon the minds of the tenants by the managing director and the ever-watchful

ence which long habit and early training have upon men, and not hastily blame the peasant for exhibiting suspicion, who has but too often been deceived, and who from his youth upwards has been neglected and left untaught. Persevering attention and instruction, however, will do much. By following out this course steadily, Colonel Robinson says the peasants are becoming more cleanly in their habits and more comfortable; and that now, generally speaking, they are "orderly, sober, and industrious." The same gentleman, in his evidence (Appendix, Part II. page 5), says,—

"The first four years of the tenant's term is the period of his greatest difficulties on new mountain farms; but by carefully watching over all matters of detail, and by steady perseverance in established principles on the part of the society, and habitual industry and economy, with tolerable attention to good examples and instruction, on the part of the tenants, it is morally certain they will prosper, of which the actual progress of those now on the estates affords abundant testimony,* and, if extension was given to the operations of the society, a large number of the destitute peasantry might be employed in reclaiming the waste lands of Ireland with great benefit to the country, themselves, and their employers. The following obstacles have greatly impeded the progress of the society, and narrowed its sphere of usefulness:—*The very high rents and onerous terms demanded for the waste lands, by which a large part of the capital has been absorbed, which would otherwise have been invested in improvements. The shareholders have been discouraged, and the directors deterred from taking other estates.* From the society's act of incorporation having no protective clause against assessments for a term of years, as in similar English acts, we are absolutely called on to pay the cess and all species of

steward. But they are obliged to repeat the same directions over and over again, and almost employ coercion, or at least, refuse all participation in the annual prizes to those who fail to comply with the directions of the steward. These prizes are given annually for draining, green crops, cattle, cleanliness, &c., to which the proprietors in fee contribute liberally, and great emulation is created amongst the tenantry."

* See Appendix, No. 9. Statement of outlay and returns for three years on one plantation-acre of bog or mountain-land on the Kilkerrin estate, Galway, of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society.

local taxation when we are not receiving ourselves the slightest pecuniary return.

"If the landlords would be content to let fair² reclaimable waste lands on moderate terms, to receive an increase of rent at fixed periods, in proportion to the progress of the improvements, the capital required to be invested would be small with respect to the number of acres to be reclaimed; and tenants being admitted at low rents for the first few years to rise progressively afterwards, would (aided by the instruction and allowances they receive) find it to their advantage to hold farms under the society; and, by the rapid increase in the extent and value of their improvements and property, become gradually and certainly in a condition to pay, with ease to themselves, such rents for their lands as would insure a good return for the society's investment, and a considerable augmentation of income to the head landlord."

It appears also, by the evidence of this gentleman (page 7), that the company, by an expenditure of 9,500*l.* in reclaiming, have realized an annual income of 1,262*l.**

The high rents injudiciously demanded by the landowners for waste lands, is a feature the mischief of which was ably pointed out by the Earl of Devon to the meeting. Some landlords have neither the enterprise nor the capital themselves to improve, and they are so fearful lest any one possessing those requisites should gain any advantage, though it must eventually benefit themselves, that they impose terms too greedy to be complied with. This greediness of gain, and timidity of venturing a shilling, is another mesh of the network of difficulties which deters the advance of Ireland.

* Major Ludlow Beamish, of Cork, in a pamphlet recently published by him relative to the improvements on the Kilkerrin estate of the Irish Waste Land Company, entitled a "Remedy for the Impending Scarcity" (p. 12), says,— "The model farm of this estate, containing ten Irish or sixteen statute acres, which are laid out in a four-course rotation, now present the most luxuriant crops of mangels, turnips, potatoes, oats, and clover. Four years since this land was a swamp, and last year it produced a nett profit of 2*l.* 10*s.* per acre. If any fault can be found with the crops, it is that the oats are too heavy, and consequently have been a good deal laid by the late rains."

The same disposition exists in the middleman, to whom he lets his land. The middleman of 100 acres is no farmer, as in England, who invests his capital, and skill, and industry in the land, and looks for a fair profit. His laziness makes him prefer doing nothing; his greediness and necessities make him resort to subletting at exorbitant rents to poor tenants, whilst he lives an idle, useless extortioner on the profit rent. The small tenant is his copy in this; he lets an acre, out of his farm of six acres, in con-acre to some wretched labourer, who for the potatoes grown on this land is perhaps compelled to work for the farmer the whole year. If the petty farmer saves 20*l.*, he does not seek to improve his house, or his farm, or his system of cultivation, or his stock, but sticks the money in a hole in his thatch, or turns what is called "gombeen" man, and, with the greediness of an usurer, sells meal and potatoes to the poor in their necessity, at the most exorbitant and rascally interest. An instance was mentioned to me to-day of one of these men having charged 50 per cent. interest per month to a labourer for the loan of 1*l.*, or 600 per cent. per annum! It is this very spirit of extortion which sickens and drives away English capitalists from among them. It is a fact, which has often been pointed out to me, and which I was slow to believe, that the peasantry often practise the most amazing extortions on one another. They are often badly treated by their landlords, and worse by the middlemen, but it is the bailiff and driver, the man of their own class, who worst uses them, next to the atrocious mode in which, as petty usurers, and as the subletters of cottages and con-acre patches of land, they extort from and tyrannize over one another. The poor people we may excuse on the score of ignorance, and strive to teach them better; but there is no apology for men in the class of landlords exhibiting this narrow-minded, and, eventually to themselves, most unprofitable over-greediness of gain;

whilst at the same time they show the most unaccountable apathy to the most manifest advantages, which it requires only a little exertion to realize. From Galway to Tuam there is a tract of 25 miles of fine alluvial soil. This land is now covered with water six months in the year, and is subject to floods in autumn, to the frequent destruction of the crops. Sheep cannot be put upon it because they become liable to the rot. A preliminary survey was made of this land by the Drainage Commissioners, and they reported that if drained it would yield 10 per cent. profit, and that nearly 3,000 acres of land might be reclaimed. A detailed survey then became necessary in order to the drainage, but not a landed proprietor would subscribe a single penny towards the expense of it; and meantime the labourers on this 25 miles of country have barely any employment, though this drainage would fully employ them. Apathy, want of enterprise, and suspicion, keep the landowners generally from either improving themselves or trusting any one who will show them how to improve; and an excessive greediness will not let them suffer the Waste Land Company or any one else to undertake the improvements for them on terms which will realize a profit. There are, however, some honourable exceptions. Lord Clancarty has done much in improving this neighbourhood by draining and encouraging his tenantry. Lord Wallscourt has done the same in the neighbourhood of Galway, and there are others of equal merit.

My letter is getting too long to be further extended on this subject, but surely enough has been shown to prove what advantages may be derived by the tenant-farmer from agricultural institutions and model schools, which will teach him to improve his present wretched mode of agriculture; and how much is in the power of the landlords to aid improvement and to promote civilization and prosperity, which they now utterly neglect. It is indeed but another evidence

LETTER XV.

NOTICE OF ATTACK IN CONCILIATION HALL. — THE
ROYAL AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY.

Notice of Attack in Conciliation Hall—Annual Meeting of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society—The Irish Waste Land Improvement Company—Subletting and want of Enterprise—Oppression of one another—Neglected Improvements.

BALLINASLOE, GALWAY, October 2.

THE course which I have hitherto pursued, in describing facts simply as I have found them,—in telling the people of England that which they are most anxious to learn—the *truth*—regarding Ireland, unbiassed by the violences and absurdities of party,—appears to have excited the most virulent dislike in a quarter where such a feeling least might have been expected. That the peasantry of Ireland are, in many parts of it, living in a condition of misery and wretchedness degrading to human nature is too true. There exists a party which has never ceased to picture forth that wretchedness, and to call for the application of a peculiar remedy. Honesty of purpose, in any party, courts investigation ; and, if that purpose be the amelioration of the condition of the people, it will gladly accept that end, obtained by whatever means, and will aid investigation, in order that the best means may be ascertained. The political quack, on the contrary, like every other quack, has his *nostrum* for everything ;

LETTER XVI.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY OF ROSCOMMON,
FROM NEGLECT AND WANT OF EMPLOYMENT.

Comparison between the Highlander's and the Irishman's Cottage—Effect of Grazing on the Prosperity of the People—Condition of the Tenantry of Roscommon—Necessity of obtaining Con-acre by the poor Cotters; its Injury to the Land—Effect of Burning on Cultivation—Comparison of English and Irish Landlords in their Dealings with their Tenantry—Necessity of Employment and Instruction in Agriculture being given to the Tenantry—What skilled Agricultural Labour effects in Belgium—What it may effect in Ireland.

CASTLEREA, ROSCOMMON, October 6.

IN my journey from Ballinasloe to this place, I have passed through the greater part of the county of Roscommon. Until this journey I had come to the conclusion, that, wretched as were the cottier hovels of Connaught, they were exceeded in wretchedness by the mud cabins of the west coast of Sutherlandshire and Ross-shire, in Scotland. The only superiority of the poor Highlander's cottage is in its greater cleanliness—or rather in its superior comparative cleanliness, for clean they are not; the mud cabins themselves are in every respect worse than those generally met with in Ireland. In Roscommon, however, the desolate misery of the Highlander's hut is rivalled; in filthiness and dirt the Irishman's hut distances all competition.* It is a curious coincidence that this simi-

* “To our shame, we must confess, that in Ireland our tenants (I speak of the poorest and greatest part of them) have rather huts than houses, and those of our

larity of wretchedness in their dwellings between the poor Highlander of West Sutherland and Ross should be accompanied not only by a similarity of race in its origin, but also by a similarity in the mode of agriculture pursued. From Sutherlandshire the brave Highlander has been banished, and the glens and braes for which his fathers fought no longer afford him a home; the shepherd is the solitary inhabitant; there is now "not a smoke" in the once populous valleys; heather and moss have grown over his hearth, for sheep are found more profitable than men. The Highlander himself is driven out to live as he can on some bleak shore, or to exist on the bog which he laboriously reclaims. In Roscommon, the same course, though with much less of atrocity, has been pursued. It is chiefly a grazing county. The beast fattens on the best land; whilst the man is driven to the poor lands and to the bog, to starve out a miserable existence.* Untaught, uncivilized, he knows not how to

cotters are built, like birds' nests, of dirt wrought together, and a few sticks and some straw, and, like them, are generally removed once a year, and consequently as migratory and not so durable as the carts and waggons of the wandering Tartars. Numbers of them have no chimney, either for want of wood or skill to build one, but vent the smoke like those of the Hottentots; and if we had a market, as Mr. Beauplon says, the Cossacks have, for wooden chimneys ready made, our poor people have not a penny to buy one.

"As miserable as they look on the outside, the family within are full as wretched, half-starved, and half-clad, so that there is an absolute necessity to lodge them better, and use them to warmer cottages and clothing, and a cleaner way of feeding and living, if we would have them cultivate their lands or manufactures to any purpose. The flax they spin is generally sooted and blacked with the smoke, and sells at much the worse price for that reason, and no trade or business can be carried on, nor even the butter and cheese made, or drink brewed, or life itself sustained, with any ease or comfort in them. We should therefore improve their buildings as well as our own houses, and see them more snug, warm, and decent, to give them a taste and desire for the reasonable satisfactions of life, and this will be the best way to spur them on to industry and labour, *for the more they spend the more they must earn*; but if they keep in the present sleepy sloth, dirt, and rags, they will never labour, but prefer the dog's life, ease and hunger." — *Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 11.

* Mr. Joseph Sandford, farmer in Roscommon, is asked in his evidence

improve; and in his desperate struggle for food it would seem to be his evil genius, his sad misfortune, to do mischief, to deteriorate, to mark his path with barrenness and wretchedness.

The rule here appears to be to have a non-resident proprietary.

"There is 100,000*l.* a year absentee property without any return, in a circuit of fourteen miles," says Mr. Kelly, a large farmer at Castlereagh*—and very generally the agent is an absentee also, coming only twice a year to receive the rent. It is thus on Lord Essex's estate here.† Often the estates are placed under receivers of the Court of Chancery for mortgage debts of the proprietors, and the receivers have no duty to perform but to collect the rents twice a year. "The receiver is merely receiver; he has no personal interest in the

(p. 362),—"In case of new letting a farm, upon which there may be a number of tenants, what is the course usually adopted?"—"They generally pick the best tenant; and if there is a waste to the farm, or anything of that kind, they put those that they cannot accommodate on the waste land, and give them the edges of bogs, and so on. The country people term it transporting them; they are banished to some corner of the bog."

Dr. Madden wrote thus on this subject in his time:—"What still aggravates our calamity is, that we have utterly overlooked the only resource for our misfortunes or mismanagement by neglecting those methods and means of gain which might have borne the burthen of our other follies, having kept our poor as lazy and ignorant as we found them, and stupidly employed the best part of them and our lands, just as the Spaniards do the Indians and the vast savannahs of America, to feed great droves of cattle.

"By this means we have laid waste and almost depopulated some of the finest counties in the kingdom, and instead of turning them to those great fountains of wealth, a gainful trade, handicraft, arts, manufactures, and fisheries, we have made them and ourselves little better than contemptible drovers and butchers for wiser nations."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 3.

* Lord Devon's Commission, Appendix, Part II. p. 370.

† Mr. John Robert Malone, under sheriff of the county of Roscommon, in his evidence (Part II. p. 358), is asked,—“To whom does the property in Roscommon, from which you were ejected, belong?”—"Lord Essex is the head landlord."

10. "Does he reside here?"—"No."

11. "Does his agent reside here?"—"No, he resides in the north, and comes twice a year to receive the rent—an absentee landlord and an absentee agent."

condition of the tenantry; he merely comes down to get his money, and away he goes."* In the words of Mr. Dominick Corr, the agent to Lord De Freyne,† the agents of many small properties, and receivers "come down once or twice a year, and they know no more of the state of the tenants than they do of the longitude." To save themselves trouble the agents and receivers have been in the habit of letting the lands by tender, or "proposal," as they term it, to the highest bidder. "Generally the large farms are let by proposal,"‡ and the landlords "generally will hold out for the highest." "There is no system of valuation as to the small tenants; whatever rent is demanded from them they must pay it;" and "a higher rent is generally put upon them than upon the large farmers." "They agree to any rent to get into the lands, and then they do not pay the rent till they are made to pay it. They are eager to get the land in order to get into possession, there are so many bidding for it."§ Sometimes tracts of land have been thus let to men having no intention to use the land, but to sublet it at an increased rent. These men exact enormous rents. "Almost all the outcry and vexation you meet with is where land is held under a middleman."|| "The middleman is the ruination of the country."¶ The small tenants are placed on the bogs skirting the good land let to the large farmers. These tenants of three or four acres of bad land cannot exist and pay their high rents without hiring con-acre land—that is, good land—for the purpose of setting potatoes or oats, for which an enormous rent is often paid. "It is the actual

* Statement of Mr. Kelly, magistrate and deputy-lieutenant, Lord Devon's Commission, Appendix, Part II. p. 342.

† *Ibid.* p. 376.

‡ Mr. Hughes's Evidence, *ibid.* p. 346.

§ Evidence of Mr. John Mahon, land-agent, *ibid.* p. 356.

|| Mr. Kelly's Evidence, *ibid.* p. 341.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 354.

existence of a large portion of the small holders ; they have no mode of getting food but by sowing con-acre."* The grass farmers, in order the better to enable them to pay their high rents, which they have agreed to give under this system of tender, let off parts of their farms as con-acre, and thus far meet the necessities of the small tenants. In doing this the farmer of course calculates his ultimate profit on the land. By the wretched system of cultivation pursued, the con-acre tenants have, however, bit by bit completely destroyed the land ; and the farmers, finding that they were compelled to break up fresh portions of their farms for con-acre, whilst the land they got back was completely barren and useless, began to be restricted by their landlords, and to refuse to let con-acre. These small tenants have no manure for the land ; they therefore cut the sod off the surface in what they call "scrows," rear them up till they dry, and burn them on the surface of the land ; and the ashes of the burnt earth and consumed vegetation form an alkaline manure. The effect of the burning is to destroy and volatilize the vegetable organization of the soil.† They get a crop of potatoes from this land, and, if it is very good land, sometimes two. They then sow oats on the land for as many years as it will grow anything, until at length it will not return the seed, and becomes completely exhausted. It is then often subjected to another burning, the stubble being burnt ; and it is put through the same course again as long as it will produce anything, no other manure being used. The land, when thus exhausted, is left unsown, and very often not even levelled, to gather the seeds which the wind may blow upon it. In a few years it gets gradually overgrown with weeds, and by degrees gets what is termed "a skin" of grass. Land which has been exhausted in this manner will not fatten

* Mr. Kelly's Evidence, *ibid.* p. 344.

† See note, *ante*, p. 32.

cattle for twenty years. Lord Crofton, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (page 350), says,—

“ One landlord permits burning, another does not. The one who does permit it is of course liked ; and the man who does not permit it is held up as a great Tartar ; and unquestionably it is the ruin of the land. There is one district that, from constant burning and the repetition of crops, is not worth the public cess, which I remember ten years ago able to feed a heifer to an acre, and, indeed, the very neighbouring part is feeding a heifer at this very moment to the acre ; and that is purely from burning, and the repetition of crops.”

The poor tenant knows no better. His cow and pig go wandering about the road sides and bogs, wasting the manure which, with a proper system of house-feeding, would enrich his land. The high price of beef and mutton has made the grazing farmer anxious to preserve his land for grazing purposes, unless the profit he obtained for con-acre was greater. But on getting his land back in this perfectly ruined state from the small tenants, not worth anything, and for which he himself has to pay a high rent, he has raised the price of con-acre to cover himself ; and in some instances the landlord has stepped in and refused to permit him to break up his land for con-acre, to have it ruined in this manner. Con-acre, therefore, which the small tenants must have in order to live, has got more and more scarce, and has risen to enormous prices. Mr. Joseph Sandford, farmer, of Roscommon, in his evidence (page 362), says,—

“ I have known farmers charge 7*l.*, 8*l.*, or 9*l.*, up to 13*l.* I know of proprietors charging 13*l.* an acre for con-acre.”

Instances have been mentioned to me of 14*l.* an acre having been charged. The sum charged varies with the quality of the land ; as it becomes exhausted the price falls to 4*l.* and 3*l.* an acre, when it will scarcely return the seed. The tenants have been often unable to pay these high prices, and their crops have been detained and sold, and they have lost the cost of their seed and labour, and often many of them, besides, have been “ processed ” for the balance which

might still be owing after the sale of the crop. The farmers, when they could not get paid, have often refused to let con-acre at all; this has made it still scarcer; until at length the dense population, crowded round the rich grazing lands on which cattle were fattening, recently rose in large bodies, and said they would not starve, that they must and would have con-acre land, for which they were willing to pay a fair rent. The tide of population, which had been driven into corners, as its density increased, began to flow back again over the fields which had been cleared for grazing purposes, and the people by force broke up, during the present spring, large tracts of land for con-acre. They usually appointed a leader, who named the rent and set it to them, and in many cases the "earnest" money to bind the bargain was left on the land for the farmer or herd, to take it if he chose. Where the land was still refused, threatening notices were sent, or the land was rendered unfit for anything by breaking it up in patches here and there; and threats were held out to sow the land with pins and needles if it were not set to them, in order to destroy the cattle. Some of the landholders, under the effect of this kind of intimidation, agreed to break up some land for con-acre, and thus the parties stand at present.

The small tenants copy those above them, and sublet their fragments of land to one another, at exorbitant rents. As their children grow up, they follow the custom of the country and give them portions; as they have generally no means to do this, they subdivide their farms with their children till they have a mere patch sometimes of but half a rood, and their condition is rendered still more wretched.* The land-

* "The definition which some one gives of custom, that it is the plague of wise men and the idol of fools, agrees with no people on the earth so well as my countrymen, for they seem to have adopted some of the most pernicious ones to their own wellbeing that they could have thought of, and to retain them as fondly as if they judged it a mark of freedom and independency to reject those of the English, and ruin themselves their own way. However, it is certain this proceeds

lord who endeavours to prevent this subdivision, in fact, to prevent the people from ruining both themselves and his estate, becomes most unpopular. One cannot, however, but pity the poor people; for what on earth, left in ignorance and without means of employment, can they do? Their course is absurd; sure destruction to themselves; but what can they do? They know no better, and are helpless. Their condition is most wretched; as one witness* says, "They are very wretched—aye, beyond anything you can calculate." I am assured that were the people not watched and restrained by their respective clergy, there would be no end to the outrages to which they would be driven. And here I do not hesitate to state from much observation, however strange it may sound to English ears, that a more quiet, and tractable, and easily led population I never saw. Treat them well, in fact, manage them with common sense, and do not neglect them and leave them to ruin themselves with their ignorant prejudices, and a more grateful and easily led people, when they find you are sincere, and mean them well, cannot be found. But they find no sympathy; there is no tie generally between them and those above them; they are neglected and despised because they exhibit the consequences of neglect. The chief association in their minds regarding the landlord is, that he never employs them; but that he forgets not to drive their cattle for the rent.

What a different scene generally is the rent day of a great landed proprietor in England and in Ireland. In England

chiefly from the little care that has been taken to wean them from them; for as the example of the gentry is the great source of acting in all countries, so it is remarkably true in Ireland, that they imitate and copy after those that are above them more than other nations. The worst customs they have are all derived from their old chiefs and heads of clans, and had their rise from their poverty, misfortune, and want of conveniences and opportunities to learn better."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 22.

* Mr. Walter Burke, Land Commission, Part II. p. 359.

it brings with it the associations of cordial greetings, of kind words reciprocated, of a jovial dinner, and a happy day. The bells of the village church ring on the morning of the rent day, and greet the arrival of the agent, sometimes accompanied by the landlord. The tenants dressed in their holiday clothes, flock to the pay room, and receive an invitation to dine with their landlord, with their receipt; and if they have any arrangement to make with the agent, fix a time next day for that purpose. From the tenant of 500*l.* a year down to the tenant of 5*l.*, all are invited to dine with their landlord. The poor cotters and widows receive usually an order for a quart of ale and tobacco, which they may either drink in a room appropriated to them, or carry home. At dinner the landlord, or, if absent, his steward takes the chair, and good roast beef and plum-pudding open men's hearts to one another. Great is the pride with which *the oldest tenant*, in whatever station he may be, rises to propose his landlord's health, nor less is the honest satisfaction with which the good landlord responds to the burst of enthusiasm with which it is received. There is genuine good feeling reciprocated. I am describing no imaginative scene. I have seen precisely what I have related, half a dozen times, on the late Lord Egremont's estates, in Yorkshire. How different is the picture in Ireland. The tenants there frequently "don't know their landlord; they have never seen him." An agent or receiver from a distance comes on two stated days in the year to receive the rents. He receives the rents of those who pay him, leaves orders with his resident driver to enforce payment from those who are in arrear, or to serve them with notice of ejection, and departs from the town, unknown to any one but the landlord of the hotel where he stops.

In Ireland generally there is no community of feeling or interest expressed or shown about the tenants, except that created by the receipt of the rent; and is it to be wondered that the tenant views his landlord, and everything he does,

with suspicion, and with a brooding, distant, ill-feeling, which almost renders hopeless any attempt to improve him? Of late years, however, this state of things is modified, and the attention of several landlords is directed to the improvement of their property and tenantry.

What remedy do I propose for this? Give employment; give knowledge. It is the duty of the landlord to improve his waste lands and give employment, and not to let his tenants devour one another in corners of the land; it is not only his duty, but it is the most profitable thing which he can do for his own benefit.* If the landlord will not do this, it becomes the *duty* of the Government to compel it to be done. It is the duty of the landlord to see that his tenants are instructed how to farm, to see that they are taught their business; it is not only his duty, but it is the most profitable thing for himself that he can do. He will then get increased rents, and get them well paid.† If the landlord will not do this, it then becomes the *duty* of the Government to take

* "Indeed, if gentlemen could once be persuaded to build little towns on their lands, and undertake setting up large manufactories and bleach-yards themselves, and by degrees spread the linen business through the whole of their tenants, they would, in the best manner possible, improve the circumstances of their own fortune and that of the public. It is plain as to setting up such little colonies, that whatever loss there may be at the first, the gains in time will largely make amends for it. Cootehill, Lurgan, Monaghan, and a number of our towns in the north, are evident proofs of this, where, by the loss of a small sum compared with the future profit, the lands, for some miles round, have risen to triple the value; and in a little time, I hope, many other places in the three southern provinces will, by the care of judicious and provident landlords, be as remarkable proofs of this matter to the world."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 19.

† "It would be of singular service if we had schools and masters of agriculture settled in several of the great towns of Ireland, with competent allowances to instruct our young gentlemen and rich farmers' sons in the several arts and branches of that useful mystery which so many practise and so few understand. The consequences hereof would reach far and sink deep, and make a wonderful change among us, as it would influence and direct those who must necessarily lead the way to the crowd in all great reforms whatever."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden*, p. 132.

care that that necessary instruction for the people is provided. It is a fact that the great bulk of the people of Ireland make it their business to farm, and do not know their business—nay, are ignorant of the first rudiments of it. With proper management there is abundance for everybody, and wealth for many; yet they so manage things that the majority are existing on potatoes—living on roots; and the crow must fly far before it passes over a wealthy man in Ireland.*

It appears, from Mr. Griffith's return to the Land Commission,† that

"This county contains 180,000 acres of bog and unimproved land; of which about 40,000 acres may be reclaimed for cultivation; 80,000 acres may be reclaimed for pasture, and 10,000 acres may be considered unsuitable for improvement."

Mr. Patrick O'Connor, of Dundermot, Roscommon, Poor Law guardian, magistrate, and landowner, says in his evidence,‡

"It is melancholy to see the state of the land and the poor people; the richest land with two or three feet of water over it."

* The steps most necessary to be taken to instruct the peasantry in farming, are thus stated by Mr. Blacker:—"A statement of the existing errors in the present mode of cultivation practised by the generality of small farmers, circulated among them to direct their attention to the subject: an active intelligent agriculturist, to give the necessary instructions, and practically teach a better: a landlord who will advance the necessary quantity of lime to render those instructions available: and an agent willing to take the trouble of seeing the experiment fairly tried. The first shows the necessity of a change. The second supplies the necessary skill to correct what is amiss. The third affords the capital wanted, and provides an additional inducement by the known gain arising from the crop which follows it; and the lime being only granted on the certificate of the agriculturist, this gives him the power of insisting on the ground being drained and properly cleaned to which it is to be applied. And lastly, the influence and personal attention of the agent keeps up the spirits and energy of the tenantry, and makes all things work together and co-operate towards the successful issue of the undertaking."—*Prize Essay on the Management of Irish Estates, by William Blacker, Esq.*, p. 13.

† Report, p. 51.

‡ Land Commission, Part II. p. 373.

Another witness, Mr. Dominick Corr, agent to Lord de Freyne, says,—*

“There are vast tracts of pasturable mountain and bogs capable of improvement, with the best description of manure that I know of, permanent manures, limestone gravel.” “The land abounds with it; every part of it has it in its bosom.”

This witness suggests also that the Government should reclaim the bogs, and compel the landlords to pay off the expense; and thus give employment for the people, and afford them a greater extent of land, “instead of having them impoverished and starved in their miserable small holdings.” This witness further on says,—

“I know of land which now produces as good crops as any in Ireland, upon which I myself have shot grouse, reclaimed by draining.”

Draining; then, would give employment, and would benefit all parties—the tenant, who would have better opportunities of living; the landlord, who would get valuable land for that which is now worthless; and the country, which would be enriched in increased produce.

Now, let us examine what increased knowledge will do for the tenants. Mr. Nicholls, in his third report relative to the Irish poor, and comparing their condition with Belgium, says,—†

“The small farms of from five to ten acres which abound in many parts of Belgium closely resemble the small holdings in Ireland, but the small Irish cultivator exists in a state of miserable privation of the common comforts and conveniences of civilized life, whilst the Belgian peasant farmer enjoys a large portion of those comforts. The houses of the small cultivators in Belgium are generally substantially built, and in good repair; they have commonly a sleeping room in the attic, and closets for beds connected with the lower apartment, which is convenient in size; a small cellarage for the dairy, and store for the grain, as well as an oven, and an out-house for the potatoes, with a roomy cattle-stall, piggery, and poultry loft. The house generally contains decent furniture, the bedding

* Land Commission, Part II. p. 373.

† P. 164.

sufficient in quantity, and an air of comfort and propriety pervades the whole establishment. In the cow-house the cattle are supplied with straw for bedding; the dung and urine are carefully collected in the tank; the ditches are scoured to collect materials for manure; the dry leaves, potato-tops, &c., had been collected in a moist ditch to undergo the process of fermentation, and heaps of compost were in course of preparation." "The family were decently clad; none of them were ragged or slovenly, even when their dress consisted of the coarsest material." "The productive powers of the soil are *certainly inferior* to the general soil of Ireland, and the climate does not appear to be superior. To the soil and climate, therefore, the Belgian does not owe his superiority in comfort and position over the Irish cultivator. *The difference is rather to be found in the system of cultivation pursued by the small farmers of Belgium, and in the habits of economy and forethought of the people.* The cultivation of the small farms in Belgium differs from the Irish—1st, in the quantity of stall-fed stock, which is kept, and by which a supply of manure is regularly secured; 2nd, in the strict attention paid to the collecting of manure, which is most skilfully managed; 3rd, by the adoption of a system of rotation of five, six, or seven successive crops, even on the smallest farms, which is in striking contrast with the plan of cropping and fallowing the land prevalent in Ireland. The cows are altogether stall-fed, on straw, turnips, clover, rye, vetches, carrots, potatoes, and a kind of soup made by boiling up potatoes, peas, beans, bran, cut hay, &c., into one mess, and which being given warm, is said to be very wholesome, and to promote the secretion of milk."

The Belgian farmer pays the greatest attention to saving the manure of his cattle, which is absolutely necessary to secure him a crop:—

"The labour of the field, the management of the cattle, the preparation of manure, the regulating the rotation of crops, and the necessity of carrying a certain portion of the produce to market, call for the constant exercise of industry, skill, and foresight among the Belgian peasant farmers; and to these qualities they add a rigid economy, habitual sobriety, and a contented spirit, which finds its chief gratification beneath the domestic roof, from which *the father of the family rarely wanders in search of excitement abroad.*

How different this from the Irish peasant—the "wake"*

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Russell was called in to remedy ; and that, notwithstanding this evil, the estate is now " rapidly progressing in improvement."

We will see about this. In my letter I gave an instance of sub-division in 1842.* John M'Cabe, a tenant of 5*l.* 10*s.* rent, sold the tenant-right of half his farm for 15*l.* to Peter Gallagher, and divided the remainder with his son. These three have therefore been living on one farm since 1842. Their farms are two miles from Glenties, facing the court-house over the hill, by the high road. Mr. Russell has not denied this. In his evidence before the Land Commissioners (Appendix, Part II., p. 164) this same Mr. Russell says,—

" The subdivision of farms among the children of the original tenant frequently takes in defiance of the most rigid care and wish to the contrary "

This is true, no doubt ; but why does Mr. Russell insidiously attempt to insinuate his own cleverness at the expense of another, when this is the fact,—that that other could not prevent sub-division any more than himself? for here is an instance of sub-division which has recently taken place under Mr. Russell's " local sub-agency." Mr. Russell, too, suggests that the " private malevolence " of Mr. Foster originated the attack on the Marquis of Conyngham. In justice to that gentleman, I am bound to say that his only communication to me respecting the Marquis of Conyngham was to express his appreciation of an act of liberality to his family highly creditable to the Marquis, and, with regard to Mr. Russell, to point out a fine crop of mangold-wurzel that gentleman has succeeded in raising. As to the " rapid progress in improvement " on the estate now under Mr. Russell's sub-management, which he says has existed for " twelve years," Mr. James Swan, surgeon, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (page 160), says :—

* The statement will be found, *ante*, p. 106, dated from Gweedore.

"I practise as surgeon and physician for thirty miles, but have not an accurate knowledge of the whole extent. I have a general knowledge of the parishes round Donegal." (Glenties is a parish about fifteen miles from Donegal.) "I have been resident here twenty years, and I see very little improvement." "Mr. John Hamilton and Colonel Conolly seem to encourage the Farming Society, but with that exception I do not know of any other landlords who do it."

Mr. Russell proceeds—"It seems to be understood that there is no local agent on the estate," and then proceeds to state his residence. The only person who "seems to understand" this is Mr. Russell himself, in order that he may suggest the fact, for there is not a syllable about it in my letter.

Mr. Russell goes on—

"Nothing can be more erroneous than the assertion that the tenants are visited half-yearly for the purpose of collecting their rents at such periods, without giving them the time to make available their resources, and using at the same time the most rigorous means for enforcing payment."

I prefer answering this by the sworn evidence.

Mr. James Donleavy is asked (p. 150), speaking of the Marquis of Conyngham's estate,—

"How does the agent recover the rent from you?—If we have any beasts, or any effects, to auction or impound, he drives them; if not, he turns us out.

"When is the rent usually demanded?—There is a running half-year: the May rent we pay at the beginning of November or December. I often know of the tenants being compelled to get cattle on trust at an extraordinary price, and to sell them at a low price, in order to pay the landlord's rent.

"What loss have you known a man sustain upon a beast bought in that way?—They generally buy them at from 5*l.* to 6*l.* on trust, and sell them at from 4*l.* to 4*l.* 10*s.* I likewise know of people getting trust meal at 15*s.* a cwt., and selling it at 9*s.* 6*d.*"

Mr. Donleavy further on (p. 153) says—

"Sometimes they impound for the trust meal."

"Who gives them trust meal?—Mr. Russell, or his servants.

" You spoke about the bailiff driving cattle for the money due for meal; do you know a case where that occurred of your own knowledge? —Edward M'Dermott says that in 1842 he got trust meal from the agent, and that in the ensuing November, when paying his rent, he solicited and obtained a few days' indulgence for the price of the trust meal, but that on the next day the bailiff impounded his cow for that sum, though the agent promised him time. That the charge was 1*l.* a cwt. and that 16*s.* was the general price for meal: and the man is ready to swear that his cow was impounded for the price of the meal, though he got the indulgence of the agent."

" The farms are never visited for the purpose of seeing what increased rent they will bear," says Mr. Russell.

Again, I will simply quote the evidence before the Land Commissioners, after taking Mr. Russell's own admission further on. Mr. Russell says, at the death of the late King (in 1837) a large tract of country fell out of lease, which was reset.

" This was not entirely completed until 1839, when the new lettings were completed; and since that period no new valuation or increase in rent has taken place in this district."

Well, 1839 is just six years ago. In my letter to you I mentioned a farmer with seven cows' grass, at 16*l.* a year rent. This farmer is named Thomas Gallagher, and he lives two miles over the hill facing the court-house. His rent was raised at the death of the late King from 9*l.* to 16*l.*; this he told me himself and it is on my notes. If Mr. Russell refers to the rent-book, he will easily find that this is true.

Mr. James Donleavy in his evidence says (page 151),—

" At the time the rent was raised in 1830, I went to the agent, and told him I would not possibly be able to pay the rent. He told me to leave the farm. I asked him to send four persons, differing from myself in religion, and, whatever they said it was worth, I would never say a word against it; and as long as I had a shirt or a coat on my back, I would pay it.

" Was there a general increase of rent at the time you have mentioned? Yes, the rent was doubled."

The rent doubled in 1830, and again in 1839! How often

would this Scotch agent double the rent, and think the people forget it?

"Nor is it correct," says Mr. Russell, "that their rude efforts to improve are followed immediately by raising their rents."

Again, I will quote the evidence of Mr. Donleavy (p. 150),—

"The Marquis of Conyngham is my landlord, and the estate would be capable of remunerative improvements if the people had any means; but the people have no capital; and the little they have if they lay it out, and run a year or two without being able to pay the rent, then, no matter what the improvement is, you must pay the rent, or quit the land.

"Does the landlord afford the tenants any facilities for making improvements?—No; but, on the contrary, if the tenant goes beyond his capabilities in improving it, whenever there is a valuation coming round, in proportion as he has improved, the rent is increased."

"It is equally incorrect," says Mr. Russell, "that no capital is spent among them;—within the last year upwards of 1,000*l.* has been spent by his Lordship on the Glenties estate alone, in the opening of new roads, the building of upwards of one hundred houses, and other solid and substantial improvements." It is quite safe, of course, for Mr. Russell to state this. But what says the evidence? Mr. John O'Donnell, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Glenties Union, speaking of this district, says (page 148),—

"In general it is the tenant who effects the improvements; there are very few instances in which the landlord assists in any one thing.—Is there any system of assistance given by the landlord?—

"No, none that I know of in our part."

Mr. Russell has now finished his contradictions and goes into excursive subjects. He says—

"That I have not been able to convert this remote and wild district into fine cultivated land is not the fault of his Lordship or myself."

I will not take his word for it, but again resort to the evidence:—

"I could not say," says Mr. Donleavy (page 150,) "the cultivation is improving, the people are so much oppressed, having no means and no capital. *There are no agricultural schools.*"

Further on (page 151) he says,—

“ I would maintain that on the Boylagh estate (the Marquis of Conyngham's) there could be sustenance obtained for four times the number, if the people had the means of reclaiming the barren lands that lie waste. I would assert that there would be plenty of provisions raised for four times the number of people, had they the means of doing it.”

Mr. James Swan, surgeon, is asked (p. 161),—

“ From the nature of the soil, is it capable of being much improved? Yes, very much so. I know if the surface was drained, and they adopted a proper rotation of crops, *the land is capable of being improved to such an extent as to produce three times its present crop.*

“ Is there a disposition on the part of the people to improve, if they were properly instructed and furnished with the means?—They have not the means: *but I am satisfied, if the landlord was to surface-drain the land, and to have a right to claim from the tenants, in small payments, the expense of doing so, the tenants would be satisfied.* Here we have a proof of it, upon Mr. John Hamilton's property and Colonel Conelly's; *the tenants are well satisfied.*”

Mr. Russell then finds fault with me for passing through Glenties, past an hotel built by the Marquis of Conyngham, to an inferior inn. I imagine I had a right to do as I pleased in that respect. But the simple truth was, the landlord of the inferior inn is postmaster, clerk to the magistrates, and clerk to the Poor Law Union, and I had a letter to him as a well-informed person, and also to his brother, a Roman Catholic priest in the neighbourhood, and, for my own convenience, I chose to go to his inn. I found I was not singular in that determination, for the stipendiary magistrate, then holding petty sessions in the town, was also at this inn. I had a very good luncheon, and a fresh car provided for me, which was all I required, and I was perfectly satisfied with the civility I received, and did not give to your English readers a single syllable about this “ Irish inn,”—nor was that my object in going to it, as Mr. Russell supposes.

Mr. Russell then says that "It is utterly untrue that 16*l.* is paid for seven cows' grass, and that 5*l.* would be much nearer the sum." Thomas Gallagher pays it now; before his rent was nearly doubled in 1837 he paid 9*l.* His farm is within two miles of Glenties. I have given Mr. Russell name, amount, and place, and I am quite sure the farmer did not tell me a lie, for several of his neighbours were round him, and appeared to know his rent quite well, and the Vice-Chairman of the Poor Law Union was with me and knew the amount he was rated at.

Mr. Russell then speaks of Arranmore, and takes credit for no charge ever being made to the people for sea-weed for the manufacture of kelp. The people go out some distance from land in their currachs, and with long hooks pull the sea-weed from the bottom of the sea, the water being about 10 or 12 feet deep, with a white sandy bottom, which enables them to see the weed. The landlord therefore has no property whatever in the sea-weed which they thus obtain by their own exertions, and has no right to charge them, for, as every school-boy knows, the landlord's property in the shore does not extend beyond low water-mark.

The frightful strand covered with water which every one has to cross going to Gweedore, Mr. Russell wishes to charge the cess-payers of the barony with continuing as a road. Mr. Russell must know, if on the grand jury, that he is talking nonsense. The cess-payers have nothing to do with the matter. But every one in the country attributes its continuance to Mr. Russell's opposition, because he had not the credit of proposing the better road.

Mr. Russell satisfies himself with saying, "my descriptions of the poverty of the people are grossly over-charged." This is modest, after his previous bold contradictions. What! not one word in denial of the *pepper and water and potatoes* on which the people there live, and of which I gave specific instances, or of the common *sea-rack* which the people of

Arranmore gather for food! Shocking as the statement is, it cannot be denied. But I shall again meet Mr. Russell's general assertion by sworn evidence :—

Mr. James Donleavy says (p. 153),—

“ With respect to the state of the people, I can state that I know a family of five or six people lying on one bed for want of bed clothes, or means to provide them.

“ Are these people holding land? Yes, and paying rent; their children are uneducated, not having common clothes that would decently bring them to mass on Sunday.

“ Is there any want of employment among the people?—Yes, very great.”

Mr. James Swan, resident surgeon for twenty years, says (p. 161),—

“ I should say that the small farmers in point of comfort in general are worse off than the common day labourer who has constant employment : they are generally in great distress in this country, those that have to live entirely by their farms, but many of them combine farming with fishing and live more comfortably.

“ You think that a small farmer of five or six acres is worse off than a common labourer?—Yes, I do. They have the greatest difficulty in paying the public rates.

“ What is the usual food?—Potatoes; and sometimes they get what they call a sprit, or sprat, or salt fish. I am intimately acquainted with their diet, and it is a fruitful source of chronic disease. Very few of that class are able to get milk; *they are steeped in poverty; and, though many of them go to market with their outside garments good, their under garments are bundles of rags.*”

After I had written my letter relative to the Marquis of Conyngham's estate, I had the opportunity of a conversation with the surgeon who has Arranmore under his care. He assured me that there is scarcely an individual out of the 1,500 on the island who is not afflicted with boils or some other chronic disease, the consequence of poor and insufficient diet.

As proof that the people are not “ so miserable and oppressed,” Mr. Russell says, “ they have in various in-

stances *obtained and been allowed* to accept from twenty to twenty-five years' purchase on the present rents for their tenant-right." What proof is this? That poverty at last compelled them to sell their wretched means of livelihood, which others were eager to get at any price they could borrow or raise; and as to "being allowed to accept," Mr. Russell knows well enough it is the custom of the country, and is insisted on as a right.

Mr. Russell then concludes his letter, much to his own apparent satisfaction, by expressing his conviction that "after so much misconception you will consider it an act of justice to make his explanation public." I imagine this Scotch agent has, by this time, discovered that he has effectually, as the phrase is, "put his foot in it." He was warned in my letter that the above evidence "could, if necessary, be quoted at a future time." He has thought fit to neglect that warning, and to expose himself and his principal to deserved obloquy. In the first instance, I did not even allude to this Mr. Russell; I sought higher game. If, however, he is not fully satisfied with the present exposure, by all means let him try again, and he may find that in "the lowest depths" of disgrace there is yet "a lower deep."

Having, however, waded through the tediousness of these contradictions, I am anxious to "improve the occasion." What is at the bottom of all this misery?—*Neglect and absenteeism.*

Mr. Donleavy is asked (page 153),—

"Does the Marquis of Conyngham visit his property? I never knew him visit his property since he became heir *but once*; and that was in November last.

"Have the tenants any opportunity of making their complaints known to him?—*No*; he never answered any documents or complaints that were sent to him. We are under the agents and the bailiffs, who have no feeling for the people, our landlord being an *absentee nobleman*. He never comes near us, to see if we are oppressed or tyrannized over. We should have some hopes if our landlord would visit us once a year, as other landlords do, that we should have some redress."

Further on he is asked,—

“Is there any considerable difference in the condition of the people on the different properties?—Yes, there is. A landlord convenient to this town (Donegal) that holds land below our place—Mr. Hamilton,—*he attends to his own tenantry*, and goes and visits them regularly. There may be an individual case where the rent may be higher than the rest of the tenants, but I consider that his tenantry *live here happy under him*.”

On the one hand, then, in the same district, we have misery and wretchedness and discontent under a neglectful and absentee landlord; and, on the other, a contented and “happy” tenantry under a landlord who minds his business and attends to the duties of his position.

Some Irish gentleman, who signs himself “A Member of the Legislature,” has done me the honour to address a letter to me in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, in which he ably points out the evils of absenteeism. The historical research of the letter proves the writer to be a gentleman of education; the tenacity with which he clings to the memory of the past denotes him to be what he terms himself—an Irishman. He attributes the backwardness of Ireland in every improvement to past oppressions of England. Why dwell on the past? Grant that it is all true; what boots it now to dwell on the periods of Henry II. and Elizabeth, and Cromwell? Let us face things as they are. No doubt those were melancholy periods for Ireland, and may have originated many of the prejudices which now retard her progress. But let us be men. Let us not sit down with dreamers, and in the language of Ossian sing of the glories of departed Fingal, nor yet anticipate and fear evils to come, if we would expect to triumph over difficulties. Your men that talk of *yesterday*, like the men who fear and procrastinate until *to-morrow*, are not now-a-days the men that succeed. *To-day* is what we have to do with. Let us grapple with the mischief and put it down, and leave sighs for the past and fears for the future, in a worldly sense, to old women. Who is it among us that

succeeds?—A Watt, an Arkwright, a Napier, a Stephenson, and a thousand others indicate to us our course. With individual energy they grappled with the difficulties which met them, and a splendid success was the reward of each. Let us do the same ; cease fruitless repinings over the past ; leave future difficulties to future exertion, and, with determination to overcome, apply ourselves to the evils which exist. If absenteeism is ruin, let us prevent the evil. This is the feeling which will raise Ireland to rank in equality in everything with the rest of the empire ; it will banish her supineness, and change “the weakness of complaint” into the self-reliance of well-assured and confident strength, with prosperity in its wake.

LETTER XVIII.

THE CAPABILITIES OF CONNEMARA.—THE FUTILITY
AND MISCHIEFS OF EMIGRATION.

The Picturesque Beauty of Connemara—Its Bogs and neglected Capabilities—
Emigration not the Remedy to benefit its Starving Population—Description of
the People—Evils of Emigration—*Men wanted to Cultivate the Land, and to*
make the Wastes Fertile—The Profit and Facilities of Cultivating the Waste
Bogs—Rather encourage the Industry of the People than drive them to Emi-
grate—The one Course will Improve, the other keep Waste the Country.

CLIFDEN, CONNEMARA, October 10.

It is almost unnecessary to inform your readers that Connemara is the wildest portion of the county of Galway; that it is the district to the extreme west of that county, and including what is called Joyce's country, is about forty miles by thirty in extent, the greater part of it abutting upon the Atlantic, and indented with numerous bays. Its name "Connemara" is derived from the many bays and inlets which are found on its western coast, the meaning of the word in Irish being "bays of the sea." This part of the country has long been noted for its bold and picturesque scenery. In a minor degree as compared with Killarney, it is the resort of tourists; and if their taste lie in contemplating the bold and magnificent outline of lofty barren hills, and numerous lakes so shut in by surrounding mountains that the wind can scarcely ruffle their glassy surfaces, reflecting the face of the steep crags which abut upon them, nowhere will they be more gratified. Here and there, as

each ascent is gained, the distant views of almost innumerable lakes, dotted with islands, and bounded by abrupt and well-defined hills, open out prospects of surpassing magnificence.* Beautiful as is the hill and lake-scenery of the western highlands of Scotland, in the neighbourhood of Oban, it is rivalled here. Nature has been all bountiful. The eye, however, searches in vain for a resting-place on any object the accomplishment of man. Miles and miles of red bogs, inclined so as to be capable of easy drainage, and having below them the limestone gravel which would render them fertile, lie neglected and waste, unable even to afford pasturage for sheep; whilst the steep hill-sides which require no draining, and which have scarcely a covering of earth on their rocky formation, are scratched into potato-beds, or sown with oats by the poverty-stricken population. The poor peasants struggle to live on the scanty crops which these steep hill-sides will yield; whilst they have neither capital, nor knowledge, nor encouragement to drain and improve from their existing state of swamp the slopes and plains, which would abundantly repay cultivation.† A few bare legged half-clad

* "I do not hesitate for a moment to say, that the scenery, in passing from Clifden to the Killeries and Leenane, is the finest in Ireland. In boldness of character, nothing at Killarney comes at all near to it; and although the deficiency of wood excludes the possibility of a competition with Killarney in picturesque beauty, I am certainly of opinion that the scenery of this part of Connemara—including especially the Killeries, which is Joyce's country—is entitled to rank higher than the most praised, because better known scenery of Killarney."—*Inglis's Tour through Ireland*, p. 244.

† "As to the removing the obstruction which our tillage meets with from our ignorance, it must proceed from time and practice, and the example of those of distinction and fortune among us.

"If skilful English husbandmen were invited over by our gentry, by good wages or farms, to be their overseers or their tenants, it would go a great way in this matter. This would bring us into right methods, and introduce, among other things, the steeping our seed grain in different wines and liquors; the enriching different soils with their proper manure; and, in short, the changing many of our barbarous customs for such as are more useful and profitable."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 109.

women, loading themselves with panniers of turf to convey to their wretched hovels, alone find employment on miles of waste bogs which with a little capital and enterprise and knowledge would afford constant and profitable employment to hundreds of men. Yet, with these facts so apparent, there are sublettings, overcrowdings of lands, clearances, and emigrations going on ; and want of employment, with consequent destitution and wretchedness is the complaint of the majority of the inhabitants.

It would be easy for me to describe the charms of bold and magnificent scenery—to picture amidst it misery and distress—to contrast the soul-elevating grandeur of the mountain and the precipice, and the rushing waterfall, with the debasing hovel of the native—to compare the purity of the glassy lake on the borders of which he lives with the cesspool at his door—to indulge in vague declamation against extravagant, and poverty-stricken, and neglectful, and apathetic landlords, and grinding agents—all this I might do, with truth, and with little labour ; it might amuse, it might interest, but would it convince ? I have a higher object. I believe it to be your wish to exhibit the capabilities of Ireland to plain, practical common sense—to point out the neglect of those capabilities—to show where the fault lies ; and, whilst painting the undeniable destitution of the people, to urge the natural remedy which those capabilities will afford if used and improved. Let these things be convincingly shown to the English people, and the wants of Ireland, and those measures which will do her “justice,” will be made plain. There will then be hope for the future prosperity of Ireland, and the doom of pernicious agitation will be sealed.

In my letter of to day I intend drawing your attention to the inefficacy of a measure of alleviation which has continually been advised in all periods of distress, and which has been acted on frequently in Ireland—I mean *extensive emi-*

gration. I intend, then, to show what are the neglected capabilities of this district of country, and what is required to render those capabilities available. I think the conclusion, from undeniable evidence, will then be drawn, that extensive emigration, for Ireland at least, is the very last measure which ought to be advised, or to which a Government ought to resort. Taking it, then, to be conceded, that *something* must be done to remedy an extensive state of wretchedness which is alike disgraceful and dangerous to the empire, if we find that emigration ought not to be that "something," we shall have cleared the way of one ingredient of confusion and mistake; and the concentration of attention on measures the necessity and advantage of which are almost self-evident, may eventually compel legislation according to rules of common sense, and enforce a straightforward instead of a crooked and shift policy.

The argument though strongly applicable to Connemara, is equally so to almost every part of Ireland. The people here are a much finer race than are to be found in the interior of Connaught. The men generally are tall, stout, handsome fellows; the women well clad, buxom, and good looking. The county of Galway, indeed, is throughout peopled generally by a fine race. The dress of the women is better than is seen elsewhere, and is peculiar. Their red worsted petticoats and blue cloth cloaks wrapped round them, are at once comfortable looking and becoming. In this neighbourhood great numbers of Cromwell's soldiers are said to have settled, and Spanish blood is also said to be general among the people. It is certain, however, whatever the race, that very many of the names are English. In walking through the town yesterday the names over the shop-doors struck me; there are Corbetts, Milletts, Owen, King, Kean, Joyce, Needham, Carr, Parsons, Prendergast, &c. all of which are English, Scotch, or Welsh names; whilst the

old Irish names to be met with are not nearly so numerous.* The physiognomy of the people is as dissimilar as possible from that of the people of Cavan, Leitrim, or Roscommon, neither is it purely English. Whatever mixture, however, the race may be, they are here a fine people, and very few of the men of Leitrim or Cavan are either so tall or so stout as the generality of the women of Connemara. They are generally well and neatly clad, and seem an industrious, frugal, good-natured, and honest people. Yet with all this the greatest poverty exists among them. Inglis, in his *Journey Through Ireland*, says—

“Many persons were so miserably off when I visited Ouchterard, that the parish priest had been obliged to become security for the price of a little meal to prevent them from starving.”

This was in 1834, eleven years ago. In 1844, the Rev. John Griffin, parish priest of Ballinakill, in this neighbour-

* “On looking over the list of names this morning in Mr. Hazel’s book, I was much struck by the novelty and aristocratic appearance of many of them. As may be expected in any part of Connemara, there is a large proportion of Flaherties, Donoghues, and Joyces; but the following, not usual among the working classes in Ireland, are also to be found in the Society’s list:—Dundas, King, Cooke, Lee, Powell, Cosgrave, Lyden, Ridge, Hernon, and one whose surname is Nee rejoices in the classical prefix of Festus.”—*Visit to the Kilkerrin Estate, Galway, of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society, by Major Ludlow Beamish*, 1846, p. 35.

“Joyce.—This old Galway family is of ancient and honourable English descent, and was allied to the Welsh and British princes. Thomas Joyce, the first of the name that came to Ireland, sailed from Wales in the reign of Edward I., and arrived with his fleet at Thomond in Munster, where he married Norah O’Brien, daughter of the chief of that district. From thence putting to sea, he directed his course to the western part of Connaught, where he acquired considerable tracts of territory, which his posterity still inhabit. While on the voyage, his wife was delivered of a son, whom he named M’Mara, “son of the sea.” He extended his father’s acquisitions, and from him descended the sept of the Joyces, a race of men remarkable for their extraordinary stature, who, for centuries past, inhabited the mountainous district in Jar, Connaught, called from them Duthaidh Sheodhoigh, or Joyce’s Country, now forming the barony of Ross in the county of Galway, and for which they were formerly tributary to the O’Flaherties.”—*Hardiman’s History of Galway*.

hood, gave evidence before Lord Devon's Commission* and was asked,—

“ With respect to the condition of the farmers, do you consider that the large farmers are improving in their worldly means?—There are no large farmers, but the small farmers are very poor generally.

“ Is there a class of labourers as contradistinguished from the small farmers?—Yes.

“ What is their condition?—Miserable.” He describes further on their diet, as “ potatoes, with, in some cases, milk, not generally;” and those who hold “ not more than three acres of land” have “ bedsteads in their houses, but no beds.” “ They may have straw, and blankets miserably filthy.”

“ The condition of the people,” says the Rev. W. Flannelly, the Roman Catholic curate of Ballinakill,† “ can scarcely be described, they they are so wretchedly poor. Their poverty, indeed, is indescribable.” He attributes this poverty in some cases to the banishing of some of the people from their holdings; “ from some districts entire villages have been thrown on the world. In other cases, I attribute it to paying high and enormous rents for their lands; for instance, paying 50s. an acre for some portion of the land; that has been on account of their relative position by the sea, being a fishing country, and where they have been depending upon the fishing, which has failed for the last three years principally. They pay the same rent, 50s. per acre, for what is considered arable-land of a very bad description; in some places 30s., and in others 20s., which are still exacted. Then, as a consequence of that, as the rent must be paid, they must have recourse to what is considered in the country as a great evil, that is, the loan funds and the usurers. In some cases the usurers demand as much as 8s. for the use of 1l., I believe, for half a year, and indeed it may be for a quarter of a year.” Further on this witness says—“ It is dreadful to witness such extreme poverty; I have not been here more than eight months, and it is dreadful.” “ We cannot get a stool or a chair to sit on in the discharge of our duties, or a jug to take a drink of water from; and as to beds, it is dreadful; the people are stretched, not on straw, but on heath, the growth of the wild mountain.”

Such then is the condition of the people here, and it fully bears out the description of the general condition of the people of Ireland given by the Commissioners for Inquiry

* Part II. p. 469.

† *Ibid*, p. 472.

into the "Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland," in their third report, previous to the establishment of the New Poor Law, that—

"A great portion of them are insufficiently provided at any time with the commonest necessities of life. Their habitations are wretched hovels; several of a family sleep together upon straw, or upon the bare ground, sometimes with a blanket, sometimes even without as much to cover them; their food commonly consists of dry potatoes, and with these they are at times so scantily supplied as to be obliged to stint themselves to one spare meal in the day. There are even instances of persons being driven by hunger to seek sustenance in wild herbs. They sometimes get a herring, or a little milk, but they never get meal, except at Christmas, Easter and Shrovetide."

As one remedy for this horrible condition these Commissioners, in their third report, recommend extensive emigration. I now propose to examine from this report what is the character of the people that emigrate, and the cost to the country of any system of extensive emigration, and the effect produced on those who remain at home.

In the barony of Kilconnel, county of Galway *Ibid.* (p. 9, *et seq.*),—

"The witnesses enumerated above one hundred individuals, who had emigrated from their barony during the last five years. All of them were persons of very moderate means; a few were young men who possessed from 15*l.* to 20*l.*, but not two could be mentioned who had the command of 100*l.* All these were persons 'who would have stayed at home if they could have got a sufficiency of land. *The number of those who have left has not had the slightest effect either in reducing rents or in increasing wages.*"

BARONY DROMAHAIR, COUNTY OF LEITRIM.

"Considerable numbers have left from this barony for the colonies within the last few years, but *they have been in general persons possessed of some substance.* Few labourers are to be found among the emigrants. Several witnesses consider that there can be no doubt but that the *immense competition for land*, and the high nominal rents which the poor peasantry readily undertake, *drive the substantial farmers from the country*, and prevent their getting land at such a price as would give them a fair

return for their capital. *It would require fully one-third of the able-bodied population of the parish to be withdrawn, that steady employment, at 10d. a day, might be secured to the remainder.*"

This evidence would seem to show that *more land* is wanted; that emigration takes off the best of the population, and that one-third of the best of the people must emigrate before any effect is produced upon wages or rents. It is preposterous to suppose that emigration can ever be carried to this extent; it is useless without it, as a means of good; and to the extent to which it has been carried it appears to have been a positive evil, in sending off "substantial farmers" and "young men possessed of some substance." Why, then, recommend emigration? Why not take measures to give "more land?" There is land enough to give. In this very county there are 708,000 acres of uncultivated land out of 1,566,000, or nearly one-half the county is uncultivated bog; and, according to Mr. Griffith's return, about 400,000 acres of this bog and unimproved land might be profitably reclaimed, or, deducting for the space covered by lakes, about *one-third* of the county.

But I proceed with the evidence, and it will be seen how these views are borne out.

BARONY MOHILL, COUNTY OF LEITRIM.

"Emigration has been very considerable among all classes of late years; many persons possessed of capital have gone after the expiration of old leases of farms held by them at a low rent, and of which they could not expect a renewal on the same profitable terms. All agree in saying that the amount of emigration has not been sufficient to reduce in the *least degree* the competition for land or employment."

BARONY MURRISK, COUNTY OF MAYO.

"Two or three ships have left this port with emigrants annually until this year." *Most of those who departed were persons possessing small capital, hardly any destitute persons, inasmuch as they had not the means to pay their passage.* "The number of those who have gone *has not in the least perceptibly improved the condition of those who have remained*; there is just the same competition for land, and just as many looking for labour and unable to find it."

BARONY CARRERRY, COUNTY OF SLIGO.

"The number of those who have emigrated is very considerable. Those who left were chiefly persons possessed of some money. The withdrawal of those who have gone has had no perceptible effect on the wages of labour, or the numbers of employers, or on the competition for small holdings."

BARONY BALROTHEERY, COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

"For some years the emigration of labourers and small farmers has been considerable, but unfortunately for Ireland, *they have generally been the most industrious, well behaved, and in most cases the monied of their class, thus leaving the worst, and all the riff-raff, as an increased burden on the country.*"

BARONY GALMOY, COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

The number of persons who have emigrated from this barony has been considerable, but not sufficiently extensive to reduce the competition for labour and for small holdings.

"It is estimated by the majority of the witnesses that it would require the removal of at least one-fourth of the able male population to give constant employment to the remainder, at 10d. a day."

BARONY CLONLISK, KING'S COUNTY.

"The emigration that has as yet taken place has not had any effect on either wages or rents."

Precisely the same evidence is given from the baronies of Phillipstown, in King's county, Dundalk, county of Louth, Kells and Moybeuragh, county of Meath.

In the barony of Maryborough, Queen's county, all the witnesses concur, that "*small farmers, and the best kind of labourers*, are the classes of persons from which the principal emigration has taken place," and that "though there has been considerable emigration, it has not been sufficient to reduce the competition for labour and small holdings, and thereby to reduce rents, and raise wages." Precisely similar evidence is given from the barony of Partinahinch, Queen's county, that "*small farmers, the best labourers, and agricultural and useful mechanics*" are those who have emigrated; and that the emigration, though "considerable," "has not been sufficient to affect wages or rents." The same evidence

is given from the barony of Talbotstown, county of Wicklow. In the barony of Corcomroe, county. Clare, the witnesses say,—

“In order to raise the price of labour, it would be necessary to remove nearly one-half the labourers. Nearly every man works his own land, and does not employ much labour.”

In the barony of Iveragh, county of Kerry, the same evidence is given. “In most instances, those who emigrated were the better sort of farmers;” and the emigration has not *“raised wages, or lowered rents, by reducing the competition for employment or small holdings.”*

From the county Limerick, the witnesses say the emigrants were “usually good, industrious men.” In Tipperary, Waterford, Armagh, Down, Cavan, Tyrone, evidence of precisely the same character was given. The best men leave the country, leaving the “riff-raff” behind; whilst the effect of the emigration does not in the slightest degree improve the condition of those who remain. To remove “one-third” or “one-fourth” of the population, as some of the witnesses say it would be necessary to do to produce any beneficial effect, is simply impossible. It is, too, but a temporary remedy; the same pressure of population must soon arise again. It is an unwise remedy, for the evidence is conclusive that it deteriorates the population by sifting from it the most industrious and enterprising—in fact, the very men that the country requires to improve it. It is a costly remedy, for it requires at least 10*l.* to remove a man and his family who has not himself the means of emigrating; and it is diminishing the strength and resources of the country, if those who emigrate can by any means be advantageously employed at home; because the produce of their labour increases the wealth of the country, and their consumption increases the available market for the produce of the industry of others.

This naturally brings on the question—Can they be advantageously employed at home? Look at this county from

which I write. Is it not a disgrace to the proprietors of it that 400,000 acres of its surface capable of profitable cultivation should be left in a state of nature—swamp and bog; whilst the people, willing to work, and to reclaim it, are starving in idleness, and the best of them forced to emigrate? Is it not a disgrace to any government, to *statesmen*, that with this fact before them they permit it to continue, whilst they listen to projects about emigration? In coming here I passed through the town of Cong, situated between Loughs Mask and Corrib. These two loughs are divided by three miles of land. Lough Corrib communicates with the sea at Galway by a river about three miles long. By about eight miles of canal cutting, according to the survey of Mr. Bald, “a navigation inland of fifty-three miles direct could be secured, available to a district containing 800,000 inhabitants, who now possess none but the rudest and most expensive intercourse.” These vast lakes, one nearly thirty miles long, and the other upwards of twenty miles, with a mean depth of fourteen feet, are wholly useless to the people. Their apathy is disgraceful. It is equally disgraceful that any government should, amidst the trumpery struggles and triumphs of party, thus neglect the country’s advantage, whilst the people starve. No steam-boat for either business or pleasure navigates Lough Corrib, and the finest scenery in Ireland, and the greatest advantages for either agriculture or commerce are neglected.* Lough Corrib has a fall of fourteen feet,

* “The scenery of Ma’am, at the head of Lough Corrib, is fine—very fine. If a lake filled the hollow of the mountains, Killarney might tremble for its supremacy; for the outline of the mountain-range surpasses, in picturesque form, any of the ranges that bound the lakes of Killarney. At Ma’am, one is forcibly struck with the advantages which would be opened up to this district by the extension of the navigation of Lough Corrib to the sea. Fine slopes of reclaimable land border the deep stream that, at the distance of half a mile, flows into Lough Corrib; and the same boats that would carry to market the produce of the cultivated land, would bring from the Bay of Galway sand, sea-weed, and lime, to be laid upon the yet unimproved wastes.”—*Inglis’s Journey through Ireland (Connemara)*, p. 224.

Lough Mask a fall of thirty-six feet, and, according to Dr. Kane, in his book on the industrial resources of Ireland, these two lakes have a water-power of 6,850 horses, which nature has provided without cost, ready to employ the people, and which, except a portion of it at Galway, is almost entirely unused; and the people starve for want of employment! At Cong the lime-stone rocks are shooting up through the bog; the very material which will make the bogs fertile is beside them; it is unused, the bogs are bogs still, as they have been for centuries, and the people starve! From Cong to Ma'am, which is at the head of Lough Corrib, the bogs incline to the lake, affording the greatest facilities for draining; they are wholly undrained. As you proceed from Ma'am through Joyce's country to the Killeries, you loose the limestone, but there is fine gravel and marl immediately under the bog, the best material for reclaiming it.* The bogs are still, except in small patches,

* "I question whether much ever will or can be done in cultivating the waste reclaimable lands of Ireland by the proprietors themselves. Capital and enterprise are alike wanting. This, however, it is—the cultivation of the reclaimable wastes, that can alone provide permanent employment for the people, and effect a real change in their condition."—*Ingli's Tour through Ireland—Clifden*, p. 231.

"Marl is a certain sort of fat and clayish stuff, being as the grease of the earth. It hath from ancient times been greatly used for manuring of land, both in France and England, as may appear out of Pliny, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of his seventeenth book. The same also is still very usual in sundry parts of England, being of an incomparable goodness, the which caused the English, who, out of some of those places where marl was used, were come to live in Ireland, to make diligent search for it, and that with good success at last, it having been found out by them, within these few years, in several places—first, in the King's county, not far from the Shannon, where, *being of a grey coulour, it is digged out of the bogs*; and in the county of Wexford, where the use of it was grown very common before the rebellion, especially in the parts lying near the sea, where it stood then in very good stead, the land of itself being nothing fruitful; for although the ground, for the most part, is a good black earth, yet the same being but one foot deep, and having underneath a crust of stiff yellow clay of half a foot, is thereby greatly impaired in its own goodness. In this depth of a foot and a half next under the clay lieth the marl, which reacheth so far downwards that nowhere they are come to the bottom of it. It is of a blew coulour and

for miles and miles unreclaimed. I would for a moment draw your attention to the evidence of General Thompson, a magistrate residing near the Killeries, given before the Land Commission page 265. He is asked—

“ If the unreclaimed mountain and bog afford opportunities for extensive and remunerative improvements?—Certainly. I have tried it myself, and found it answer remarkably well. I have potatoes this year I have grown, and the crop at least promises ten tons an acre. It is manured with nothing but coral-mud and sea-weed. Lime is the best thing to apply to it afterwards. The whole cost of the acre of potatoes that I am growing this year—the re-claiming, enclosing, open draining, manuring, and seeds, and everything else—is about 10*l*. I think I will have them get in for 11*l* 10*s*. the acre, including everything.

very fine—which, as in other ground, so in this, is chiefly perceived when it is wet—but bridle and dusty when it is dry.

“ The marl is laid upon the land in heaps: by some before it is plowed, by others after—many letting it lie several months ere they plow it again, that the rain may equally divide and mix it: the sun, moon, and air mellow and incorporate it with the earth. One thousand cart-loads of this growth to one English acre of ground: it being very chargeable, for even to those who dig it out of their own ground, so as they are at no other expenses but the hire of the labourers, every acre cometh to stand in three pounds sterling. But these great expenses are sufficiently recompensed by the great fruitfulness which it cometh, being such as may seem incredible; for the marled land, even the very first year, fully quinteth all the costs bestowed on it. Then, besides, it is sufficient once to marl, whereas the ordinary dunging must be renewed oftentimes.

“ If the marled land be thus used, and by turns kept under corn and grass, it keeps its fruitfulness for ever, where, to the contrary, if, year after year, it be sowed till the heart be drawn out, it is quite spoiled, so as afterwards it is not possible to bring it again to any passable condition by any kind of dunging or marling.

“ The province of Connaught, by what has been discovered, is much more plentiful in marl than Leinster, as in other counties; so in those of Roscommon, Sligo, and Gallogray, almost in every part of it. It is there of three several colours, some being white as chalk, others grey, and some black, but none blew, as that in the county of Wexford. It lieth nothing deep under the upper ground or surface of the earth, commonly not above half a foot; but its own depth is so great, that never any body yet digged to the bottom of it.

“ But thus much is known, as well in Connaught as other parts, that those who sow the marled land until it can bear no more, and be quite out of heart, will find it exceeding difficult, if not altogether impossible, ever to amend or improve the same again by any means whatsoever.”—*Boate and Molyneux's Natural History of Ireland*, p. 56, et seq.

"What is the value of the crop? Ten tons an acre, at 3*d.* a stone, would be about 20*l.*"

And yet the people, amidst miles of this unreclaimed land, starve for want of potatoes. Government will give 10*l.* to get rid of an industrious man by emigration. That very industry and 10*l.* thrown away would bring in an acre of useless bog, the profit of which would keep him and benefit the country. The Killeries is an inland bay twenty fathoms deep, and running eight miles inland. There is not a quay on it, and a vessel rarely comes up it. It swarms with herrings and mackerel, and it of course affords opportunities of easy and cheap carriage for coral-sand and sea-weed from the coast for agricultural purposes.* Streams and waterfalls are tumbling down the hill-sides from the various lakes into this navigable bay. Not a mill is to be seen, nor is a water-wheel turned by one of them; and, despite the facilities of obtaining coral-sand, sea-weed, lime, marl, and gravel, and notwithstanding the manifest profit of cultivation, there are miles of unreclaimed bog; and the

* "Most encouraging proofs are everywhere to be seen of the capabilities of the bogs of Connemara. On the one hand, I saw heaps of turf newly cut out of the bog, and close by the finest crops of oats, potatoes, barley, and even wheat. There is no crop that cannot be produced by the aid of either limestone, or of other natural products of this neighbourhood—coral-sand and sea-weed. These have an advantage over limestone, inasmuch as they need no quarrying or preparation. First-rate crops are here produced the third year. Potatoes are generally taken for the two first crops, and these, by the operation of trenching, drain the land. Oats then follow, and extraordinary crops are produced; sixteen barrels, two hundred and seven stone to the barrel, is not reckoned an uncommon product of an acre.

"There is perhaps no part of Ireland so well adapted for experimenting on waste lands and reclaimable bogs as Connemara. No part of Connemara is more than six miles from some sea-bay, or lake having a communication with the sea. If there were good roads in all directions, the length of land-carriage would not be great; but even this distance would be much diminished by improving and connecting the navigation of the chains of lakes which extend through every part of Connemara. One part of that chain drains into Lough Corrib, and through it to the Bay of Galway; the other part drains into the western bays. One has but to glance at the map to see how much nature has done for Connemara."—*Inglet's Tour through Ireland*, p. 235.

people starve *for want of employment!* And these facilities of advantageous and profitable employment are general through the district. "No part of Connemara," says Inglis in his tour, "is more than six miles from a sea bay, or lake, having communication with the sea."

There are a class of men called "patriots." It would seem now a days that men have only to pander to the worst passions of a mob to earn the title. Flatter poor men, delude them, tell them that they are that which they are not, make them discontented and neglectful of their duties by teaching them that they will obtain by foolish "bone and sinew" demonstrations that which God himself has told them that they shall not have—*plenty without industry*, and you are straightway dubbed a "patriot." Oh, what an opening is there here for any Irish gentleman really to earn and to deserve the title! He who will never cease impressing on his countrymen the capabilities which they neglect, and what industry and knowledge, and the *encouragement of industry and knowledge*, may effect—who will never cease pointing out to the Government the benefits which the empire allows to be lost, and who shall at length compel attention to the capabilities of the country—will save the poor Irish from starvation and expatriation, bless his countrymen, and enrich the empire—will, in fact, be a *patriot* indeed.

My letter is too long now to draw attention to local matters. Generally here, however, I may say, proprietors are embarrassed; the estates of several are under receivers, who exact the highest obtainable rents; no leases are given, and the people, from a feeling of insecurity, are disinclined to improve. This town, however, is an exception. Mr. D'Arcy, the proprietor, gave building leases in perpetuity on its site. The effect of this encouragement has been that this good-sized town has sprung up within the last twenty years. That which before was valueless bog, is now a thriving town. The example, however, has not been followed. With an

utter ignorance of the *character of the people*, of the absolute necessity which exists to encourage them by every means, and to urge them on, the rule appears to be to grasp the utmost rent, and to increase a tenant's rent after every improvement.* The effect is precisely what might be expected from a people so constituted—they do not consider the balance of advantage which they themselves derive from the improvement; they only see this,—that their rent is raised because they improve—that a temporary difficulty is thrown in their way because they improve; the difficulty is at hand, the balance of advantage is at a distance, and they therefore will not improve.†

* It was this rapacious disposition, this short-sighted folly, which led Lord Byron to pen the following couplet:—

“ Their good, ill, health, wealth, joy, or discontent,
Being, end, aim, religion—rent !—rent !—rent ! ”

“ I have already mentioned the distressed condition of the landlords as one cause of the poor condition of the lower orders; but I ought to have added that, in very many cases, landlords have no power of being kind or otherwise, and have no control over their own property, the management of which is vested in persons acting under legal authority. Such individuals *must* have rents. Crops are seized, cows driven, and all the results of improvidence amongst the upper classes are visited upon every link in the chain of agriculturists.”—*Inglis's Journey through Ireland—Visit to Connemara*, p. 221.

‡ “ It is chiefly for want of care in our landlords that such shoals of our families have gone to the West Indies, by which the nation loses near thirty pounds a head, valuing them as little better than slaves and negroes, besides the substance and manual arts they carry with them, which will come to much more. Had they any proper encouragement, good usage, or bargains here, they would never run the hazard of long voyages and shipwrecks, and being starved at sea, or dying by the country disease when they get on shore; by which at least one-third of them perish, and especially of the poor infants which they sacrifice to their wandering humour. They would never go to live with transported felons, and thieves, and off-scourings of the earth, where there is no worship paid to God or regard to man—where they can neither see their old friends, acquaintances, nor relations—where all the conveniences of life, as cattle, clothes, furniture, beef, and even Indian flour, are so excessively dear—where labour and slaves are so expensive—and where they must build their own houses, and stub and grub every acre they get, and thereby pay fully thirty years' purchase for it—and where, at the same time, their lives are every hour in danger from the treacherous assaults, day and night, of the savages, and from open wars of the French and Spaniards, and their goods from private thefts of their neighbouring felons.”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 28.

The embarrassments of the landlords prevent their being able, if willing, to do much towards the improvement of the country. But the people starve. Ought, then, the Government to hesitate about what is their duty? I think there are but few sensible men who will conclude, after reading the above facts, that the duty of the Government lies *in paying the most industrious men to emigrate*; but they will probably be of opinion that the greatest advantage in a country which needs so much improvement, is *industrious men*; and that the way to secure the advantages which the country possesses is *to encourage industry*, not to give a premium for its extermination; in fact, to use the men and means we have, to cultivate the land which we possess, and in the doing of that to employ the people, to benefit the proprietors, to enrich the country, and to increase the power and the resources of the empire.*

* "Crowds of people make land and the produce of it valuable, and without them our best grounds in Ireland would be as worthless and useless as the wide wastes of America."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 26.

"Were our gentlemen in Munster and Connaught half so diligent in sending people and letters to their districts, and bearing their charges to see their lands and proposals, as those from America are, we might soon see these swarms of our little northern hive settle there, and prevent so much of the blood and treasure of the nation running off from us, and then we should in time see those parts of the kingdom well peopled, not only with Protestants, but weavers, spinners, and bleachers, like the north."—*Ibid.* p. 29.

LETTER XIX.

GALWAY; ITS NEGLECTED CAPABILITIES, ITS ORIGIN,
AND ITS PEOPLE.

Necessary to Inquire how much of the existing Distress in Ireland is to be attributed to the People themselves, as well as how much of that Distress is to be traced to Oppression, in order to apply appropriate Remedies—Comparison of Belfast and Galway—The Contrast—Comparison of Celtic and Saxon Qualities—Origin of Galway and its Population—The “Tribes” or Original Families of Galway—The Cloddergh Fishermen—Irish Rundale Villages—Improvements effected in Galway—Difficulty of getting the Peasantry to improve—Necessity of Teaching and Leading the People—Enterprise and Industry the Qualities needed—These will make Ireland great, and not a Repeal of the Union—Letter of Lord Chesterfield.

GALWAY, October 15.

IN the most difficult task of endeavouring to account for the acknowledged wretchedness of the Irish peasantry, or, in other words, of the bulk of the Irish people, it was manifestly a duty to inquire whether that wretchedness was or was not unavoidable under existing circumstances. A necessary part of this inquiry was, how far have the peasantry been beaten down and oppressed, so that they cannot rise to the condition of comfort? This part of the inquiry I have not hesitated to prosecute. Your columns bear testimony to many descriptions of the impolicy of checking every improvement by an immediate increase of rent; of the folly of expecting men to exert themselves to improve, if uncertain

that they shall reap the full reward of their exertion, and of the necessity, therefore, as well as the policy, of giving leases for the security of the tenant, at the same time enforcing the covenants, for the benefit of both landlord and tenant.

To have stopped at this point of the inquiry would have been to take a mere one-sided view. There still remained another point to inquire into, and that was, how far is this wretchedness the fault of the people themselves, or, in other words, have they made the most of those advantages which they possess? If they have not, then, however blameable may be that oppression and want of encouragement, on the one hand, which retards and freezes every attempt at improvement, and which I have never hesitated to condemn, still, on the other hand, the people themselves are not blameless; and it would neither be impartial nor just to attribute their wretchedness, which in a great measure is the fault of their own apathy and indifference, entirely to the fault of the landlords.

I came not here as a party man—to make out a case, but to state the facts as I found them. I have therefore not hesitated to describe that undeniable apathy which exists among the people of the west of Ireland, under the influence of which they neglect and lose advantages unequalled by any other part of the empire, and which, if profited by—if used by them, would certainly have produced wealth and prosperity, in spite of either bad landlords or bad laws, as their almost universal neglect of these advantages has resulted in general poverty and wretchedness, in the accomplishment of which a good or bad landlord is not the most material consideration.

A still more important question remained to be dealt with,—how are you to remedy the prevailing state of misery which exists? So far as that is traceable to the landlords—to their neglect or folly or absenteeism, the landlords must be dealt with; so far as it is traceable to the people them-

selves, the people themselves must be dealt with. I have shirked neither course. In dealing, however, with the people, necessarily, your first step is to inquire, *what is the character of the people with whom you have to deal?*

In endeavouring to describe the character of the Irish people I have not insulted them by flattery. I have stated the differences of character which exist in different districts—differences so striking, that you must be wilfully blind not to observe them. What more opposite than the character of the two towns of Belfast and Galway on the east and west coasts of Ireland? One busy, thriving, wealthy, and improving, its manufacturing and shipping flourishing and keeping pace with the best parts of the empire; the other bearing all the evidences of a decayed town; without manufactures, its shipping contemptible, and it would be folly to call it either a very wealthy or a very improving town, although some local improvements have been forced upon it of late years. Yet, compare the natural advantages of the two towns, and the position of Galway, with its bay facing America on one side, the water-power of a vast lake running through the town, and the facilities of inland traffic and communication which that lake close on the other side of the town affords, and it stands before Belfast beyond all competition. The same laws operate here as at Belfast. Money is as easily earned at Galway as at Belfast. How comes it that Belfast puts to use its natural advantages, thrives and prospers, whilst Galway neglects those which belong to it, and is poor? How comes it that one town improves whilst the other decays? The advance or the decay must in either case be attributed to the people; and when the character of the respective populations is evidently widely different—when the energetic and industrious character of one population insures prosperity, and the apathetic indifference of the other brings about decay, it was but one step further in the inquiry, “How is this?” to trace it to the acknowledged

difference of race, the respective characteristics of each having long been well known.

I have never concealed the virtues of the Celtic race, which now chiefly populates Galway. Their capacity of long endurance, their easy tractability of disposition, and their contentment with almost any lot, are virtues which the English people have not. The Englishman is patient, forbearing; but he will not endure,—he is tractable only so long as he is well used, and I never yet met with a contented Englishman. But it is these very qualities of the people, not virtues, which make England what she is. Her people will endure no oppression, no injustice; treat them ill and they are turbulent, and every man is always striving up the ladder for the step above him, urging on for something he does not possess. And it is the very virtues of the poor Celtic peasant which tend to his deterioration and wretchedness. He endures oppression, and he has therefore been oppressed and hardly used; his easy tractability of disposition has been taken advantage of; he has been put upon, screwed down without compunction, because it was found he would bear it. His contentment has made him rest satisfied with shelter and a turf fire, and potatoes and water to live upon. He rests content and satisfied with the very worst house, and clothes, and food, is happy so long as he can get them, and he strives for nothing better. Yet it is his worst misfortune to have that contented disposition, which one almost envies, that can make him feel “as happy as a prince if he can get but potatoes and buttermilk.” It is impossible for a man so constituted to rise unless he is forced and urged upwards. He has no volition; he is contented as he is. What contented man ever attempted anything great—anything which required labour, exertion, risk, or anxious thought? Why should he? He is satisfied as he is—he desires nothing better—he has no motive to attempt anything.

The elucidation of these views, which I deem important, as pointing out the course which ought to be pursued towards the people of the west of Ireland, has offended the prejudices of some few of the *Celtic* people. It is a characteristic weakness (if I may use the term without offence) in the Celtic race to be vain. Praise them, extol them,—treat them as one has done who knows their weakness in this respect and trades upon it,—call them “the finest peasantry in the world,” and they will love you, though it is an insult to their understandings to tell them so. Tell them, though for their real benefit, an unpalatable truth and their indignant reception of it frequently savours of the ridiculous. It is, however, I am happy to say, but few of them who prominently show this national failing. I feel, however, that I can very well afford to pass without further notice the poutings and railings of some who are affronted that I should not esteem them to be the biggest, stoutest, strongest, finest, bravest and cleverest men in all creation.

Had I picked out a town in all Ireland more calculated to impress on the Government the necessity and the *duty* of spurring on, and urging and forcing on the public of the west of Ireland, in order to make them prosperous in spite of themselves, I could not have found one more fitted for the object than Galway.

A slight review of its origin and of the character of its population may not be uninteresting. It will also tend to dissipate a very common mistake about the *Milesian* origin of the people, on which Irishmen are apt to pride themselves; though what it may be that they can find to be proud of in this respect it is difficult to say.

According to *The History of the Town and County of Galway*, a work of considerable research, published in 1820 by Mr. James Hardiman, “Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and sub-Commissioner on Public Records,” this

town is called Galway "from *Gaelis* or *Gailis*, 'traffic or commerce,' signifying a *merchant*, and *ibh* in Irish, signifying *tribes* or *families*, whence *Gailibh*, *tribes of merchants*," which name was pronounced *Gallive*, and afterwards corrupted into *Galiva*, *Gabia*, and finally in 1440 into Galway (pp. 3 and 4). It was inhabited, previously to the reign of Henry II., by a colony of fishermen; but Lynch, in his "*Remarks drawn from Antiquity*," written in 1661, says—"It was not they who gave any name of credit or fame to the town of Galway, but the colony next after-mentioned, for until the latter came hither, this town was but an ordinary place, with only thatched houses and some castles, but it was by the new colonies and septs made famous to the world, for their *trading faithfully, discharging their credit, good education, charity and hospitality both at home and abroad*." These tribes or families settled at different times and were thirteen, some accounts say fourteen in number, and their names are given in the following verse:—

"Athy, Blake, Bodkin, Browne, Deane, Darcy, Lynch,
Joyes, Kirwan, Martin, Morris, Skerrett, and French."

In the 7th page of his book, Hardiman enters into a genealogical research into the origin and extraction of these families. Their names are sufficient proof of this. However, without entering at further length into this enquiry it is perhaps sufficient to say that, with the exception of "Athy," and "Kirwan," whom he traces to be originally of Irish extraction, he shows every one of the others to be either of Norman, or Saxon, or Welsh descent. Several of these came over with Strongbow. "From the earliest periods these tribes were celebrated for commerce, and for several centuries were classed amongst the most considerable merchants in Europe. Their wealth was consequently great, and the ample landed properties, which they gradually acquired by purchase from the native Irish, throughout the province of Connaught, are now enjoyed by their numerous

and opulent posterity." (Hardiman, p. 20.) They had great commercial intercourse with Spain, and from that intercourse many intermarriages with Spaniards arose, and no doubt this led them to copy much of the dress and architecture of Spain, which the town and the people exhibit to this day. These tribes "avoided all connexion with their surrounding neighbours, and continually intermarried with one another." Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice of Ireland, who arrived in Galway in 1597, states that,—“the townsmen and wemmen present a more civil show of life than other townes in Ireland do;” and in Sir Olivier St. John’s description of Connaught in 1614, they are thus described:—“The merchants are rich, and great adventurers at the sea; their commonaltie is composed of the descendants of the ancient English families of the towne, and rarelie admit any new English among them, and never any of the Irish.” (Hardiman, p. 22.) As they got rich, religious divisions drove the Protestants in disgust to their estates; and those of them who were Roman Catholics were oppressed by excessive charter duties, and “they by degrees also abandoned the town, and this trifling remnant of its former commercial greatness gradually declined.” (Hardiman, p. 183.) In fact the commercial spirit and enterprise of the former English inhabitants had left it, and as the Celtic population began to possess a town already built, with a trade already created, the town became dilapidated and the trade decayed.

In walking through the streets here and there magnificent old mansions with coats of arms indicative of former splendour, carved in the stone-work over the pointed arches of the entrance-courts, are met with, nearly all of them now in a state of dirt and filthiness and melancholy dilapidation.

There is a remarkable tribe of fishermen here, who intermarry among themselves—the Cloddergh fishermen, whom also it has been the fashion to call Spaniards. I walked with two gentlemen through their district, talked with fifty

of the men and asked them their names, out of curiosity. I never saw a community more like a mixed community of English and Welsh. Nineteen out of every twenty of the men and women have fair hair and blue eyes, with here and there one of quite a different complexion. They are little stiff men, and are evidently not improved by their constant intermarriages. But they are orderly and clean. Not one of them had his stockings about his heels and his breeches open at the knees (after the ordinary fashion of Irish peasants), as if he had dressed while his house was on fire ; but they were well and neatly clad. There were no rags about them. Their wives keep their clothes in order, clean their houses and make their nets ; and the men are bold and hardy fishermen. There are many Irish names among them, some Spanish,—there were one or two Costello's—but the majority of their names are Jones, Rogers, Ward, Mullins or Molines, &c. The John Joneses are unmistakeably of Welsh descent, Rogers is also a Welsh name, and the Wards and Molineses are Saxon and Norman names. Their fair hair and blue eyes point out their race as certainly as their names, and the order of their houses was a no less certain indication of race. Their houses are whitewashed and built in regular streets. Take a real Irish Rundale village, and the difference cannot be mistaken : " Order," which Pope sets down as " Heaven's first law," you will look for there in vain. The cottages look as if pitchforked to one side ; some are placed sideways, some endways, some cornerways, there is never a street ; and the crooked passages in and out between the dunghills and irregularly-placed cottages form the only pathways. Their utter forlornness is pitiable.*

* There is one of these villages about four miles from Galway, called Menlow, which I visited, and which is a perfect curiosity. It contains about two thousand inhabitants, and their chief subsistence is derived from supplying Galway with milk. The inhabitants keep great numbers of cows, which they feed principally on

Until after the Union Galway kept getting worse and worse. Like most other parts of Ireland, however, since the Union, it has improved. About twenty years ago some energetic individuals (one of whom it would be an injustice not to name—the Rev. John Darcy, a descendant of one of the original tribes) exerted themselves to rescue the town from its fallen state. After immense opposition it was paved, and its streets rendered passable. A fine dock was constructed, and a gas-house was built, which now cheaply lights the town, and leaves a handsome profit to the shareholders. Much, however, remains to be done, and vast advantages are neglected, from the apathy of the inhabitants. Lough Corrib, a lake 45 English miles long, by from 8 to 12 miles wide, is within a mile from the sea, and close to the town; the lake empties itself by a river through the town. There is a fall of water of 14 feet, and, considering the extent of the lake, this water-power is enormous, and never-failing. A canal was proposed, to open this lake to the sea, which would afford inland communication for 150 miles of coast round the lake. The estimated cost was 10,000*l.*, and the purchase of land requisite was valued at 2,000*l.* An Act of Parliament was obtained to enable the commissioners to borrow money and complete the work,

grains bought in Galway. There is no church or chapel in the village; no school-master or doctor, and no magistrate, though the population is as large as that of many an English town. The way through the village is the most crooked, as well as the most narrow and dirty lane that can be conceived. There is no row of houses, or anything approaching to a row, but each cottage is stuck independently by itself, and always at an acute, obtuse, or right angle to the next cottage, as the case may be. The irregularity is curious; there are no two cottages placed in a line, or of the same size, dimensions, and build. The Irish mind has here, without obstruction or instruction, fully developed itself. As this is the largest village I ever saw, so it is the poorest, the worst built, the most strangely irregular, and the most completely without head or centre, or market or church, or school, of any village I ever was in. It is an overgrown democracy. No man is better or richer than his neighbour in it. It is, in fact, an Irish rundale village.

but, from sheer apathy and neglect, the time mentioned in the Act in which the work was to be completed was suffered to expire, and it was never commenced. There is, therefore, no canal. The summer level of the lough is much below the winter level, and in winter upwards of 30,000 acres of land are annually flooded, and rendered profitless. Until recently nothing whatever was done to prevent this mischief. Some draining operations are, however, at length commenced, with the view, it is said, of keeping down the lough to the summer level.

The finest possible harbour might be made, lying in the direct line between London and New York. There is an island, called "Mutton Island," a mile out to sea; the communication to this island is nearly dry at low water; a mole raised on the bank between this island and the land, the materials for which are on the spot, and a breakwater of a few cables' length, would make this one of the finest harbours in the kingdom. If Government undertakes the work it will be done; the people all "call upon Hercules," but will never "put their own shoulders to the wheel." A magnificent dock is almost formed in the harbour by nature. It is, however, not taken advantage of.

I had the opportunity the other day of visiting the estate of Lord Wallscourt, near this town, a nobleman who has made great sacrifices and exertions to improve his tenants. Still, with every advantage of nature round him,—abundance of fish of every kind, oysters, and muscles; manure, sea-weed, calcareous sea-sand, marl, peat, and black mud sea deposit, he complains that he cannot get his tenants to exert themselves beyond their half-acre of potatoes, and he has the greatest difficulty to prevent them underletting their land in con-acre at 4*l.* or 5*l.* the acre, which he lets to them for 30*s.*, if they have any land beyond what is absolutely necessary for them to grow their potatoes. He built a very neat cottage as a model, intending to have similar ones built on his

estate. For five years no tenant would go into it, and the reason assigned was that. "Sure it would be mighty cold, and my Lord would be expecting them to keep it too clean." A tenant's son, who had married and had no cottage, applied to him for some land and a cottage, and Lord Wallscourt offered him this neat two-story slated cottage, and the man agreed to live in it at last, because "Sure it was better than nothing at all." I went to see the family in this cottage. An English peasant's wife would have been proud to have it as clean as hands could make it. In one room a pile of turf was in the corner, the floor was filthy, the woman was squatted with her children before the fire, and the pig in the middle of them, whilst another room at the back of the house, where the turf and the pig (if it must dwell in the house) might have been put, was empty. The man (and it was the best feature I saw) seemed ashamed of his dirty disorderly wife, when Lord Wallscourt, in a tone of mortification, pointed out these things, for he kicked out the pig.

How certainly does all this prove that the poor, uneducated, contented Irish peasant must not only be taught civilized habits, but forced into them: example alone will not do; nor will teaching alone do. This it is the *duty* of the landlords to see effected, but above all it is the *duty* of the Government to insure its being effected.*

* It will scarcely be credited that a newspaper of the locality took on itself the defence of this tenant's dirty habits: the defence being, that perhaps Lord Wallscourt had built no pigstye, and that therefore it was *his* fault that the pig was in the tenant's house. If there were no pigstye in a whole English village, and every peasant kept twenty pigs, I will venture to say that each pig would be taught sense enough not to put its nose within any cottage door; for it would most certainly meet there with the broom-handle in the hands of the house-wife, and have that weapon most vigorously applied about its ears. The editor of the Irish newspaper who wrote this was no doubt a "native, and to the manner born." To his mind, of course, it was an impossible achievement for the peasant to set about *building for himself a pigstye*, supposing him not to have one. But that would have betokened exertion and industry, and a desire to improve—virtues unknown in the west of Ireland.

but, from sheer apathy and neglect, the time mentioned in the Act in which the work was to be completed was suffered to expire, and it was never commenced. There is, therefore, no canal. The summer level of the lough is below the winter level, and in winter upwards of 100 acres of land are annually flooded, and rendered productive. Until recently nothing whatever was done to prevent mischief. Some draining operations are, however, at present commenced, with the view, it is said, of keeping the lough to the summer level.

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I had the opportunity the other day of visiting the estate of Lord Wallscourt, near this town, a nobleman who has made great sacrifices and exertions to improve his land. Still, with every advantage of nature round him,—of fish of every kind, oysters, and muscles; manure of every kind, calcareous sea-sand, marl, peat, and black mud so common here, he complains that he cannot get his tenants to extend themselves beyond their half-acre of potatoes, and that it is the greatest difficulty to prevent them underletting the whole acre at 4*l.* or 5*l.* the acre, which he lets to them for 10*l.* if they have any land beyond what is absolutely necessary for them to grow their potatoes. He built a very fine house as a model, intending to have similar ones

[REDACTED]



The commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland, in their third report, state with truth that,—“Those who are uncivilized cannot civilize themselves; it requires external aid to enable them to improve.” They thus speak of the Irish, even when residing in Great Britain:—

“Every thing connected with the state of the Irish in Great Britain shows that their mode of life is very slowly and very slightly improved, unless some civilizing influence descends upon them from above—some external moving force independent of their own volition, as of masters, employers, superintendants, education, municipal regulations, &c. Wherever they are untouched by any influence of this kind, they appear, for the most part, either to remain the same, or even to deteriorate, whatever may be the amount of their earnings.”—
(P. 33.)

The italics are not mine, but the commissioners’, and express their conviction of the truth and importance of this sentence. At the hazard of being made the object of the womanish railings of some vanity-wounded and silly Irish “patriot,” I would urge my conviction from all I have seen of the truth of this report.

The people must be taught, and led and encouraged—nay, forced on to do that which will benefit themselves.* A more tractable race, or a harder-working race, where you lead

* The low place which Connaught holds in the statistics of education, as compared with the other three provinces of Ireland, will appear from the following tabular statement, extracted from the Commissioners’ Report:—

Provinces.	Population 1841.	National Schools.	Number of Children actually in Attendance.
Ulster	2,386,373	1,005	90,531
Munster	2,396,161	482	75,191
Leinster	1,973,731	642	88,092
Connaught	1,418,859	208	25,897
Total	8,175,124	2,337	279,711

According to the last census (1841), the proportion of persons in the county of Galway who could neither read nor write was 78.7 per cent., while in Cork it was 68.1, in Cavan 51.9, in Wexford 42.2, in Dublin 37, and in Antrim 23.7.

them, put them to work, and offer them an immediate inducement to work, you cannot have. But if you expect from them independent volition, where as in the past time before, or enterprise of any kind, you will fail. There is no town in the United Kingdom where energy and enterprise and attention to any trade whatever would be more certain to realize a fortune. Eleven years ago there was scarcely a pig to be bought in the market at Galway, and no man was cured here. An Englishman named *Greaves* thought there was an opening, and commenced buying pigs and curing them, in connexion with his shop in *New-street, Covent-garden*, in London. He established his son here, who, though quite a young man, has created a trade, and now kills and cures 1,000 pigs a week. Any shop well managed, any hotel well managed, any business whatever well managed, with the energy and attention which Englishmen commonly devote to their business, would insure to any man a fortune in Galway. Yet the majority of the inhabitants are *Repealers*, and great talkers about misgovernment.* they abuse and vilify

* The late celebrated Dr. Madden, however, said a far different opinion, as indeed do most men of sound judgment who have thought on the question. He says,—“There are many advantages which Great Britain might derive from Ireland if she pleased to make use of them. But I shall now turn to mention the greatest and most beneficial of them all, which will also include them, and that is, to join us to them by an union.”

“So many of the best English patriots, as well as the best writers and statesmen in politics, have declared themselves publicly of this opinion, that it is all generally it will be thought of, and a certain accomplishment in due time. And especially if, by our industry and good management, we would make use of our people and country, and enlarge our wealth, and in using a better system, as drive on this political match. Nothing but the plain expostition and benefit of an union could have made *Cromwell*, who started to please the people when he was not his own interest by it, take such pains, as we all know he did, in this matter. And surely the day will yet come, when we shall not only like a best time in Great Britain when we might do such good work for it if our advantages were common to all. The Saxon heptarchy was hardly a more fragmented body of states than England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland seemed, before those and Denmark were so sagaciously united to her; and as Ireland has greatly the advantage of water, the soil, a vigorous and goodness of soil, trade, and manner of people, it is not impossible that will

England and English connexion, boast how mighty well they would manage Irish affairs in a parliament on College-green, and neglect their own business to their hearts' content. Englishmen built them a town, which they have suffered to decay; Englishmen got rich, and purchased estates, where they grow poor: but the English inhabitants attended to their business, were enterprising and industrious; the present inhabitants of Galway prefer vain-glorious talk about the phantom Repeal, and look on every substantial and fair advantage within their grasp with apathetic indifference. This general fault is the true cause of more than half the misery under which Ireland labours.

Whilst here, a nobleman in the neighbourhood showed to me an original letter from the great Lord Chesterfield, written a century ago to one of his ancestors, with a copy of which I was politely furnished. It so exactly describes the failings of the Irish people of the present day, and is so true and valuable, because emanating from so shrewd an observer and so eminent a man, and is so applicable to the subject of my present letter, that though I feel the too great trespass on your space, I shall conclude my letter of to-day with it, in the hope that the truth and wisdom which it contains may not be entirely thrown away:—

“Sir,—I thank you for the favour of your letter with the inclosed scheme for carrying on the war, which if others approved of as much as I do, and the present situation of the war permitted, would be soon put in execution. As you are one of the few in Ireland who always think of the publick, without any mixture of private interest, I don't doubt but that you have already thought of some usefull methods of employing the King's bounty to the Dublin Society. The late additional tax upon glass here, as it must considerably raise the price of glass-bottles into Ireland,

one day have the same happiness and honour.”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 94.*

seems to point out the manufacturing of 'em there ; which consideration, with a small premium added to it, would in my mind set up such a manufacture. Fine writing and printing paper we have often talk'd of together, and the specimen you gave me before I left Dublin proves that nothing but care and industry is wanting to bring that manufacture to such a perfection as to prevent the importation of it from Holland, and through Holland from France ; nay, I am convinced that you may supply England with a great deal of it if you pleas'd, that is, if you would make it, as you could do, both good and cheap. Here is a man that has found out a method of making starch of potatoes, and by the help of an engine of his own invention to make a prodigious quantity of it in a day ; but here is an Act of Parliament which strictly prohibits the making starch of any thing but flour,—have you such an act of Parliament in Ireland ? If you have not, and that you import your starch from England, as I take it for granted that you do, for you import every thing that you can, it would be well worth this man's while to go to Ireland, and advantageous for you that he should, his starch being to my knowledge and experience full as good, and abundantly cheaper, than any other. These are the sort of jobs that I wish people in Ireland would attend to with as much industry and care as they do to jobs of a very different nature ; these honest arts would solidly increase their fortunes, and improve their estates, upon the only true and permanent foundation, the publick good ; leave us here and your regular forces in Ireland to fight for you ; think of your manufactures at least as much as of your militia, and be as much upon your guard against poverty as against Popery,—take my word, you are in more danger of the former than of the latter. I hope my friend the Bishop of Meath goes on prosperously with his Charter schools ; I call them his, for I really think that, without his care and perseverance, they would hardly have existed now ; though their operation is sure, yet being slow it is not suited to the Irish taste of the time present only ; and I cannot help saying that, except in your claret, which you are very solicitous should be two or three years old, you think less of two or three years hence than any people under the sun. If they would but wish themselves as well as I wish them, and take as much pains to promote their own true interests as I would do to contribute to it, they would in a few years be in a very different situation from that which they are now in at present ; go on, however, you and our other friends, be not weary of well doing, and, though you cannot do all the good you would, do all the good you can. When you write to the most worthy Bishop of Cloyne,

pray assure him of my truest regard and esteem, and remember me to my honest and indefatigable friend in good works, Dr. Madden; and be persuaded yourself that I am, with sincere friendship and regard,

“ Your most faithfull humble servant,

“ CHESTERFIELD.”

“ London, June 14, 1746.

LETTER XX.

AN IRISH ARGUMENT.—EFFECT OF LOAN FUNDS.

The Diffusion of Opinions in favour of a Repeal of the Union—The Roman Catholic Clergy generally the Advocates of Repeal—Specimen of an Irish Argument on this Question—Money-lending—The Irish Character—"Gom-been" Men—Loan Funds, and their effect on the Condition of the People—Ignorance of the Commercial Use of Money—Pawning Bank-notes and Guineas.

ENNIS, CLARE, October 18.

It is a fact which is to be regretted, that, senseless and incapable of defence by any kind of argument as the agitation for a Repeal of the Union is, there yet are many estimable and good men who advocate it, though the great majority of respectable citizens repudiate it. It is a fact also, which I do not pretend to explain, that the most strenuous of its advocates are to be found amongst the clergy of the Roman Catholic church. That ignorant and unreflecting peasants should shout for "Repeal," when they are told that it will remedy the pressure of the distress they feel, is not to be wondered at. It, however, affords food for thought when we find men of education and of habits of reflection taking up the cry.* Is it possible that these gentlemen really feel

* "It is certain, bodies politic, like natural ones, are so far strong and great, as all their limbs are firmly knit and well united, and equally fed and nourished ;

what they assert—that Repeal alone will save the country? Or is it that they find themselves in the position which Plowden has described (vol. iii. p. 716)—“The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that the change of masters may render it heavier. *The priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach to perish.*” If this be so, it would seem to indicate pretty clearly to the Government the means which would, at any rate,

and while Ireland stands excluded from the favours, rights, and privileges which her fellow-subjects in England, Wales, and Scotland so happily enjoy, she will naturally languish and pine like an over-shaded branch in a great tree, and perhaps at last die for want of free air. Were we once *united*, how vastly should we enjoy the wide foundations of England’s wealth and power! And surely there can be no ground for being jealous of our putting in for some proportioned share of it, since there is room enough in the world for five times the commerce we could all carry on, were our stocks and labours joined by such an union. . . . How much better would this prove to the common good of these nations (Great Britain and Ireland) than keeping fellow-subjects and countrymen in so doubtful a state as to government, liberty, and property, than making Englishmen who go thither (to Ireland) aliens and foreigners, and forfeit their birth-rights, than weaning us from those breasts that nursed us; and now we are grown up, by sometimes correcting us too severely for children of the family, force us to forsake our natural parents, and fly for help to the aid of strangers, with the poor labour and business we can give them. And, indeed, it is amazing how so wise a nation, and so desirous to enlarge her trade, as Great Britain is, should so long let this large and fertile country lie fallow on her hands without sowing those seeds of arts and manufactures in it which it is so capable of bearing to great perfection. It has cost Great Britain much blood and treasure to make us fit for such purposes, and to neglect to make a proper use of us for the increase of their trade, is as imprudent as if a rich merchant should be at the charge and trouble of building a ship, and then let her rot in the port rather than be at the pains of employing her.

“Whenever we are so happy as to see our superiors think to purpose of such an useful settlement, we may be secure that whatever representatives are allowed us as our just proportion, or whatever limitations or restrictions it may be absolutely proper for the common good to tack to it, everything will be managed agreeable to those great principles on which it is bottomed—the general advantage and welfare of the whole; and possibly we may in time see that the union of the seven provinces has not affected the trading world more, in the last century, than the union of these three nations would in this.”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 98.

remove these gentlemen from the influence of the popular cry, which would enlist them among the friends of order and good government, rather than leave them compelled, whether their better judgment may approve or not, to fan into a fury the blind passions of an ignorant and misguided mob.”*

I have had the opportunity here as elsewhere of meeting some of the Roman Catholic clergy, men who are deservedly respected, and who are estimable in their vocation. I have found them earnest (however sincere) advocates of Repeal. An argument with them on the question is certain — to reason with them on the subject impossible. “The infamy of England in obtaining the union by wholesale bribery and delusion,” is dilated upon. Suggest that to every “bribe” there are two parties, the briber and the *bribed*, and if the

* Whilst at Ennis, I wrote a note to Dean O’Shaughnessy, a dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church, simply asking if I might have the honour of an interview with him at his leisure. This was a step I very rarely took; and I did it in this instance for two or three reasons. First, because I knew no one in Ennis; secondly, because I had heard that Dean O’Shaughnessy was one of the old class of priests, and a gentleman of education and extensive information; and, thirdly, because I wanted to ascertain something about the effect of loan funds in Ennis, as that was the subject on which I was going to write. The dean sent me a polite note, saying he would be happy to see me at his house; and I in consequence called upon him in the evening. The dean commenced a very animated conversation about the Repeal of the Union, which continued for upwards of an hour, when a gentleman named O’Connell—(a cousin of Mr. Daniel O’Connell’s, whom he styled “The Liberator”)—entered the room, and went over again nearly all the topics we had previously discussed. This protracted the conversation another hour, when a priest joined us, and he also re-opened the same subject, which, after a conversation of three hours, promising to be interminable, I rose to depart; and, on taking my leave, Dean O’Shaughnessy shook hands with me, and was pleased to say, that “though differing with me in opinion on the question of Repeal, he esteemed it a great honour that I had called upon him.” My surprise may be imagined when, a week afterwards, while in Tipperary, I read a speech of Mr. Daniel O’Connell’s in Conciliation Hall, stating that Dean O’Shaughnessy had threatened “to kick me out of his house.” I, of course, immediately took the proper steps to have this invention exposed. The whole history of the affair will be found, *post*, in the Appendix, No. XI.; and it is scarcely possible to imagine a more disgraceful figure than Mr. Daniel O’Connell cuts in the transaction. He is certainly not one atom more fortunate in this his second or third attempt to calumniate me than in his “John Foster” letter forgery.

briber be infamous, the *bribed*, who sold their country for the bribe, cannot be less so, and the scene is adroitly shifted to "the injustice of England in taxing Ireland to pay her debt." Hint to them that for their dogs, their horses, their carriages, their windows, their servants, they are untaxed, that their Excise duties are comparatively low, and that their incomes are free from taxation, whilst for all these things we in England are dearly taxed, and as we think unjustly taxed, compared with Ireland, and the scene is again adroitly changed; something is said about the ability of England to bear all this, and a fierce invective is indulged in against England "for not conceding equal laws." Ask in what is the inequality? and you are told about unequal representation—about the intelligence and numbers of the Irish people who ought to be represented. Just hint to them an equality with our 10*l.* householders and 50*l.* tenants at will, and they fall back on the "poverty of Ireland," which in truth is a fair measure of her intelligence; tell them that the number of her representatives being few, cannot, in reality, be felt as a grievance, for, whatever their number, the majority of them choose to neglect the duty entrusted to them, and you are impetuously assailed with the manner in which they are treated in the House of Commons—"neglected and jeered at." Why, what stuff is this? What Irish member ever rose in the House of Commons, and addressed himself with ability and good sense to the question before it, and was not listened to with respect and attention. "Jeered at" they must expect to be, if they give utterance to the personalities and tom-fooleries which pass current for wisdom and eloquence in Conciliation-hall. Tell them this, and then there is another shift! "Irish questions are scouted, and Irish members are out-voted." Prove it as a fact that more than half the time of Parliament is occupied with the discussion of Irish questions, and that Irish members vote both ways on every question as well as English members, and there

is another shift to—"What do we want to do with discussing English questions, or questions about Jamaica, or India, or Australia. It is enough for us to govern Ireland." Tell them that it is unworthy of them to shun participation in the councils of the empire, and to prefer the littleness of a parish vestry—the hubbub of an Irish house of assembly, overridden as it must be by the authority of the British Parliament—to equal participation in that authority, and you arrive at length at that which ends every Irish grievance—a complaint at non-participation in Government patronage—in the "loaves and fishes" of sinecures and snug berths. Here the profitless talk has an end; it can get no further. "The murder is out," at last. It ends in a job—an Irish job. The "infamy of England," "justice to Ireland," "equal laws," "equal representation," and all the other hackneyed topics, which are repeated, parrot-like, without a single argument to defend them, all seem founded in this last shift to which we eventually arrive—*give us pay*. Whatever, however, may be the motives of these leaders, whether they be mercenary, or whether they feel compelled "to follow the impulse of the popular wave," or not, it is but too true that the mass of the people are existing in a condition which is a good cause of complaint, and upon this fact do the leaders of this absurd Repeal outcry found their influence. In attempting to arrest this pernicious agitation the Government will act wisely first to set about removing the causes of complaint which exist, and agitators and agitation will die of inanition. "I believe it possible," says Burke, "for men to be mutinous and seditious who feel no grievance; but no man will assert seriously that when people are of a turbulent spirit, the best way to keep them in order is to furnish them with something substantial to complain of."

Passing, however, from this fruitless topic, I wish to draw attention to a subject about which much evidence has been

given, and about which there appears to be various opinions, —I allude to the almost universal system of money-lending and to the habit of subsisting on credit, which prevail amongst the peasantry of this country. No doubt, the necessities of the people lead them in many cases to resort to this kind of expensive relief; but the prevailing habit of never thinking of to-morrow so long as they get over to-day—the want of forethought, has more to do with it. A more strange mixture than your genuine Irishman it is difficult to conceive. No man will higgie more for 6*d.*, will part with money when he has it with less facility, or be more backward to lay out any sum for any useful or profitable object whatever. He is great at a hard bargain; still greater at a job in which he supposes he has effectually “done” you. He will take as much pains and resort to as many devices to win 5*l.* by a job as would win him 50*l.* by straightforward enterprise and industry. Yet, with all this hardfistedness, he will blindly agree to pay cent. per cent. for the loan of money, which if he *pays* will bring him to ruin; and, as he is generally compelled to pay, this is a never failing source of litigation and heartburnings.

This fondness of hard bargains and readiness to grasp at present advantages, even at the risk of future ruin, gave rise to a class of extortioners who pass by the name of “Gombeen” men, or meal-mongers. The word “Gombeen” simply means usurer or extortioner; but the sale of meal or oats was the usual medium of evading the usury laws, and of exacting the most enormous interest. Every village had its “Gombeen” man; for, if a man saved 20*l.*, his fondness for hard bargains and exorbitant gains made him invariably turn usurer, though the 20*l.* laid out with intelligence and industry on his undrained and wretchedly cultivated farm would render him a more than equal, and far more certain return. The absolute ignorance of the mass of the people

as to the commercial value of money made them the willing dupes of any amount of extortion.*

These "Gombeen" men, however, had their trade injured by the competition of private loan societies, which, though charging exorbitant interest, were still more reasonable than the unconscionable usurer. And again, these private loan societies have been made more reasonable in their charges by the establishment of public loan funds, having for their object the benefit of the poor rather than private interest, although it is very questionable whether, on the whole, they have benefited the poor.

The private loan funds generally exact 1s. in the pound interest, the money lent being repaid by weekly instalments of 1s. in the pound, with fines of 6d. or 1s. on non-payment of a week's instalment. Other charges for fees run up the rate of interest to some 30 or 40 per cent. for this accommodation, letting alone the loss of time, and injury they inflict. A man would often lose a day a week in paying his instalment.

In some cases, as at Sligo, a much fairer plan of loan fund has been adopted, and 6d. in the pound interest is charged for money lent upon a stamped promissory note, in which two sureties join, without any fines. This costs the borrower

* "For example, numerous cases have since become known to me, where a poor man, from a miss-crop, loss of cattle, health, or any other cause, has been obliged to buy *on trust*, as they term it. He is then charged from thirty to forty *per cent.* more for the article he wants than the market price. When this payment becomes due, it most commonly happens the debtor has no means of paying. To remedy this, a new transaction takes place, and he is obliged to buy a cow or a pig, meal, potatoes, or anything the usurer has to dispose of thirty or forty per cent. above the market price a second time, and this he sells for the most he can get, bringing back the produce of the sale to pay his first engagement. And so it goes on, the usurer getting his victim deeper and deeper in debt, whilst, by occasional payments on account, labour work, and often getting a portion of his land to crop, he has been himself paid twice over the real value of anything he had sold."—*Preface to Mr. Blacker's Essay on the Improvement of Small Farms*, p. 6.

about 10 or 12 per cent., and realizes 6 per cent. to the lender, whilst a system is adopted of sending a card to mark off the weekly payment, which a child may carry. This lessens the evil of loss of time, and in the town is said to have effected good, enabling a poor man to purchase a cow with the loan, the weekly interest of which is paid by the milk she yields, and at the end of twenty weeks the poor man has gained the cow. In the country, however, it has worked injuriously, and the farmers' wives, in order to pay the weekly 5s. interest on 5*l.* borrowed, perhaps to pay their rent, are often compelled to sell a lump of butter below its value to some neighbour to raise the 5s. The extent to which this has been carried has given rise to an inferior article in butter, termed "boxy" butter, or butter of various qualities, bought in this way, and made up in firkins.

The principal loan funds, however, now existing are the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund, and the Central Loan Fund, each of which have many branches.

The Irish Reproductive Loan Fund takes its rise from an unappropriated charitable fund raised in England in the years 1821 and 1822 to relieve the starving Irish, who were visited with a dreadful famine from the failure of their potato crop. In those years much reviled England subscribed 304,000*l.* to relieve the then starving Irish. About 60,000*l.* however, remained in the hands of the committee unappropriated, when the ensuing harvest brought abundance, and 40,000*l.* of this sum was appropriated to the establishment of loan funds in the several counties in which the distress had prevailed. This money is lent to trustees in each county at 2 per cent., who let it out to sub-committees of gentlemen in sums of 100*l.*, to be by them re-issued to the peasantry in sums not exceeding 10*l.*, payable by weekly, monthly, or quarterly repayments, with interest at the rate of 4*d.* in the pound. In the county of Galway, where this fund has been well managed by the gentry, I am assured it

has been productive of much benefit, especially in the towns. —The Central Loan Fund is established in Dublin, by Act of Parliament, under a central board, the object of which was to restrain the almost innumerable private loan funds which existed. The Act of Parliament under which this loan fund was established authorizes persons to lend money on debentures to trustees acting under the central board. The owners of the debentures receive five per cent. for their money, which forms a fund to be lent out in small loans, for which 4*d.* in the pound interest is charged. The amount borrowed is repaid by weekly instalments, and fines for non-payment are authorized, and the money is recoverable on summons before a magistrate, and on a decree is levied by the police.

In a work on this subject, published in 1839, under the odd title of “A Circular to the Ladies,” it is said that there are above six hundred loan societies in Ireland, two hundred of which only have been enrolled by the barrister under the Loan Fund Board. I had the opportunity, through the politeness of Mr. C. Strickland, the secretary, of examining the working of one of these loan funds at Ballagaderreen, near Castlereagh, Roscommon. Generally, in the neighbourhood of the towns, it appeared to have been beneficial. The extent, however, to which the system of borrowing money is carried is almost inconceivable. I have before me the Report of the Letterkenny Loan Fund Society, from which it appears that, “in the village of Conwall there is *rather more than one loan to every family, or one loan to every five of the population,*” whilst, in twelve months, ending 1841, every family in Conwall had lent to it 4*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*, or 16*s.* 6¼*d.* to each soul of the population.” Several other similar instances are given.

I will now give you a few quotations from the evidence taken before Lord Devon’s Land Commission, selected out of a vast number which I have before me of precisely similar

character, from the general bearing of which it will be seen that, on the whole, loan funds are thought to effect more mischief than good. In the country this evidence is remarkably unanimous; in the towns opportunities are often afforded of deriving a greater profit from the loan than the interest demanded, and with prudence in the individual these societies have often produced beneficial effects.

With regard to local usurers, or "Gombeens" men, Mr. Patrick M'Keon, solicitor and attorney, of Drumshambo, Leitrim, says (Appendix, Part 2, page 253),—

"I consider the local usurers the great curse of the country. Suppose a poor farmer required one cwt. of meal when the season got advanced, and it was selling for cash in the market at 13s.; the local usurer would require an I O U for 14. At three months after that he might sue for it, and the unfortunate person who had given it him was obliged to give him 5s. or 6s. interest, and give him another I O U, and so continue till he had paid several pounds. This came before the Court, and I have known other instances where 13s. was given, and 6s. 8d. charged for a half-year for the 13s., and so on continuing, processing the unfortunate defendant until I have known very often 30s. paid for that 13s."

Mr. George Cecil Wray, farmer of Ardnamona, near Donegal, says (p. 167),—

"Much of the poverty and distress in this district, and indeed all the north of Ireland with which I am acquainted, may be attributed to the local usurers and meal sellers, who charge exorbitant interest, never less than 25 per cent., and I have frequently known instances of cent. per cent. being given."

Mr. James Simpson, farmer of Sligo, says (p. 223),—

"The system of usury in my county is carried to a very awful extent. I have known hundreds of instances of a person borrowing 4l., and giving a rood of his prime tillage-land, his potato-soil, as interest for the 4l. till it would be repaid: and I have known instances of its running on for ten years before it was paid."

Mr. John O'Donnell, of Letterhilly, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Guardians, near Glenties, Donegal, says (p. 148),—

"There are no loan funds in the district; local usurers only. In many instances the rate of interest they charge comes up to 300 per cent."

Mr. John Davis, of French-park, in the county of Roscommon, says (p. 360),—

"There is a large farmer in this district; he brings a bag of corn into the market, and this is the way he carries on his usury:—A man comes to buy his bag of corn; he charges him 30s. for it; he then takes his I O U for 30s.; he can recover upon that at any moment, or issue his civil bill upon it. As soon as he gets his note, he buys the same bag of corn from the same party at 20s.; and that same bag of corn will go through forty or fifty hands in that way, and that is the way he makes his money."

Regarding the effect of loan funds generally, Mr. Thomas Bailey, guardian of the Clones Union, Fermanagh, says (Ibid. p. 127),—

"I am a great advocate for the loan fund; it has been the making of a great number of people. I think it a very useful institution. There are many things which blacken the other side; but my opinion is, it is most advantageous to the country when properly conducted."

Mr. J. P. Hamilton, of Oakfield, Fermanagh, says (Ibid. p. 130),—

"I am not an advocate for loan funds; they are a good thing for prudent people, but it is difficult to get prudent people among the lower orders."

Messrs. M'Manus and James Smith, tenants, are asked by the Land Commissioners at Cavan (App. Part 2, p. 105),—

"Does the tenant depend upon the loan fund or local usurers for assistance in the paying of his rent?—A great number do. It is utterly ruinous to them; it is the only thing that is ruining them."

Mr. J. E. Taylor, magistrate of Fermanagh and Tyrone, agent for Sir Arthur Brooke's estate, says (Ibid. p. 141),—

"The under tenants, cottiers, and labourers, resort to the loan funds most extensively, but not the larger tenants."

"What is your opinion of the system of advance by the loan funds?—I believe it is the curse of the country; the labour of all the under classes is mortgaged to them, and all the little property they have."

Mr. T. Kernaghan, merchant and landowner of Enniskillen and Sligo, says (p. 145),—

“I think the great curse of the whole of this country is this most dreadful loan fund system. If I was to stop here till night, I could not describe to you the injury and harm they have done; they have nearly ruined the country; their fines and penalties beat anything.”

Mr. J. M’Gan, farmer of Sheepwalk, Roscommon, says (p. 227),—

“I think the system of loan funds will be the ruin of the country, and ruin the small farmers. They not only pay an interest of twenty per cent., but they lose an immensity of time—several days; and then they are obliged to pay it back in twenty payments, which must be very injurious to them, if they knew the value of their time.”

The Rev. J. Kearney, the parish priest of Kilkenny West, says (p. 331),—

“I have come to the opinion, and I think it is well-founded, after an observation of fifteen years, that loan funds are destructive to all classes who dabble in them, except the tradesmen in the towns. A very small loan fund in my parish has produced most calamitous effects, in waste of time, and improvident expenditure of what was got at a high rate of interest, and which appeared to be treated rather as a gift.* A person comes with two different securities three different days before he gets a loan of 2*l.*; then he has the expenses of those persons to pay and to treat them, and the loss of his own time too, and it would be 30 or 40 per cent. if all was calculated.”

Mr. James Shannon, farmer, of Craggaknock, county of Clare (*Ibid.* p. 706), gives the following table of costs for borrowing 1*l.* from a loan fund:—

* The Letterkenny Loan Fund Society, in their fourth Annual Report, state, on the subject of “Repayments:”—“The Committee have, as usual, continued rigidly to enforce the regulations on this subject; they have, however, still cause to regret that, in doing so during the past year, they have had occasion to apply for one hundred and seven summonses and eighty-nine warrants, for the recovery of 199*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*; and although this number, compared with that of the former year, and as contrasted with the greater number and amount of loans for the present year, shows a decided improvement in this respect, yet it falls short of what they hope to see as the result of subsequent years.”

	s.	d.
1. An application	0	2
To a day's work, going for ditto ..	0	6
2. To two sureties and self, three days' work lost ..	1	6
3. Work to sureties, two days to each for being so ..	2	0
4. To subsistence to self and sureties, when money is got	1	0
5. To twenty messengers, at 1d. per day, going to bank		
with money	1	8
Interest	0	6
	<hr/>	
	7	4

One good effect, however, produced by the loan funds generally has been to decrease and knock up the trade of the local usurers, though very many of these harpies still exist.

In some instances I have met with great abuse through the instrumentality of the loan funds. Tenants who cannot pay their rents to the day are often urged to go to the loan funds by the smaller landlords and agents. They have, of course, a high rate of interest varying from 10 to 40 per cent., to pay on the amount of their rent, which they borrow; and, if they cannot pay, then the loan fund officers drive them and force them to pay, whilst the landlord, who has pocketed the money, cunningly escapes the odium of distressing his tenant, which is thrown on the loan fund. In all these cases as the money borrowed is not turned to advantage, the loan funds act most injuriously. Wherever, however, the money borrowed can be turned to advantage, as in towns, and there is ordinary prudence, they seem to be beneficial, in teaching the people the commercial value of money, of which they seem entirely and absurdly ignorant, and in leading them into industrious habits. Very much of the apathy and indifference which mark the Irish labourer in his own country may, I think, be traced to the fact that he rarely handles money. His year's labour is often bought with an acre of con-acre land for his potatoes. For this he will often work a whole year for a farmer, "riding the dead horse," and wiping out

his debt. He rarely feels the stimulus of present reward, and he is unused to consider the relative value of money and how it can be best laid out. This may account for the absurd value which he often attaches to the most trumpery article, and for the folly with which he often wastes money when he has it. In Galway I was assured that so little do the people know the commercial value of money, they are constantly in the habit of *pawning* it. I was so incredulous of this that the gentleman who informed me wished me to go with him to any pawnbroker to assure myself of the fact; and I went with him and another gentleman to a pawnbroker's shop kept by Mr. Murray, in Galway. On asking the question the shopman said it was quite a common thing to have money pawned, and he produced a drawer containing a 10*l.* Bank of Ireland note, pawned six months ago for 10*s.*; a 50*s.* note of the National Bank, pawned for 10*s.*; a 30*s.* Bank of Ireland note, pawned for 1*s.*; a 1*l.* Provincial Bank-note pawned for 6*s.*, and a guinea in gold, of the reign of George III., pawned for 15*s.* two months ago. Anything more childishly ignorant and absurd than this it is scarcely possible to conceive. The 10*l.* bank-note would produce 6*s.* 6*d.* interest in the year if put into the savings-bank, whilst the owner who pledged it for 10*s.* will have to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* a year for the 10*s.*, and lose the interest on his 10*l.*; in other words, he will pay 90 per cent. through ignorance, for the use of 10*s.*, which he might have for nothing, and realize besides some 5*s.* or 6*s.* for the use of his 9*l.* 10*s.* Mr. Murray told me, that often money was sold as a forfeited pledge; that a man would pawn a guinea for 15*s.*, keep it in pledge till the interest amounted to 3*s.* or 4*s.*, and then refuse to redeem it.*

* This statement, after being thoroughly sifted, and, I have no hesitation in affirming, on its being found to be literally accurate in every particular, was contradicted, in a jocular style, by a Galway newspaper, in this way, that "I was not the man for Galway," and that Murray, the pawnbroker, had famously deceived

Anything which will teach people the use of money, and prevent them wasting their substance in this absurd way, must benefit them. Like children, however, they require protection, and it would be the greatest boon to them for the Legislature to stringently enforce the usury laws, and prevent the more knowing amongst them robbing and imposing on their poorer and more ignorant neighbours.

me. I need not say that, with the name of the pawnbroker, and every particular, the editor of the Galway paper might have satisfied himself of the veracity of the statement—as I have no doubt he did : but, finding he could hazard no well-founded contradiction, he thus tried to get over the fact. When I state that the rector of Galway and a landed proprietor of the neighbourhood were with me, and saw the notes in pawn, as I did, I have said enough to establish the fact. It is, however, extraordinary that the press of Ireland seems to imagine that it gains honour by deceiving the public and subverting the truth. I make no doubt but thousands believed that I had been famously gulled. In fact, I was told so on one or two occasions, with an air of as great glee, as if there was something very creditable in such a feat. I merely, however, repeat, that *every word* of this statement, absurd as it may seem, is *literally true*. I was called on subsequently to notice these contradictions, in the *Letter, post*, dated Kenmare.

LETTER XXI.

LIMERICK AND ITS TRADE.—THE PROFITS OF GOOD CULTIVATION.

Description of Limerick and its Trade—The Women of Limerick—The Profit which Tenants would be certain to derive by exerting themselves to Improve their Cultivation, whether their Rents were raised or not—Calculation showing the Expense and Profit of bringing an Acre of Land into Cultivation, and the Value of the Crops during four years of the usual Unimproved System of Husbandry—The Result of such a System of Cultivation in raising the Peasantry above want.

LIMERICK, October 23.

WITHOUT entering into any lengthened description of the city of Limerick, it will be enough, perhaps, to state, that it is a large, well built, and evidently a thriving town. It possesses wide and straight streets—the first instance I have yet met with of this being the character of any town in the west of Ireland—many handsome public buildings, some manufactories of lace, gloves, and brushes, most extensive flower-mills, and a very large “pig factory,” as it is called, at which about 1,000,000 pigs a year are slaughtered. The Shannon, which is here a magnificent river, passes through the town, which is built on either side of its banks. A handsome bridge, designed by Nimmo, and several other bridges, connect each portion of the town. A good deal of shipping and small craft find sufficient commerce for employment, and the one dock which exists is very inadequate for

the trade. A number of men are seen idling about the streets, who might, it is said, obtain work at 1s. a day, which they refuse; still, however, an air of commercial activity and prosperity pervades the place.

The brush factory employs about 300 men, who receive from 1l. to 30s. a week wages, and many of the brushes are sent to London. When it is considered that 14 lb. of potatoes may be purchased for 2d. or 3d., according to the market, and that this is the chief food, this rate of wages is high, as compared with that in most English towns.

The lace factories give employment to about 1,000 girls; the most extensive of these factories—that carried on by Messrs. Greaves—employs 240 girls, who receive on an average 3s. 6d. a week each. Very beautiful lace is made at this factory, on an invention of the proprietors, for which they obtained a prize of a silver medal at the exhibition of Irish manufactures in 1844; it is similar in appearance to the finest Brussels lace, and Her Majesty is said to have obtained several specimens of it.

The “pig factory,” and the extensive flour-mills of Messrs. Russell, also give a great amount of employment and encouragement to trade. The glove manufacture is falling off, from the gloves manufactured not maintaining their former character.

The town and county of Limerick have also obtained much celebrity for their pretty women. I had the opportunity yesterday of being present at a charitable bazaar held in the town, and certainly the number of handsome women and the female beauty assembled there, maintained this character, and fully equalled in these respects any similar assemblage which I have seen in any part of England. This affords me an opportunity, though it is scarcely worth while, to answer one slander which has been industriously propagated on every possible occasion by “the Liberator,” as he is fantastically termed by his party, to get

up a prejudice against me, by asserting that I had accused the women of Ireland of being "ugly." There are those with whom such an assertion may have a certain influence, and therefore it was made. The man, however, who unblushingly dared to slander the women of England *en masse* by accusing them of being unchaste, was the last man, one would have thought, to forget his own glass windows when he threw this stone,* even had I made the broad assertion that "the women of Ireland were ugly," which I need not tell you I never did. In an early letter from Enniskillen I drew a comparison between the appearance of the counties of Fermanagh and Leitrim, and also between the people, of those two counties, the contrast in both respects having forcibly struck me at the time. In one county was dirt, disorder, wretched poverty, rags, and the rudest system of cultivation; and the people, both men and women, seemed generally undersized and plain. In Fermanagh the country was infinitely improved—there were generally cleanliness and order, and the people, both men and women, were well dressed, tall and good-looking.† It was "not convenient" however, to "the Liberator" to state all this; but by a process of reasoning, or rather broad unfounded assertion, which tells "mighty well" before the audience at Conciliation-hall, he extracted out of this that I had said, that "the women of Ireland were ugly."‡

* It has, however, been wittily remarked that, since the Derrynane Beg exposure (which will be found, *post*), it is proved that this gentleman *has got no glass windows*.

† See *ante*, p. 44.

‡ Mr. Joseph Hume (a *protégé*, by the way, of the "Liberator"), on one celebrated occasion, with that clearness of argument which distinguishes him, volunteered to prove the soundness of his views by expressing his readiness to vote that "black was white." Bishop Whateley, in his *Treatise on Logic*, has given an example, under the head of "False Logic," how it may be proved. Thus,—

"White is a colour;
Black is a colour; therefore,
Black is white."

In my letter of to-day, I wish to draw your attention to an excuse which is almost universally made by the tenants for not improving their land and cultivating it properly, and to show to them its folly. In conversing with the tenants in almost every part of Ireland where I have yet been, the usual complaints are against high rents, want of tenure, and want of encouragement on the part of the landlords. If you ask a tenant who is loud in these complaints, and who is evidently steeped in poverty, and who therefore apparently has truth to back him, why he leaves one-half of his farm undrained, untrenched, unimproved, and in the most wretched state of cultivation, you are quite certain to be met with the reply, "Sure, who should I improve for? My landlord would raise my rent directly, and if I could not pay it, he would turn me out, and another would get my farm that I had improved. Sure, wouldn't I be ruining myself by improving, and be only benefiting the landlord?" Not only have I continually heard this from the tenants, but scores of times from the Roman Catholic priests, who, surely, ought to know better. Often and often I have tried to convince them in vain of the truth of that common sum in arithmetic, that "three and two make five;"—that if the tenant, by improving his land, can make it yield a profit of 5*l.* the acre, where it yielded no profit at all before; and taking them on their

By the same process of logic, I presume, the "Liberator" arrived at his "ugly" conclusion. Thus,—

"The women of Leitrim, *per se*, are plain;
The women of Leitrim are the women of Ireland; therefore,
The women of Ireland are 'ugly.'"

This is really a very excellent sample of the manner in which this gentleman treats the reason of his auditors. If they like being thus gulled, on the principle which Hudibras has laid down, that—

"Sure the pleasure is as great
In being cheated, as to cheat."

So long as it is in a harmless matter like this, few will begrudge them the luxury.

own ground, and supposing the worst, that the landlord did immediately raise their rent from 5s. to 2l. an acre ; still, if they put a balance of 3l. into their pockets by the improvement, it was clearly their advantage to improve, even though that which they seem so terribly afraid of should take place, and their hard landlords (assuming them to be such) should increase their rentals, and profit 2l. by the improvement.

It may be of advantage to point this clearly out, and to prove the fact by figures and evidence. In one of my early letters from Donegal, relating to a piece of land at Pettigo, I showed that a piece of land which before was worthless, on being properly cultivated left a profit of 8l. per annum on an average of three years. Deduct the most exorbitant rent you please, or which any landlord would have the conscience to impose, from this, say 3l. an acre, still you have the tenant putting 5l. a year into his pocket over and above the rent, as the reward of his improvement, from land which before was worth nothing to him.

In the second part of the evidence given before Lord Devon's Commission, page 168, Mr. G. C. Wray, a large farmer of Ardnamona, near Donegal, says, " I consider that the cost of reclaiming moor-land, where limestone is abundant, and a proper fall for drainage exists, *would be repaid in every case by the second crop,*" and he gives instances to prove this.

Mr. Alexander Thompson, a magistrate and landed proprietor of Ballynahinch, in Galway, gives an instance of the cost of reclaiming an acre of mountain and deep bog-land, and of the value of the produce, *the first year*. He says (*ibid.* page 463)—"The whole cost of an acre of potatoes which I am growing this year, the reclaiming, enclosing, open draining, manuring, and seeds, and everything else, is about 10l. ; I think I will have them got in for 11l. 10s. the acre, including everything." That acre of land he estimates

produced ten tons of potatoes, "which at 3*d.* the stone would be about 20*l.*" Here, then, was a profit of 8*l.* 10*s.* the first year.* Suppose a tenant farmer had done this, and his landlord had put on the most exorbitant rent because of the improvement, say 3*l.* an acre, still the tenant would put 5*l.* 10*s.* into his pocket, even though his landlord did thus raise his rent; and without the improvement, even though his rent was but 5*s.* an acre, he would scarcely realise any profit at all.†

On passing through the county of Clare to this town I had the opportunity of seeing some judicious improvements which have been effected by Mr. David John Wilson, of Belvoir, on his estate, in draining and subsoiling, and in

* This statement was treated with an air of ridicule by one of the Dublin newspapers—the *Freeman's Journal*—and it was asked why I did not give the profit of such land the second year? It is enough to say that this is a fact deposed to by a respectable witness on oath; and every man who knows anything of bog cultivation knows that the second crop is always a heavier one than the first, because the soil is pulverized and improved by the mixing and digging it has obtained.

† "Adjoining the buildings of the steward on the estate is the model farm, consisting of sixteen statute acres, and where, upon a piece of pure bog only two years reclaimed, we were shown as fine Swedish turnips as could be found in the fertile barony of Cork. Mangels, rape, potatoes, and vetches are also flourishing in the same description of land."—*Visit to the Gleneask Estate of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society, by Major Ludlow Beamish, of Cork.*

After the delivery of Mr. Smith's (of Deanston) lecture on furrow-draining, during the meeting of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, at Cork, it was stated by a gentleman who had known Mr. Smith's property, that though it was now worth 4*l.* an acre, it was not worth more than 2*s.* 6*d.* before the improvements he spoke of, in draining and subsoiling, had been carried into effect.

"This last winter," says the author of a pamphlet advocating the establishment of a National Land Draining Company,—“I have drained about thirty acres of land, statute measure, the drains three feet deep, and at a distance of one rod, or sixteen and a half feet; and in order to procure stones to fill the drains, the soil was trenched seventeen inches deep with the spade. The expense of the two operations combined was about 8*l.* per acre, which I feel certain will be repaid by the two first green crops; and the land, which had been formerly under the plough, and had been also limed and partially drained, so as to render it worth a rent of 20*s.* per acre, will be now better worth 32*s.* 6*d.* to 35*s.* per acre; so that, after all the outlay incurred has been paid back, there will be a permanent addition to the rental effected of seventy or seventy-five per cent.”

building for his tenantry a better description of cottager. This gentleman, though spending from 400*l.* to 500*l.* a year in improvements, from 200*l.* to 300*l.* of which is appropriated to paying his tenants to drain and subsoil their lands at so much per perch, has found the greatest difficulty in inducing his tenants to change their old mode of cultivation. Every such step taken by any landlord is viewed with suspicion by the tenantry; they look on it only as a means of increasing the rents, and never for a moment consider the benefits which they themselves will derive from it, even though their rents are increased. Mr. Wilson's plan, after thus improving a farm chiefly at his own expense, is to add one-half of the increased value to the original rent agreed on, as a repayment to him for the outlay of his capital, the other half going to the benefit of his tenants. In consequence, however, of compelling his tenants to follow an improved system of cultivation, this gentleman has already received one or two notices that he will *be shot*.*

Whilst at Belvoir I obtained a calculation, which was derived from the tenantry themselves, as to the cost of improving an acre of moorland and thoroughly draining it with 30-inch drains at twenty-one feet apart, and cultivating it for four successive years, in the manner in which the tenantry, according to the best of their knowledge cultivate it, with potatoes the two first years, and oats the two following, together with the produce, which, according to their estimation, would be yielded, charging for the price of labour

* I am informed that he has, since my visit to his house, been advised to quit the country for the winter for his personal safety, and he has gone to reside in Paris. It was commonly talked of in Galway, that he was certain to be *shot* before the winter was over. I drove with him to an evening party some four miles from his house; and such is the painful state of apprehension to which men are continually reduced in parts of Ireland, that he went armed with pistols, though but going to visit his next neighbour. Nor was this an unnecessary precaution. A small landlord in his neighbourhood was shot dead in his gig a short time before.

and for every expense, and estimating the produce at a low rate. The country around Belvoir is generally thin, poor moorland. My object in obtaining this valuation was to show the folly of the excuse for apathy and want of exertion on the part of the tenants, which I again heard here as elsewhere—that the rent would be raised if they improved their land, and they would be no better off. I wished also to take their own valuation and estimate of both cost and produce, and their own mode of cultivation (which every agriculturist will see at once is not the best) in order to prove, on their own showing, the inexcusable apathy of not improving, and the absurdity of their excuse. In the following estimate the price of labour is charged at the full rate; spread over a little time, the tenant and his family would themselves be able to accomplish this labour, so that it *would cost them nothing*, and would in fact leave nothing but the cost of lime and seed to pay for.

The outside rent of the moorland unimproved is, say 5s. the Irish acre; and the tenants agreed that they could barely get this value out of it for rough grazing. I will now show what they agreed it would cost to improve it, and what the produce would be, according to the general crops.*

* “When you have once attained to such a degree of prosperity as to be possessed of stock, be assured there is nothing wanting but industry and sobriety to insure your future comfort and independence, and also such a gradual accumulation of property as will enable you to provide for your children without applying to the miserable resource of dividing your farm (already, perhaps, too small) among them, thereby making paupers of your entire family; and let no one be discouraged from commencing to raise green crops, if he has the means of doing so, by the consideration that he has not a cow to get the benefit of them.

“Supposing he is so poor as to be unable to buy a cow, still there are few who have their health, and are inclined to be industrious, who cannot raise the price of one, two, or three pigs, on which these crops will, in a little time, produce such an improvement that, in the common course of things, before many months, he will be enabled to purchase the cow he was in want of, which he would most likely not have been able to get in any way. Vetches, clover, and cabbage are excellent feeding for growing pigs, and would soon augment their value to the amount required; and if this plan of getting a cow fail, he will seldom be disappointed (whilst the system of farming now in practice continues) in getting the

First Year.—Draining, trenching, and bringing in the land, and sowing it with potatoes:—

	£	s.	d.
Paring and burning, 30 men or days, at 10d.	1	5	0
Digging and spreading ashes, 24 ditto, at 10d.	1	0	0
Seed, 180 stone, at 2½d. per stone	1	13	9
Cutting and sticking, 14 women, at 6d.	0	7	0
Trenching, &c., 18 men, at 10d.	0	15	0
Digging the potatoes, 36 men, at 10d.	1	10	0
Picking ditto, 6 women, at 6d.	0	3	0
Lime, 40 barrels, at 10d.	1	13	4
Drains, 160 perches, at 6d.	4	0	0
First year—Total expense of improving			
and cultivating	£12	7	1

Produce of first year—

12 barrels (of 96 stone) of potatoes, at 18s.	10	16	0
Loss first year	£1	11	1

This is charging for the labour at the highest rate, 8d. per day being the current wages. Most of the labour the tenant might do himself, as much of his time is unoccupied, and then the expense would only be for lime and seed, or 3l. 11s. 1d., leaving him a profit on *his first year's crop*, to pay him for his labour, of 7l. 4s. 11d.

Second year.—Potatoes sowing—

	£	s.	d.
Re-digging, 12 men, at 10d. per man	0	10	0
Seed, 160 stone, at 2½d. per stone	1	10	0
Cutting, &c., 14 women, at 6d. per woman	0	7	0
Trenching, 12 men, at 10d. per man	0	10	0
Second spitting, 12 men, at 10d. per man	0	10	0
Two weedings, 8 women, at 6d. per woman	0	4	0
Digging, 40 men, at 10d. per man	1	13	4
Picking, 8 women, at 6d. per woman	0	4	0
Total expense	£5	8	4

use of a cow for her keep from those who have not sufficient food for their stock, by which arrangement he will have milk for his family and manure for his farm."

—*An Essay on the Improvement to be made in the Cultivation of Small Farms*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 88.

Produce of second year—

	£	s.	d.
18 barrels of potatoes, at 18s. per barrel	16	4	0
Profit second year	£10	15	8

Third year.—Sowing with oats—

Seed, 12 stone, at 9d. per stone	0	9	0
Trenching, 12 men, at 10d. per man	0	10	0
Cutting, 12 men, at 10d. per man	0	10	0
Binding, 6 women, at 6d. per woman	0	3	0
Stacking, &c., 4 men, at 10d. per man	0	3	4
Threshing, 8 men, at 10d. per man	0	6	8
Cleansing, &c.	0	2	0
Total expense	£2	4	0

Produce of third year—

120 stone of oats, at 7d. per stone	3	10	0
Straw *	2	10	0
	£6	0	0
Deduct expense	2	4	0
Profit of third year	£3	16	0

Fourth year—oats—

Extra expense over third year for digging stubbles	0	10	0
For clover and grass seed	1	0	0
Total expense	£3	14	0

* Several of these items were carped at. One gentleman in Limerick made the discovery that tenants never *sold* their straw; that therefore this item was wrong, and the whole calculation worthless. It is quite immaterial to the argument what the tenant does with his straw; whether he sells it or consumes it on the land. If he sells it, he gets the value for it in money; if he consumes it, he gets the value for it in another shape—viz., in feeding his cattle, and in manure. But he still gets the *value* of it, and that *value* is therefore taken into the calculation. I believe the calculation, in almost every item, to be rather below than above the mark, because it was furnished by the tenants themselves. But suppose a 10s. inaccuracy to be discovered in the calculation (which I do not believe to exist), how far will that interfere with the *principle* of the argument? Why, simply to the extent of 10s.

Produce of fourth year—

	£	s.	d.
144 stone of oats, at 7 <i>d.</i> per stone	4	4	0
Straw	3	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£7	4	0
Deduct expense	3	14	0
	<hr/>		
Profit of fourth year	£3	16	0

EXPENSE.

	£	s.	d.
First year	12	7	1
Second year	5	8	4
Third year	2	4	0
Fourth year	3	14	0
	<hr/>		
Total	£23	13	5

PRODUCE.

	£	s.	d.
First year	10	16	0
Second year	16	4	0
Third year	6	0	0
Fourth year	7	4	0
	<hr/>		
Total	£40	4	0
	23	13	5
	<hr/>		

Total gain for four years . £16 10 7

Or 4*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.* average profit per acre each year.

From this profit there will be to deduct rent. Now, take the tenant's own argument, and suppose that for the first year he paid only 5*s.* rent for the unimproved moorland, but that the landlord, seeing the improvement and produce obtained, immediately raised the rent. Now, a fourth of the produce is a fair rent (see, on this subject more fully, the evidence of the Earl of Mountcashel before the Land Commissioners, Appendix, Part III., p. 148,*) therefore this improved land would bear to pay 1*l.* rent. But suppose the

* This will be found, *post*, in the Appendix to this volume, No. 4.

landlord was, in every respect, a hard landlord, and he raised the rent from 5*s.* the acre to 30*s.* for the improved land, which is here a very high rent for such land,—in fact not obtained,—then the result would be—

	£	s.	d.
First year's rent	0	5	0
Three following years at 30 <i>s.</i>	4	10	0
County cess, poor-rates, and tithe rentcharge, estimated at 4 <i>s.</i> per year.	0	16	0
	<hr/>		
	5	11	0

The account will then stand—

Total profit for four years	16	10	7
Deduct landlord's increased rent and charges	5	11	0
	<hr/>		
Leaving clear profit to tenant in four years	£10	19	7

Or 2*l.* 14*s.* 10½*d.* each year per improved acre, besides paying him for his labour, and this under the most unfavourable circumstances that the tenant can suppose—namely, that the landlord will put upon him an exorbitant rent as soon as he has improved. With proper cultivation and rotation of crops a much greater profit than this might be obtained.

Now, this is an ordinary and every-day case. The statement cannot be disputed; the whole calculation is from the tenants themselves; the rent is charged high and the produce low, and yet the tenant, after being paid for every day's labour at the highest rate, this unfavourable calculation shows he would pocket about 2*l.* 15*s.* profit per acre, for improving the land, in spite of his bad landlord. But whilst his land is left unimproved, though he only pays 5*s.* rent, he pockets nothing at all. Now, simple calculation shows this. It is the farmer's business to make these calculations; the farmers and the schoolmaster made this very calculation for me, showing this result; and yet, with this result of their own showing before them, they were still unconvinced, and kept crying, "Yes, but the landlord would raise the rent,

and who should we improve for?" The only surprising thing is, that the priests, as men of education, should not see this, and point it out to the tenants, if they are too stupid to see it themselves. What matters it to the tenants whether the landlord benefits or not by their exertions, so long as they themselves make a profit by it?

Now, let me point out to the tenants what would be another effect of their simply minding their own interests, and endeavouring to get as much produce out of their land as it will bear, and not caring whether the landlord or anybody else also derives a profit as well as themselves. They may depend upon this, that the landlord is more likely to do things for their benefit if he sees them industrious, improving tenants, rather than if he finds them apathetic and indifferent, and seeking only to sublet the land to the injury of his estate, which they ought to cultivate and improve. But the above calculation has shown that in the worst case they would reap a profit where they now get nothing. This year, unhappily, their potato crops have generally failed. I am sorry to say that I was to-day informed by the priest of the parish of Clonlea, in the barony of Tulla, the district in Clare about which I have just written, that the potatoes generally are infected with disease. He last week saw eight barrels of potatoes, or about five months' provisions for a family, apparently sound, put into a pit, and sixty barrels put into another pit, which, on being opened to-day, had not a barrel of available potatoes in either; nearly the whole of the potatoes were found to be diseased and decomposed. His accounts to me are most alarming. On digging the potatoes generally throughout the district they are found in the same manner diseased. A black spot on them spreads under the surface of the skin round the potato, and at length goes through to the heart of it, the whole substance becoming black and decomposed. Some of the people have given up digging their potatoes in despair, and it is most alarming to

contemplate what the result may be. It is, however, certain that some steps will be required to be taken to avert the horrors of a famine. This is a subject too immediately pressing and dreadful to work out an argument. But had these poor people cultivated and improved their land as they might have done, without stupidly refusing to improve "because it would benefit their landlords," the extra profit in their pockets, which they would *be certain to have made*, would be sufficient to avert the severity of the calamity which they now apprehend.

It is, however, I feel, of little use pointing this out to the people: but little can be done with the existing generation, who are without the means of being better taught, and who are prejudiced to old habits.

It may astonish some English farmers to learn that these tenants told me they were constantly in the habit of getting *nine successive crops of oats* off this mountain-land, manuring with lime only *every third year*, till at length it would grow nothing but a few weeds; and that it is almost impossible, without running the risk of being *shot*, to get them out of their old habit of cultivation after this fashion.

This, however, strongly points out the necessity of securing to the rising generation the means of being taught agricultural knowledge. That knowledge will dispel their present stupid and prejudiced notions, will, in fact, teach them the trade by which they live, will secure them from periodical famines, and in insuring them comfort and competence will benefit every class in the community.

LETTER XXII.

TIPPERARY AND ITS OUTRAGES.—STATE OF
AGRICULTURE, AND OF THE PEOPLE.

The Anomalies and Inconsistencies which prevail in Tipperary—The former Habits of the Gentry which may have given rise to many of these Anomalies—The System of Outrage and Terrorism which prevails—Appearance of the Country—Backward State of Agriculture—Impossible to get the Tenantry out of their old Habits—The continual Murders—Destitution of the People—Remedies suggested.

THURLES, TIPPERARY, October 27.

THE county of Tipperary has long possessed the notoriety of being a focus of outrage and disorder—of embodying in itself, in an aggravated form, all the strange anomaly of evils which mark this country generally.

You have here the richest land and the most extreme poverty. The people complain of high rents, and yet extract but half the profit out of the land which it will yield. They struggle desperately to possess a patch of land, because they have no employment by which to live, and yet the land is only half cultivated for want of the labour which might be profitably bestowed upon it. They shoot one another in the struggle to possess a patch of land, and leave neglected and waste thousands of acres which would amply repay their labour and capital. They complain of the want of tenure, and the moment they get a lease they sublet and get rid of

their tenure to another. They complain that landlords and agents in parts of the county will not reside, and they shoot them if they do.

How strangely do these contradictions jumble together ! How oddly each complaint seems to point out its own remedy ! But not the least strange part of the consideration is, that with the remedy in their own hands they neglect it, and call open-mouthed on the Government to do something to help them, which indeed seems necessary, if any remedy is to be obtained.

The moving springs of any condition of society rarely ascend from the lower ranks, but proceed from the upper. The direction of intelligence and station will insure harmony and prosperity. If intelligence and station neglect or misuse the advantage of their position, ignorance, and prejudice, and selfish cunning step in, and violence and disorder are the natural results.

It is a question of some interest to consider how the strangely anomalous condition of this county, as an example of what is the case with much of the rest of Ireland, has been brought about. Has the effect of bygone neglect, and mismanagement, and wrong, generated a self-defensive resort to suspicious obstinacy, and violence, and fraud ?

What were the usual habits of the gentry of the past generation, and of some of the present ? Was it their ambition to live a useful existence, to lead, and guide, and instruct those whom fortune had placed below them ; or did they neglect these duties, ape the manners and the style of living of those above them, use the advantages of fortune as the mere instruments for the attainment of short-sighted and selfish ends, and ruin themselves and all depending on them ? An answer to these questions may, perhaps, give an insight into much of the misery which now pervades Ireland, and this county particularly.

From all I hear, the owner of an estate in former days

kept open house, lived usually in a style far beyond his income, aped the expenditure of men of superior fortune, shot and hunted, and got money as he could, to keep going on. Most of the estates were entailed ; the owners married, and every means was resorted to to raise money. Sometimes long leases were granted to men of property in order to obtain fines, who commenced letting out the land at an increased rent as middlemen. The sons of a landowner grew up, hunted and shot with their father, and would have shot any one who suggested to them that they ought to do something to maintain themselves. The sole means of providing for them was to let to them portions of the estate, which, being usually entailed, could only be done at the best improved rent. The younger sons then got a local standing, became " squireens," started shooting or hunting lodges, sub-let the land, which they never thought of farming themselves, at an increased rent, and so long as their father lived were principally at home. On the death of the father the elder brother came into the estate, and the knives and forks of the younger brothers were no longer regularly set for them. The stables were not always ready for their horses as long as they pleased, and they found out that they had to support themselves. To do this another screw was put upon the sub-tenants, and all kinds of chicanery were resorted to by these needy men to obtain money from those under them. As they could barely live, the usual course was to try and get some Government place, as they could turn to neither business nor profession. To obtain this the member of Parliament for the county was flattered and besieged, and then they began to find out that their tenants might be made 40s. freeholders, and that this was an available means of influence. The unfortunate under-tenants were then compelled to sub-divide their land with their sons, to make voters, in order that at the next election these votes might be bargained for a place. The mischief did not cease

here. This forced sub-division rapidly increased the population. As there was nothing but the land to live by, the increased population brought competition for the land, and eagerness to get any patch, however small, at increased rents. The people, following their teaching, began themselves to sub-divide; and then these "squireens," or needy middlemen, raised their rents proportionately to the increased competition for the land which they had themselves brought about. But the increase in population went on; the absence of any trading or professional knowledge among these small gentry, too proud to do or learn anything, but not too proud to resort to any tricky jobbing to raise money or to get a place, brought with it, of course, the absence of any enterprise or any business undertaking whatever which could afford other employment for the people than the cultivation of a patch of land. The people thus got beaten down, and became mere serfs, crushed down to the worst food, and the most miserable clothing and dwellings; and, being neglected and without knowledge, they were utterly unable to improve themselves. As the families of the squireens increased their estates decreased; not so their expenditure: nor did their attempts to gain a living by any profession or trade increase with their increasing necessities. Their poverty became so great that they were utterly unable to aid their tenants to improve; all this operated on the poor tenant in deteriorating his social position. In England you sometimes hear of landlords compelling their tenants to vote for them; but in Ireland the tenants' votes were a valuable commodity, not to be given away. They were bargained for places, and I am assured of instances where they have been sold by the landlord for money, which the landlord himself has pocketed. The poor tenants were deprived even of that resource of the vilest in England—they could not even sell their political franchise for a bribe, for their landlord generally sold it for them and

pocketed the amount without consulting them, and compelled them to vote as he liked.

Is it to be wondered at that such a system should bear sad fruits? The fruits are now being reaped. Much of this kind of proceeding has, however, been put an end to; but you still have young men brought up to live as gentlemen on some 100*l.* a year; and no trade or enterprise to employ a dense population, because there are none to engage generally in either. Debts and incumbrances are the consequence. Estates get into the courts, and receivers are appointed who exact the highest competition rents; embarrassed landlords live abroad, or in English towns, and they also exact the highest rents they can. The best tenants who *will* live in comfort are compelled to emigrate, and the most ignorant and unenterprising tenants remain, without knowledge or means to improve the land, and striving by endurance and poor potato diet to squeeze out the rent. They have no means of employment; land they must have to live, until the struggle for the patch of land has become so desperate that it is retained by a system of terror and assassination disgraceful to any country.*

There are many good landlords in this county the reverse of this description; but with society thus disorganized, from past misconduct, often their best intentions are suspected, the slightest attempt on their parts to interfere with the possession of land is resisted, no matter what the object may be, and a system of assassination, and threats of assassination, is resorted to, which in reality often drives the best landlords

* "What embitters the misery of our calamities is, that we have brought them on ourselves by the wildness of our extravagance of the one side, and the most stupid want of care and industry of the other; for betwixt the monstrous mismanagement of the splendour and expense of the rich in foreign countries or commodities, and the idleness and laziness of the poor, the tradesmen, labourers, and husbandmen (chiefly for want of encouragement), have been ground to pieces between the upper and nether millstone."—*Preface to Dr. Madden's book, 'Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland.'*

out of the country, and increases the already existing poverty and want of employment. As an instance of this, the other day I had the opportunity of visiting the estate of Mr. Carden, of Bernane, near this town. This gentleman, on the falling in of an old lease, found his land in such a wretched condition, and the tenants upon it so miserable, that he determined to buy them out, and take the land into his own hands. They agreed to take 150*l.*, and to leave the land. It is a hard case for poor men, with no means of employment to fly to, to lose even the most wretched means of subsistence. Though this gentleman was giving much employment in residing, and in building a family mansion, this step created a strong feeling against him. His steward paid the outgoing tenants the money they had agreed to take, and a fortnight afterwards, in June last year, though an old man much respected, he had two shots fired at him and was wounded in the arm. In the following October another lease of mountain-land fell in, covered with cottier tenants in the most wretched condition. Mr. Carden was anxious to obtain this land, because it was in the centre of his plantations. He offered to buy their interest, to provide the tenants with houses, and to give them constant employment on another part of the estate. He employed his wood-ranger to negotiate with them, and this poor fellow was most treacherously and inhumanly murdered.* A notice was

* By desire of Mr. Carden, his wood-ranger, after the steward had been shot at, never went about alone, and was always armed with a double-barrelled gun. He chose for his companion a tenant's son, a fine grown young man of about twenty years of age, to accompany him as a protector. It was proposed to give the tenants 200*l.* for removing, and it was arranged that the wood-ranger should meet the principal men among them at a cottage on the estate to settle the terms. The wood-ranger accordingly went to the cottage, accompanied by his companion for protection, and having laid his gun on a table, sat down. He had no sooner done so, than a turbulent fellow on the estate, who was there, said, addressing him,—“I thought you would not have come into my company. The wood-ranger, not liking the appearance of things, answered,—“Had I known *you* were here, perhaps I should not have come;” and rose from his seat to take his gun

then stuck up on a part of the estate, that if any persons reaped this gentleman's crops, or dug his potatoes, they would be murdered. He offered 5s. a day to get his potatoes dug, but such was the feeling of terror inspired amongst the rest of his tenantry, that no one would attempt it. Being a young man of high spirit and determination, he went to Shinrone, to a Protestant colony, to procure labourers, and a number volunteered to reap his crops. These men narrowly escaped being murdered by the people, and had to be protected by the police. During the whole of last winter there was a perfect system of terror established. This gentleman, on riding up the avenue of his domain one night, was fired at by four different people, who fortunately missed him. On another occasion shortly afterwards, on driving through his entrance gate, two shots were fired at him, and his horse was shot—a tenant-farmer living within ten yards

and depart. He had no sooner done so than *the young man he had brought with him to protect him threw his arms round him behind, and pinioned him*; a man with a hatchet in his hand sprang from behind the door and clove his skull; and another stabbed him in the neck with a knife. His lifeless body was then dragged into a field adjoining, and thrown into a ditch, where it was found some days after. These facts were deposed to, on the trial of one of the parties, by the daughter of the tenant in whose cottage the murder was committed, and who saw it. On this young woman's testimony, one of the villains was sentenced to be hung. Another, who was subsequently apprehended, was also indicted, and this same young woman was brought forward to give her evidence. A surgeon of a neighbouring town was then put into the witness-box, and he swore that the young woman was in his surgery, several miles off, at the time, and the same night that she swore the murder was committed. On this testimony, the prisoner was found *not guilty*, and discharged, and the prisoner under sentence of death was reprieved. Subsequently, the young woman who was the witness brought another young woman before the magistrates, who deposed that she was at the surgeon's on the night and at the time stated, and not the witness. The surgeon was confronted with the two young women, and acknowledged that he had sworn in error. Thus a known murderer is at large on this gentleman's estate. The man who was convicted was lying in Nenagh gaol at the time I was there; and though a year had elapsed since the crime was committed, and of which he was convicted, he has been neither hung nor transported. This is the tardy mode in which the majesty of the law is vindicated in Tipperary.

of the spot.* In the three months of last year no less than eight murders were committed in the police district of Borrisoleigh adjoining, generally shooting from behind hedges, because of dispossession of land by the tenants amongst one another. How many gentlemen who could afford to live elsewhere would risk their lives by residing in such an unfortunate community? It is enough to compel absenteeism. This gentleman is building an agricultural school—is affording much employment—and yet is compelled to walk about his estate, with two men with guns to guard him, to have ball-proof window-shutters to his house, and two armed policemen to guard his steward as he walks about! This frightful state of society I saw, or could scarcely have credited it. The very men who attempted to shoot him, who shot his steward, and murdered his woodranger, are his own tenants, and at large!

In coming to this town I had made a circuit of the southern portion of the county, and had the opportunity of seeing the country around Tipperary, Cahir, and Cashel. Generally speaking, cultivation is in a very advanced state to what you see it in Connaught. Most of the fields are well squared and fenced, and there are many well-built and decent-looking farmhouses. The country often spreads out from the foot of fine ranges of hills into vast tracts of level rich soil of extraordinary fertility, nearly all of which is under cultivation. Many of the sloping hill-sides and some bogs are, however, still uncultivated. The southern part of Tipperary is now very quiet, and this may perhaps be attributable to the fact that there have been many resident landlords there for some time, several of whom are highly spoken of as good landlords; and some of those who are non-resident have good resident agents. I heard Lord Stanley everywhere

* Having escaped six shots, this gentleman has been named "the wood-cock," by which cognomen he is generally known in the neighbourhood.

spoken of in the neighbourhood of Tipperary, as an excellent landlord, and also Mr. Stafford O'Brien, M.P., who has been a great benefactor to the town. The very men who complained about high rents, which are in that neighbourhood about 3*l.* 3*s.* the Irish acre, and who were violent in declaiming against the general neglect of the landlords as a body, in "not caring a rap about their tenants as long as they got the rents," spoke well of these gentlemen. In the neighbourhood of Cahir, Lord Glengall has greatly improved his property and the town by building good houses; and in the neighbourhood of Shanbarry, further on, Lord Lismore has greatly beautified the country by planting, and has given much employment amongst his tenants as a resident landlord. From Cahir to Cashel the drive is through a magnificent arable country. The richness of the land seems to set at defiance the very indifferent system of cultivation.

Mr. Michael Doheney, barrister, of Cashel, when examined before the Land Commission (Appendix, Part III., p. 209), says,—

"In this country there is no system pursued by the farming population as to rotation of crops or the improved modes of agriculture."

The Rev. Patrick Larkin, parish priest of Moyne, near Thurles, is asked (*ibid.* 308),—

"If the land might be rendered more productive by improvements? and answers, 'Oh dear, yes!'"

"I should think," says Mr. Edward Dalton, farmer of Ballygriffin, near Golden (*ibid.*, 262), "the small farmer would do very well *if he was industrious*, and got into a good system of tillage; but there is a bad system of tillage in the country now."

Mr. John Ellis, the agent and steward of Mr. Trant, near Thurles, says (*ibid.* 321),—

"Mr. Trant allows half the expense of drains, and if they sow turnips after the drains they are allowed the other third; but not many have taken advantage of that. We have found it difficult to get them even to drain land with that encouragement. They refuse to give up their bad land to let us improve it."

"In general they are not an improving class of tenantry," says Mr. Nicholas Maher, the county member (*ibid.* Part I. p. 100). This gentleman manages an estate of 19,000 acres, and he is asked,—

"If the occupiers are not prosperous, do you attribute that more to the mismanagement of their farms, rather than to the rate of rents?—Yes, indeed I do, to their badly farming the land in many instances."

The same gentleman says, further on,—

"He has no doubt the produce of the land might be considerably improved by a better system of farming."

The small farmers, however, are so ignorant of every comfort, and of any better system of farming, that they have "no desire or disposition to improve, even when they can afford it."

"They have no desire for it, and the true reason for my saying they farm badly is this, that they have one system of farming land. They take a crop or two of potatoes; they then take a crop of wheat, and after that a crop of potatoes again, and a crop of wheat again, and that upon land which is not of the best quality. That is their system, and you cannot get them to change it; and where a tenant has thirty or forty acres of land, if he had one-third of it well tilled and properly cultivated, I think it would produce him more than half of what it does at his present mode of farming."

"To what do you attribute the want of desire to improve?—It is the system they have got into, and *they cannot be persuaded out of it; no reasoning, no advice will put them out of it.*"

"When you spoke of two crops of potatoes, do you mean that they commenced with a ley field?—Yes."

"First potatoes and then wheat?—Yes."

"And then manure?—No, without manure; they will dig the stubble, and then crop it again with potatoes, and afterwards with wheat or oats. This is almost the only practice."

"Do the landowners take no steps to endeavour to introduce a better system, such as having a model farm? *No, there is no such thing in the country. I do not think there is one in the county of Tipperary.*"

Now, is not this lamentable? Ignorance so complete that they will not even listen to reason, and will not improve; and no steps taken to *show* them what may be done. And

while they thus waste one-half the subsistence they might get out of the land, the most frightful struggles for subsistence are going on ; and atrocities and cowardly assassinations are committed which are a disgrace to any country. The bravo of Italy is more than equalled by the cowardly ruffian of Tipperary.

Mr. Edward Dalton in his evidence (Appendix, Part III. p. 263), says,—

“ It is generally known in the country who instigate the murders. It is generally the aggrieved party and his friends that manage it. The friends of the murdered man will not take much pains to trace out a murder, as they ought to do ; but resort to *wild revenge, by retaliation.*”

In some cases the murders are committed, as in the case of Mr. Leonard Keeting’s steward, because “ he was too hard in making the people stick close to their work (*ibid.* 265), though he did much good.”

This very week, at New Birmingham, near this town, a man named Morris, the overseer of some coal-mines at Ballynulty, which are worked by a mining company, having made himself obnoxious by the faithful discharge of his duty in putting a check on a system of pilfering, has been shot.

Mr. Edward Dalton is asked (*ibid.* p. 263),—

“ In what have the outrages generally arisen ?—From the poverty of the people,—and all about land and good situations, and all those things. If a herdsman goes inside another, there is an outrage ; or if a confidential man is displaced. In one word, it is all on account of the poverty of the people.”

But, generally, the murders are all about the possession of land ; and it matters little what the character of the landlord may be,—he may give great employment, as in the case of Mr. Scully, or be a most exemplary gentleman, like Mr. Cooper,—if he ventures to turn out a tenant, or his agent on his behalf, they will be murdered—shot in the back, or from behind a wall, if they dare to venture out.

Lord Hawarden has ejected many tenants for various

causes, and taken their land into his own possession. This has produced great misery among them, and intense hatred. The life of Mr. Stuart, his agent, has been repeatedly attempted in consequence; and, according to the evidence of Mr. Doheny (*ibid.* p. 298), he has, as a means of protection, been—

“In the habit of taking two boys, one before and one behind him, on the horse, when he would be riding through the country; so that he could not be killed without one of those boys being shot.”

The horrid distress of the people drives them to commit these atrocities, but they will bear no extenuation. They disgrace the country, and they are as cowardly as they are brutal. But is not this enough to compel many men to be absentees? There can be no worse mischief to an estate than an absentee landlord; but what man would bear to live in perpetual apprehension of some villain shooting him in the back, or from behind a hedge, unless influenced to remain by motives of attachment to his estate, or by a strong sense of duty? The very atrocities which the people resort to in brutal and barbarous ignorance, which make any Christian shudder, heap upon themselves further miseries; for, as crime, from the sympathy of the people with the criminals, goes unpunished, the men who could give them employment, and who would spend money among them, are driven out to more civilized communities, where their lives will be safe.

Along the roadsides, as I drove through the country, adjoining land perhaps the richest in Europe, I continually saw hovels of the most wretched appearance. There is a filth and a squalor about them and their miserable inmates which I cannot describe.

Amongst poor creatures so reduced, the competition for a patch of con-acre land to live upon is “dreadful,” says Mr. Bradshaw, a landed proprietor near Tipperary:—

“It is wretched,” says this gentleman (*ibid.*, 270), “to see the state of some of the poor for want of employment. I may say, and I do say it

fearlessly, that they are little better than the brute beasts, for want of employment."

"They sometimes get employed at the rate of 6d. or 8d. a day, and their whole object is, by means of their dung-pit, to get a quarter of an acre of ground; and they get their living through the year from it." (*ibid.* p. 279, Captain Thomas Bolton's evidence, agent to Lord Stanley.)

"They have miserable huts," says Mr. Jordan, land-agent to Baron Pennefather (*ibid.* p. 294), "and it is only wonderful how they have patience to live as they are at all." This gentleman says, further on,—
"There were a few shots fired into my own house very lately, but there was nobody shot; we do not mind *these little trifles*."

"Land," says Mr. Doheny (*ibid.* p. 299), "is their only resource to sustain life with any certainty."

The competition, therefore, for it is so great and dreadful, that this witness says, in Cashel,—

"A man would offer any amount whatever for a quarter of an acre of land."

"Agricultural labourers," says Mr. John Loughnane, of Boytourath, near Cashel (*ibid.* p. 302), "are the most miserable men upon the face of the earth at the present day. I could not describe the situation of the creatures. They have neither food nor raiment; they have no bed-clothes; the clothes they wear in the day they must clothe themselves with at night."

"They are half a year idle for want of employment, and their wives are generally out as paupers in the country," says Mr. O'Flynn, farmer of New Birmingham. (*ibid.* p. 309.)

"Their huts are very miserable. There are seven, or eight, or nine of them upon one heap of straw, and generally the clothing they have in the day is their night covering. There is no sheet or blanket, and those who are last in bed must get up, for they have no clothes to keep them warm. I have witnessed that."

Is not this sad story enough to account for the state in which society is here? The people for the most part here are a fine race. The majority of them are stout and of an average size, and you see among them many tall and powerful men. They are a mixed race, being many of them descended from Cromwell's soldiers, who were disbanded in

this county, the original debentures and grants of land to whom are still extant.

Near Nenagh, according to the evidence of Mr. M'Curtin, in the midst of all this distress and misery and shootings about the possession of land, there is "an immense tract of waste land—the finest mountain land in the world—from 15,000 to 20,000 acres of wild land." And according to the report of Mr. Griffiths, "it is probable that about 300,000 acres of waste land might be reclaimed for cultivation, and 60,000 acres might be drained for pasture," in this very county.

Now, to what conclusions does a review of this evidence lead? The object of every Government is the prosperity and safety of the people. Neither is accomplished in this county. It is, then, *the duty* of the Government to see that *they shall be accomplished*. It is *the duty* of the Government to take measures to compel these waste lands to be brought into cultivation, as *an immediate means of affording employment to the people*, to save them from starvation and the commission of outrage. It is *the duty* of the Government to have the people properly taught their trade of agriculture by example as well as precept—by means of agricultural model schools, so that they shall not, as now, waste one-half the land they have. And, above all, it is *the duty* of the Government, with a strong and determined hand, to put down the system of terror and assassination which drives men of property out of the country, and deprives the poor peasants of the employment they would otherwise have.* As a means

* The dreadful crime of murder, like many of the other evils of Ireland, would seem to have been fostered and almost created by the impunity with which it was committed. The late Rev. Dr. Madden thus writes on this subject:—"But what is yet worse, and, I fear, harder to cure, is that dreadful indulgence which, through the whole kingdom, is shown to fair and honourable murderers of all denominations. As to gentlemen who are guilty of this crime, there is hardly one in a hundred ever condemned; and as it will be hard to subdue this inveterate trampling on our laws, we should beg of our Legislature that if they cannot be hanged, they

of effecting this, I would suggest a partial return to the ancient constitution of Alfred the Great: divide each barony into districts, police districts would do, and put a fine on the district for every offence, unless the offender be apprehended and brought to justice. This has been found effective with regard to burnings and houghing of cattle, for which the barony is made to pay; why should it not be so in the protection of human life? For every murder or attempt at murder, fine the district, say 50*l.*, unless the murderer be brought to justice, and rigidly enforce the payment. I am much mistaken in my estimate of Irish character, if a few of these payments exacted would not rapidly turn the tide of popular feeling as strongly against assassins as it is now in their favour and protects them. There is no chimera about any of these measures. They are plainly pointed out as necessary for the peace and safety of the country, letting alone its prosperity. Party has nothing to do with them; and the Government will neglect its obvious duty, in the opinion of every man of plain common sense, if measures having these objects in view are not immediately brought forward.

may at least be fined for it; and that the murderer, if acquitted or pardoned, should be liable, without appeal, to pay a proportion of his annual income or substance to the maintenance of the widow and children, or, if there be none such, to the brothers and sisters, or the next heirs of the deceased. This would possibly have a good effect in tying up the honourable hands of men of fortune or family; and as for inferior people, it were to be wished that the criminal, though acquitted, should always suffer twelve months' close imprisonment. In the mean time, it is certain that, in general, it is safer to kill a man than to steal a sheep or a cow; and as this is the vilest mark of barbarism, and is not only an imputation on the justice of the nation, but an evidence of the contempt of the laws both of God and man, surely every one that wishes well to Ireland should resolve to do his utmost to enforce our laws, and wipe off such a stain from the honour and justice of his country."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 141.*

LETTER XXIII.

TIPPERARY AND ITS OUTRAGES.

Condition of the County of Tipperary—Report of the Land Commissioners upon it—The System of Terrorism which prevails there—Outrages that disgraced the neighbourhoods of Roscrea and Nenagh during my visit to those places—The ruinous absurdity of Labourers, Farmers, and Individuals being protected at their work for months by Policemen—The Necessity of establishing the Supremacy of the Law before there can be any hope of Prosperity.

ROSCREA, TIPPERARY, October 30.

IN speaking of this county in their report to the Government, the Land Commissioners say (page 42),—

“ In Tipperary, for a long time past, and in some other counties more recently, there has prevailed a system of lawless violence, which has led in numerous instances to the perpetration of cold-blooded murders. These are generally acts of revenge for some supposed injury inflicted upon the party who commits or instigates the commission of the outrage. But the notions entertained of injury in such cases are regulated by a standard fixed by the will of the most lawless and unprincipled members of the community. If a tenant is removed, even after repeated warnings, from land which he has neglected or misused, he is looked upon in the districts to which we are now referring as an injured man, and the decree too often goes out for vengeance upon the landlord or the agent, and upon the man who succeeds to the farm ; and at times a large numerical proportion of the neighbourhood look with indifference upon the most atrocious acts of violence, and, by screening the criminal, abet and encourage the crime. Murders are perpetrated at noonday on a public highway, and, whilst the assassin coolly retires, the people look on, and evince no horror at the

bloody deed. The whole nature of Christian men appears in such cases to be changed, and the one absorbing feeling as to the possession of land stifles all others, and extinguishes the plainest principles of humanity."

This is a shocking testimony, when made by undeniable authority, as to the character of any county. That, however, which was true in 1844 is no less true now; assassinations still continue, the atrocity of which is only equalled by their cowardice. It is horrible to think that men professing to be Christians should, from whatever cause, bear the above character; and terrible indeed must have been the process which inculcated it in them.

Men in England, who follow their occupations in peace and security, can form no estimate of circumstances here unless put in possession of facts as they exist. The walls of this town are covered with placards offering rewards for the apprehension of criminals charged with shooting into houses, waylaying, beating, and murdering. One is at this moment being stuck up (a copy of which I send you, with others) offering 100*l.* reward by the Government for the apprehension of some cowardly villains who last week fired two shots through the back of the overseer of a neighbouring coal-mine.* Men are seen walking about the town followed by a couple of armed policemen to protect them as they transact their business. Threatening notices, which are not mere idle threats, are sent by every post; crime escapes with comparative impunity, and in such a state of society what sane man can expect prosperity?†

* This man, though not killed, was lingering dangerously ill in bed in consequence of the wounds he received, when I left Ireland three months afterwards.

† Geraldus Cambrensis, in his chapter "*De Hiberniâ qualiter Gubernanda*," writes thus of the native Irish:—"Semper insidias sub pacis facio gens hæc inimica molitur. Nationis sub dolsæ longè fortius timenda est ars quam Mars—pax quam fax—mel quam fel—malitia quam militia—proditio quam expeditio—amicitia perfucata quam inimicitia defricata."

There is a curious passage, which shows the antiquity of the Irish shillelah—the country weapon for remedying the evils of Ireland. Geraldus says,—"*Ab*

I do not, however, admire vague declamation, but prefer giving facts, that Englishmen may form their own judgment of the condition of all classes of people in Ireland. I do not think that it is the starving people who dwell in hovels who alone deserve sympathy here. Nor do these offences all spring from starving people; many farmers, well to do, are engaged in them. They have for their object a system of terrorism, which shall set the law and the rights of individuals at defiance, and they are directly fostered and increased by the Repeal agitation which is going on. I have it on undoubted authority, and from numerous parties, that the expectation of the small farmer is, that if he gets Repeal he will secure the possession of his land without acknowledgment or rent to anybody. Under this impression a code of terrorism is encouraged, which resists not only ejection from land, and the payment of arrears of rent, but which forbids the turning away of a servant, resists the payment of debts, prevents the giving of evidence, and punishes the assertion of every right with the threat of violence or death, which is almost invariably carried out. When this is the case who can wonder that men of capital will not resort here, that landlords who can afford to live elsewhere will not live here, and that the country does not prosper?

I saw a respectable-looking man walking about the town guarded by two armed policemen, who followed him wherever he seemed to wish to go. I inquired the reason of this. I was informed by the authorities that he is a schoolmaster named James, whose house was attacked some months ago by three men searching for arms. He made some resistance, and one of the men immediately fired at him and shot him with slugs in the head, some of which are still not extracted. Thus wounded he seized a dirk, and with it killed one of the

armorum omnium usu arceatur Hibernus. . . . interim autem illud detestabile prodictionis instrumentum, quod de antiqua consuetudine semper in manu quasi pro baculo bajulant, pacis nunquam vel loco vel tempore presumere gestiant."

parties, and the other two ran away. One of them was afterwards apprehended and transported on his evidence. Instead of his courageous resistance carrying with it the sympathy of the people, their sympathy is with the cowardly ruffians who attacked him, and, if not guarded by the police, he would be murdered.

A farmer named Sheedy, of Ballinakill, near this town, some years ago became tenant of about ten acres of land under the Court of Chancery, the former tenant, named Cummins, having been ejected for non-payment of rent. After he had been some time in possession, Cummins took it into his head that he had a right to the land, and Sheedy was threatened with death unless he gave it up. Sheedy applied for protection, and he now ploughs and digs in his fields with two policemen, partly paid by the county and partly by the country, to protect him, and they accompany him wherever he wishes to go.

A man named Hooley, the tenant of half an acre of land at Ashmère, near this town, wanted to emigrate to America, and sold his "good-will," as they call it, or the right to the peaceable possession of the land, for about 20*l.*, to a small farmer named Jackson, the tenant of a few acres of adjoining land, Jackson having also to pay a smart rent for it to the landlord. A younger brother of this Hooley took it into his head that he was entitled to the land, and that the elder brother had no right to sell the possession of it, and that Jackson ought to give it up. Without any offer to repay him the money he had paid for it, Jackson was threatened with murder if he did not give the land up, and this man now goes about his labour protected by two armed policemen. Hooley has since been sent to gaol for going about with a loaded pistol in his pocket, which was not registered.

A farmer, named Tracey, of Gertnaskea, near this town, took a farm formerly held by his own brother, who was ejected for the non-payment of rent. The ejected brother

had him served with threats of death unless he left the farm, and so frightened him that he was compelled to apply for protection, and he now goes about his daily labour, protected by two armed policemen.

In February last Mr. Henry Bridge, a landowner at Ashbury, within a mile of this town, dismissed his ploughman, because he was an idle fellow, and took another man into his service. The fresh ploughman has been repeatedly threatened that if he did not give up his employment he would be shot. Last week a party of men visited Mr. Bridge's steward, fired two bullets through his door, and warned both him and the ploughman to leave Mr. Bridge's service. The steward became so intimidated that he was determined to give up his appointment. To avoid losing both his steward and ploughman, Mr. Bridge has been compelled to apply to have them both protected in the discharge of their duties by the police.

A gentleman named Mason, residing at Clonekenna, four miles from this town, had some property left him there by a relative some time ago. The tenants on the property would not pay any rent for several years, and at length he was compelled to eject them about a year ago. His life was immediately threatened in a most outrageous manner, and since then to this day two armed policemen, paid partly by the county and partly by the country, accompany him to protect him wherever he goes.

A man named Jeremiah Wall, of Belnaglass, about four miles from this town, some time ago took four acres of land from a gentleman named Griffith. Wall immediately sublet it to other tenants under himself at a profit rent. His tenants then threatened his life if he did not give the land up, that they might hold it direct from the landlord, without paying his profit rent. This Jeremiah Wall has in consequence been protected in his daily avocations for a year

and a half by two policemen, paid partly by the county and partly by the country.

A gentleman named Downey, of this town, a surgeon and apothecary, is the manager of a local loan fund. On returning from the post-office one night last week he was knocked down, dreadfully beaten with sticks by a number of men, and his head cut open. Three men have been arrested for this act of violence. His supposed cause of offence is that he either refused to or enforced payment of a loan from some man in the neighbourhood.

A miller named Fitzpatrick, residing two miles from this town, was returning home last week with money in his pocket to pay for some corn he had bought. He was way-laid and knocked down by a party of men, received seven desperate wounds in the head, and was robbed of 33*l*.

A gentleman named Hone, an English barrister on the Northern Circuit, has recently had a property left to him in the neighbourhood of this town. For the last three months he has been living upon his estate, and report says he has been most kind to his tenants in giving them lime and slates for their houses and land. On the 17th of this month he received the following notice :—

“ Oct. 17, 1845.

“ Sir,—I take liberty, under Captain Starlight's law, to truly Enform you that I am Bound on my solid oath to keep up to the following L.A.W. You are counted a good landlord, and were it not for that, I would not put you in possession of what you are going to hear, nor would I expose myself By giving you this, and of course must encounter with you hereafter.

“ NOTICE.

“ There did twelve of us sit on a jury and agreed on, that if you were lift in Old Castle long, that you would be a good man to some, and a very bad man to more of us. We agreed on the above Captain's law to Remove you Either (dead or alive), which we all drew lots with the exception of one, for to know whomb should take your life, and be joined with two more, if necessity requires it. Now the lot fell to me to undergo the task, and what ever two I choose to take with me.

"Et is still in my power to notice you once Before I commit the deed. I therefore Notice you under my authority for to Quit Old Castle with health as you came with it, and is sorry to the heart that we lift you so long as we did, but we must make bad good now. So you must be accessory to your own death if held with opposition, as much as I am for shooting you.

"I therefore the third time Bid you quit if you like, or Remain there if you dare; for if you do, I will make you acquainted with small English powder and Irish slugs when you may think you are safest. You know you gave plenty of opportunity to us, but we did not agree 'on taking your life until this time. Now we are left but a very short time to undergo our task, and that we will do faithfully if put to it. I will make you know what a Paddy mouse is, with a Blunderbush in his hand. Perhaps you may laugh at this, and say it were some cowardly Blaguard wroted it. Do that if you like or if you dare,

"Given under our hand

"Captain STARLIGHT.

"Captain CLARE, Do.

"CAPTAIN TO THE POOR.

"To Mr. Hone, Old Castle."

This precious epistle was left at his house. It is written in a good hand. It has since been under the investigation of the magistrates, and Mr. Hone has left for England.

Mr. Edward Wall, an extensive grocer in this town, a very respectable man, and the Poor Law clerk of the Roscrea Union, yesterday received the following threatening letter through the post:—

"This is to take notice that if you don't bring Johannah Hickey safe out of her trial on Board-day, you may expect your coffin, or to leave the Poor-house as soon as you can.

"To Mr. Ed. Wall, Roscrea."

The same sort of intimidation is going on at Nenagh, which I visited to-day.

A gentleman named Minnitt, a magistrate near Nenagh, occupies two farms near each other, and last year he wished some of his labourers on one farm to do some work on the other. The men were indisposed to go, and persisted in not

going to their work till after eight o'clock in the morning. Mr. Minnitt went to his farm one morning, between eight and nine o'clock, for the purpose of putting a stop to this, and found none of the men at work. He inquired of his steward (named Atkinson) why the men were not at work, and his steward told him they would not come to work before the hour that suited themselves. The men were just then coming to work, and Mr. Minnitt desired his steward to point out any one man in particular who was worse than the rest. The steward pointed out two, who, he said, had laid themselves down on several occasions in the wheat field in the middle of the day, and had refused to get up and work when he spoke to them. Mr. Minnitt immediately discharged these men. On the 10th of October last, on coming home from a fair, the steward was waylaid, beaten, and his skull fractured; and from circumstances which occurred, and from his having been warned that it would be better for him to get those men back into Mr. Minnitt's service, it is believed by the magistrates that his cause of offence is pointing out the two lazy vagabonds in the field. This morning Mr. Minnitt found the following notice pasted outside his hall-door:—

"I heer buy Give you notice Robert Minnitt that if you dont disemploy Artkison and his too sones a gain the first day of November you will marke the consequence. If you thinke more about his life then your own you may keep him. If what Peelers and soldiers were in Limerick around you, you will fall, By Powder and Ball; and the death of Wallerd was nothing to the death you will get. Sent buy Captain Steel Ribes. Have your coffin made."

Here follows a drawing of a coffin and a gun.

Another similar notice was picked up on the road close to the steward's door, addressed to him, and warning him, if he remains there after the 1st of November, he will be worse served than he was before. This is signed "Captain Rock," and has the figures of a coffin and gun drawn at the foot.

There are twelve policemen entirely occupied in the neighbourhood of Nenagh in guarding and protecting men whose lives have been threatened. I am informed if a shopkeeper there gives credit to the country people, and attempts to get in his debts, this is an offence thought deserving of a threatening notice, and to warrant his death, if he should persevere.

Lord Dunally is the owner of considerable property in the neighbourhood of Nenagh. General report says he is an excellent landlord. I am informed that there are a number of tenants on his estate who for the last seven years have not paid him one farthing of rent, and he is afraid to eject them.

Now, I have not given you one-half the cases of outrage and defiance of the law which have been mentioned to me by the authorities, and the proofs of which have been laid before me, but have confined myself to the immediate neighbourhoods where I happened to be. I have scarcely met a gentleman in the district who has not been armed, and I am informed by the police that most of the respectable farmers carry pistols for protection.

You will now be able to judge in some measure of the state of society here. I imagine most men in England will come to the conclusion that the man who can afford it is not to blame for leaving this part of the country and going to reside where something like law and order and government are enforced, where life is respected, and where he can walk about without the apprehension of some cowardly ruffian shooting him in the back or from behind a wall.

In vain need the country hope for prosperity where even decent ploughmen and farmers, and schoolmasters, to say nothing of agents and landlords, are obliged to have their lives protected by policemen whilst following their vocations. The absurdity—the positive ruin to a community—of two well-dressed and well-paid policemen being employed to

guard one ploughman at his work—not in one case, but in numerous instances—can be seen nowhere else in Europe.*

Some gentlemen are getting up agricultural societies and model farms to teach the people how to use their land to

* “ If, then, such be the real state of the question—(that there are nearly three millions of acres of waste lands in Ireland which might be profitably reclaimed)—what, it will be demanded, can prevent the population now in existence from seizing upon comforts so completely within their reach, and applying themselves at once to the cultivation of these immense tracts of improvable land at present lying useless? The answer to this will lead me to the point I wish to arrive at, and the reply I should give would be, that the chief reason was *the want of security for person and property* which deters the working classes from attempting to settle in any place remote from their own connections, and thereby prevents the population from extending itself to the more uncultivated parts of the country; and being thus pent up in particular districts, it occasions land to be almost unattainable where there is the greatest wish to cultivate it, and leaves it lying idle where it exists in the greatest abundance. Any one who knows anything of the state of Ireland knows *that it is not safe in a farmer to emigrate even to an adjoining parish without paying largely for what is called ‘the good-will’* of the person to whom he succeeds, which explains fully the reason why a sum of money, nearly equal to the value of the *fee-simple* of the land, is often given to get into possession of a farm, under a respectable landlord, in a quiet neighbourhood, although the land may be subject to its *full value in rent*. But to the want of security for person and property may also be added, the want of *skill and capital* in the working population, and the consequent incapacity of those who have *neither* to attempt the business of reclaiming, which requires *both*; and thus (even where land might be acquired) they cannot proceed without meeting that support and assistance from the *landlords* which they are, generally speaking, unwilling or unable to afford; and thus things have been left to take their own course from century to century, the local improvement creeping on by degrees, as it happens to be pushed forward by the advancing tide of population in each particular district, without almost an instance of anything being undertaken upon an extended scale to bring into cultivation the numerous tracts of country which would so well repay the sum that might be judiciously expended upon them, and the land is left waste which alone is capable of affording the necessary employment, and the people are left turbulent, discontented, and disaffected, and will always remain so until employment is provided for them. The existing state of things, therefore, operates as cause and effect. The land lying waste leaves the people lawless and turbulent, and again the lawlessness and turbulence of the people is the cause of the land being left so.

“ From what has been said, it seems in vain to look for amendment, or to expect any beneficial change in the present deplorable state of things, until that complete dominion of the law is obtained, and that absolute and decided state of security is established, which may open to industry and enterprise the inmost recesses of the kingdom, and guarantee to every man the fruits of his labour. This is what

profit. A gentleman named Stoney, of Kyle-park, near Nenagh, has recently established one of these schools, and there are other similar projects on foot. But all will be in vain if there be not security established for life and property. Capital will fly the country, and it will ever remain what it is. The first *duty*, then, of the Government is to take measures to bring about that security. What is the use of the Government if it does not? If firm and temperate measures will not do, measures which will *compel* security ought to be resorted to. The people are to be pitied, aided, and taught; but they must be made to respect the law. At present a set of ruffians completely intimidate those among the peasantry themselves who are respectable.

In my last letter I suggested fining each townland or district for every outrage committed in it, unless the offender be brought to justice. Try this. It has succeeded in other cases. It put a stop to illicit distillation, and has put a stop to injuries to property; why should it not protect life, by making it every man's *interest* to secure personal safety in his neighbourhood, if he is devoid of the incentive of common humanity?

Much, however, as we may pity the people—ignorant, prejudiced, neglected, brutalized—those who pander to their ignorance, who foster their prejudices, who excite their brutality—those who, by a system of sordid agitation, for objects which they know can never be accomplished, excite and keep up the spirit of outrage, are, or ought to be, viewed with execration by every good citizen as the curse and ruin of their country.

Ireland has never yet enjoyed; and until it be arrived at, no hope need be entertained of seeing the kingdom prosper as it ought to do."—*Prize Essay on the Management of Landed Property in Ireland, by William Blacker, Esq.* p. 32.

LETTER XXIV.

"THE GOLDEN VALE."—COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES
OF GRAZING AND TILLAGE.

"The Golden Vale"—Arthur Young's and Wakefield's Opinion of the Richness of the Soil and its miserable Cultivation—The Peasant, without means of Knowledge, cannot follow any better System of Tillage—Middlemen—Graziers—Comparative advantages of Grazing and Tillage—Holidays and their Evil—Necessity of Teaching and Directing the People.

LIMERICK, November 3.

THERE is a portion of the county of Limerick, extending up to the town of Tipperary, and to the foot of the Galtee mountains on the one hand, and on the other spreading through the centre of the county of Limerick, which, from its extraordinary fertility, is called "the Golden Vale." This tract of land or vale is of vast extent, spreading over about 18 by 14 Irish miles, and is for the most part perfectly level low land, with a rich loamy soil; it produces the most extraordinary crops when tilled, and as grazing land is unequalled.

Arthur Young, who wrote on Ireland some 20 years before the Union, or upwards of 60 years ago, when describing this part of Limerick and Tipperary, says,—“It is the richest soil I ever saw, and such as is applicable to every wish. It will fatten the largest bullock and at the same time do equally well for sheep, for tillage, for turnips, for wheat, for beans, and, in a word, for every crop and circum-

stance of profitable husbandry." Here, then, the riches of nature are lavishly bestowed. What, in reasonable expectation, should be the condition of a people dwelling on land teeming with such fatness in Arthur Young's time, before that great "bugbear," the Union, was discovered by some very disinterested geniuses to be at the bottom of the wretchedness of the Irish people? Comfort, independence, smiling prosperity? Arthur Young shall himself answer:—"You must examine into the soil before you can believe that a country *which has so beggarly an appearance can be so rich and fertile.*"

Wakefield, who wrote in 1812, has in a similar strain written about the extraordinary fertility of this district, and speaks of it, and other tracts of land in Roscommon, Galway, Clare, and Meath, of the same description, in the following terms:—"Where such soil occurs, its fertility is so conspicuous that it appears as if nature had determined to counteract the bad effects produced by the clumsy system of its cultivators." That which Arthur Young found this district 60 or 70 years ago, "beggarly in appearance" with all its richness and fertility, it is yet. Beside a field, the fertility of which is such that for it the con-acre tenant can afford to pay, or at least does pay, 12 guineas an acre rent, and raise potatoes enough to live upon for a twelvemonth, you see a mud hovel, half thatched, without windows or chimney, the walls often tumbling down, and wide cracks in them, through which and the door the smoke from the inside issues: and often a cesspool right before the doorway, with a few stones thrown in it to enable the cottager to enter his cottage without getting ankle deep in the filth which he does not choose to remove. It is the same in Roscommon; by the richest land are the most beggarly hovels. "The clumsy system of cultivation" which, upwards of 30 years ago, Wakefield described, exists still. You will see a field of potatoes, on which the whole subsistence of a cottier and

his family depends, completely green with weeds, growing in rank luxuriance, every weed, of course, extracting an amount of nourishment from the soil which, if the land were properly cleaned, would go to increase the bulk of the potatoes, and give more food or profit to the cottier.* You pity the misery of the cottier as it obtrudes itself upon you on the road-sides, because his complaint is but too true,—he can get *no employment*; but when you look at his field and see its condition, and see the man and his wife and half a dozen children "kippering" themselves in the turf smoke of their wretched hovel, watching their potatoes grow and their pig get fat, with nothing on earth to do but to weed their pota-

* The pastures, too, in many places, not only in this district, but very generally where there is good land in Ireland, are covered with a tall weed, bearing a yellow flower called "rag-weed." This weed grows to the height of from one to two feet, and the yellow flowers at the top spread out as large as the crown of a hat. Goats will eat them, but no other animal. I have seen the finest meadow-land covered sometimes so thickly with these weeds that the whole field looked yellow. Yet the peasantry never pull them up, or endeavour to prevent them seeding, though they must greatly impoverish the land. Mr. Blacker, in his *Essay on the Improvement of Small Farms*, thus notices this weed and its permitted luxuriance:—

"There is another weed which I likewise see doing a great deal of mischief—I mean, *rag-weed*. The quantity of nourishment it draws from the ground is shown by this, that it will not grow upon bad land. In regard to it, a most ridiculous notion prevails, which I have frequently found people possessed of who ought to know better—namely, that all the nourishment it has extracted from the soil in its growth is again returned to it in its decay; or, in other words, that after ripening the seed, the sap descends and enriches the earth, which is therefore left nothing the worse.

"The absurdity of this idea reminds me of having been once very urgent with a man to drain part of his farm, which I saw was actually good for nothing from the neglect of it. And what do you think was the reason assigned for wishing to do so? It was this, that 'if he made drains in his land, all the fat would run away.' You may perhaps laugh at this man's absurdity; but the idea that the nourishment extracted by the growth of a plant and the ripening of the seed can ever descend through the dry stalk and be discharged again by the roots for the enriching of the soil, is an absurdity fully as great, if not greater, than the notion of the poor man alluded to, who, although you may pity his ignorance, had just as high an opinion of his own judgment in regard to the effect of the drain as you can possibly have in regard to the rag-weed."—*Essay on the Improvement of Small Farms*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 76.

toes, to clean their house, and to mend the thatch, your pity changes its object. You pity their misery, but you pity still more that hopeless ignorance and that unfortunate quality of mind which can be satisfied thus to live.

As the Irish peasant is now as “ beggarly” as he was in Arthur Young’s time,—as he cultivates as rudely as he did when Wakefield wrote,—is it not apparent that, trace it to whatever cause you may, if left to himself he does not and cannot improve his condition? Two generations of men have passed away since Arthur Young’s time; science has made vast strides; the whole tone of society has changed; but the Irish peasant remains the same—“ beggarly” and wretched, a “ clumsy cultivator,” half-clad, and living contentedly in the midst of filth. Ought not some effort to be made to raise him out of this condition, for he has neither the power nor the knowledge nor the wish to do it himself? The only hope of remedy and change is to be derived from the supervision and guidance and government of a superior class of men.

Let us not, however, blame the poor peasant too much for this, but examine the influences which surround him. He was born amidst the same scene, and has lived all his life, perhaps, in the same hut in which he now lives. He knows nothing—desires nothing better than he has—potatoes and his hut. From his boyhood but half occupied, is it wonderful that as a man he should be given to indolent habits? There is no man to talk to him and instruct him—to make him conscious of self-respect, if he deserve it. The landlord of the estate, if resident, is too far removed above him for intercourse; there is rarely a farmer of intelligence to guide him above his own class; there is, in fact, no middle class; and thus the poor Irish peasant who, from character and education, is the last man that ought to be left to his own volition, is by the force of circumstances thrown on his own unguided, unaided, ignorant efforts.

If you ask, how can you remedy this? you are told it is one of those evils in the state of society in Ireland which you never can overcome.

The remedy, I own, is difficult, though apparent, for there are prejudices on all sides against it; and prejudice, not reason, holds sway in Ireland.

It would seem apparent to reason, that if for generations the small tenant and cottier system of dividing the land has kept the peasantry of Ireland stationary in misery, their land in wretched cultivation, and has prevented the accumulation of capital, it is a system not to be approved of, or to be clung to. Those men who rent large tracts of land, and who in England would be intelligent, active farmers, improving the land, and employing the people upon it as labourers, are in Ireland what are called "middlemen"—men too proud, or too lazy (or perhaps a little of both), to do anything, who sublet the land at a profit rent to peasants in the condition and class of labourers. The prejudices of the middlemen, and their habit of realizing a profit without trouble, must therefore be overcome, or rather the middleman must be got rid of, where possible, as an useless incubus, and a practical intelligent farmer be obtained in his place. Then comes the chief difficulty—what are you to do with the people? You cannot give a large tract to one man to farm without clearing it of the people who have small holdings upon it. This would be cruel in all cases—in many impossible; and you would have here the prejudices of the body of the people against you. Though you convince the majority of them that the additional labour which the proper cultivation of the land would require would employ most of them at fair wages, and insure them a more comfortable subsistence than they now have, still naturally they will cling to their patches of land, as a kind of certainty on which to live and multiply in wretchedness and misery.

There are, however, a class of men, the majority of whom

are men of intelligence and wealth, who might be the means, if their prejudices were overcome, of gradually introducing the system of large tillage farms, which alone can put a stop to the ruinous system of subdivision and waste of the produce of the land which now exist, and at the same time afford employment for the people—I allude to the large grazing farmers. It is difficult, I know, to convince men who have got rich, and who realize annually handsome incomes from grazing farms at little trouble, that it is better to till and green-crop than to graze the land,—first, because it is more profitable; and, secondly, because it gives employment to the people. The prejudice in favour of grazing, however, once overcome, there remains no further difficulty, for this land is cleared already of people, and is almost always of the richest quality of soil.*

In the Golden Vale there is some land I am informed by both grazing farmers and tillage farmers which it is more profitable to graze. It is liable to be flooded, and tillage crops would be injured thereby; and it is of so rich a quality that wheat does not grow well upon it, but runs into

* "God is peculiarly styled 'the God of the Isles' in Holy Writ; but though we have such advantages from our situation and numberless other circumstances, we seem to do all we can to thwart the designs of Providence, and make the ocean that surrounds us and our fine ports perfectly useless, or to serve only to impoverish us by the mismanagement of the greatest part of our trade, which is chiefly taken up in exporting our provisions. It is evident to common sense that this is employing our land and reducing our merchants to the lowest way of profit they can be turned to; and yet our gentlemen are as well contented and pleased with it as your poor Irish tenants are with their dirt, and rags, and potatoes. Who cannot see that there is vastly more gained by agriculture than pasture to the nation—by manufactures than agriculture—and by merchandize than bare unexported manufactures? Of consequence, therefore, those nations who pasture most must be poorest; next to them, those who only till the land, without manufacturing the produce of it; and those must be the richest who work up and also export their manufactures to others. And yet our landlords are as jealous of tillage of all kinds as if they thought it the blessing of Ireland, as Isaiah says it would be of Judea, that 'their cattle fed in large pastures.'"—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 152.

straw, without yielding a profitable crop, and in wet seasons the crops fail. This uncertainty, therefore, renders grazing on part of these lands the more profitable mode of using them. Mr. Gubbins, a gentleman residing on his own estate, and one of the most extensive graziers in the southern part of Limerick, informs me that some of this land will fatten a sheep and a bullock of any weight to the Irish acre. The average land in the vale will take an acre and a half to do this. The rent of average land is there 50s. an acre; and the average profit on a bullock and sheep thus fattened is about 6*l.*, which, after deducting the rent of an acre and a half of land at 50s., leaves a profit to the grazier of 2*l.* 5s., or 30s. an acre. With good seasons, however, this profit is sometimes doubled; against which, of course, are to be set occasional losses amongst cattle from disease. Much of this land is also let out in what are called dairy farms. The dairy farmer lets to a dairyman so many cows, which he provides, and grass feeding for them. The usual rate of payment is 4*l.* 10s. per cow each year and a hundredweight of butter, worth about 4*l.* 5s. or 8*l.* 15s. for the use of the cow and land for a year. Whatever the dairyman can make above this is his profit. Taking into account the rent and deterioration of stock, the profits of the dairy farmer are said to be about 3*l.* the acre, and this is said to be the most profitable mode of grazing. Against these certain profits the grazier is in the habit of contrasting his profits from the land under tillage, for which he is paid a rent by small farmers, but which he rarely tills himself. The first two years he will get twelve guineas an acre clear rent for breaking up ley land for potatoes. He then manures and tills the land for the tenant, and gets 7*l.* to 10*l.* an acre for three following years for the oat crop. The land is then exhausted, and will take three years before it will recover to feed stock, and several more years before it will fatten stock as before. He therefore gets about

50*l.* for five years' tillage rent, and his land rendered of little worth for five years more, or about 5*l.* clear profit an acre, from which is to be deducted the land-rent of, say 50*s.* an acre, bringing the profit down to about 2*l.* 10*s.* the acre, or very little, if any, more than the profit of grazing; and taking into consideration the losses from small tenants, and the injury which they invariably do to the land, and the difficulties which getting a pauper population on the land always entails, the grazing farmers generally prefer keeping entirely to grazing. It is however clear, that this is the most unsatisfactory and unprofitable tillage farming which can be resorted to.

Mr. Christie, a very intelligent Scotch tillage farmer and agriculturist, employed by Lord Dunraven, in the neighbourhood of Adare, informs me that for all medium land,—for land which will scarcely pay in grazing, tillage is, beyond question, the most profitable, and will insure a clear profit to the farmer of 1*l.* an acre over every calculation of expenditure. He also informs me that he knows land in the Golden Vale, which, twenty years ago, would fatten a bullock to the acre, which will now hardly keep a goat, so completely have the cottier farmers exhausted it by their ruinous system of cultivation. From his experience he is convinced that large tillage farms would answer well, would give great employment to the people, and the available produce by the proper and skilful cultivation of the land by intelligent large farmers would be greatly increased.

Mr. C. H. Kennedy, in his evidence before the Land Commission (Part I. p. 977), enters into a lengthened detail to show the relative benefits of grazing and tilling a mountain farm in Donegal, the property of Sir Charles Style, and he states that "the effects there of improved tillage in creating a demand for labour are immense." The same gentleman shows from evidence that tilling this description of land, instead of grazing it, "will, in fact, multiply the

amount of profitable employment by about six, and the former gross produce by about ten." *

Mr. John Quin, of Bray, a landowner and occupier in the counties of Dublin and Wicklow, in his evidence before the Land Commission (Part III. p. 712), recommends as the best means of improving the condition of the labouring classes, "the encouragement of agriculture in preference to grazing; it could be done to the advantage of every one who holds land in this district. Land can be tilled with greater advantage than it can be grazed; no man is a grazier unless he is a man of large capital; there are no such things as graziers upon a small scale. And why do they become graziers?—because they can live at ease, and they are not put to the trouble of tilling. Upon the plains of Roscommon one man has 4,000 sheep, and only two herds attending the flock, and what is the consequence? The grazier lives at ease, and the poverty of the people in the district is a disgrace to human nature."† This gentleman then delivered in a paper containing a detailed account of the expenditure

* "Mr. Dobbs (whom I cannot name but with honour for his essay on our trade) has demonstrated that the least advantage that can be made by tillage above the best kind of pasturage is over three to one—to say nothing of the benefit by the first and the damage by the last to our unhappy country, when ten acres under the plough are sufficient for the maintenance of a large family, and scarce two hundred when kept under sheep or bullocks."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 104.

† "The curing our people of their fondness for pasturing their lands must, I fear, have some additional helps, or in time it will prove ruinous to us, and make us, as we observed before, a despicable nation of butchers and drovers. So wretched a condition have we brought ourselves to, that while other nations I could name are jealous of taking too many hands to the plough from their more gainful manufactures, and therefore would only have as much corn as would feed themselves, without allowing any for exportation, we cannot be industrious enough to plough as much as will keep us from want and famine at home, and the consequence of them—the extortion of foreign corn-factors—who thus consume our few pence that should keep our trade from perishing."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 108.

and profit of good tillage-land under a five years' course, and also of good grass-land. It is too long to extract in full, but it may be referred to, and I give you the results.

Clear profit of tillage of an acre of land on a five course system, deducting every expense of ploughing, manuring, digging, furrowing, shovelling, &c., seed, rent, taxes, and expenses of implements.

	£	s.	d.
1st year, clover ley prepared for wheat	12	10	6
2d year, potato crop	2	4	6
3d year, for wheat	12	19	6
4th year, hay crop	8	10	6
5th year, grazing and depasturing	1	18	6
	<hr/>		
	38	3	6
	<hr/>		
Average per year, realized	7	12	8

It will be here seen that the net profit of grazing per acre, as estimated by Mr. Quin, does not materially differ from the profit realized by grazing per acre in the Golden Vale, which is sometimes more and sometimes less, according to the season. But the average net profit of tillage per acre is 7*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, whilst the net profit of grazing, as shown by the 5th year's profit, is but 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, leaving a balance in favour of tillage per acre of 5*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; whilst the difference in the increased amount of employment given to the people is estimated by Mr. Kennedy at six to one. And even for the feeding of stock, or dairy farms, Mr. Blacker, in his excellent pamphlet on this subject, has shown that a proper system of green-crop cultivation "will make the ground generally allotted to feed one cow in reality supply food for three.*

* "Now, by referring to the experience of all good farmers in all countries and under all circumstances, it is ascertained, beyond dispute, that, by the practice of sowing green crops, such as clover and rye-grass, winter and spring vetches, turnips, mangel wurzel, &c., the same ground which, in poor pasture, would scarcely feed one cow in summer, would, under the crops mentioned, feed three, or perhaps four, the whole year round, by keeping the cattle in the

Let it not, however, be supposed that I recommend breaking up grazing farms into small tillage farms. The peasantry do not know how to cultivate them, and such is

house, and bringing the food there to them; and the manure produced by one of these cows, so fed and well-bedded, with the straw moved by the supply of better food, would be more than equal to that produced by three cows pastured in summer and fed in winter upon dry straw or hay, and badly littered.

"Here, then, are two assertions well worthy your serious attention. First, that three cows may be provided with food in the house all the year from the same quantity of ground which would scarcely feed one under pasture for the summer; and, secondly, that one cow so fed in the house will give as much manure as three fed in the field."—*An Essay on the Improvement of Small Farms*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 38.

"If there is any truth in arithmetic, one cow fed—as I have calculated on—in the house for the entire *twenty-four* hours, will yield as much manure as three cows that are only kept in the house for *eight* hours, the quality of the food being supposed the same in both cases; and this would manifestly prove my assertion, namely, that one cow fed *within* would give as much manure as three fed *without*; and therefore, when *three* can be kept in the one way, as I have already shown, for one kept in the *other*, it is as clear as three times three make nine, that the result of the calculation will be just as I have stated—namely, that the farmer will obtain, by the change of system, nine times as much manure in the one case as he would have in the other."—*Ibid.* p. 41.

"I need only ask you to think what you might do in your farms if you had but six, five, or even four times as much manure as you now have?—or, let me ask, *what is it you might not do if you had such a supply?* Surely you would not, in such a case, let the land lie waste, as you now do, to recover itself, when you had the means of instant recovery in your own hands; nor would you rely upon one half of your farm to pay the rent of the whole, when you had the means within yourself of making the other half productive."—*Ibid.* p. 43.

"You will have more profit on your cows if you feed them on green food, and pay a fair price per acre for it, than if you fed them upon the hay and straw you generally give them, and got the said hay and straw for nothing."

Mr. Blacker then gives examples of the produce of a tenant's cow fed on green crops and on straw to prove this:—

	s.	d.
"Fourteen quarts of milk produced by rape-feeding a cow belonging to James O'Neill, a tenant of Lord Gosford's, who tried the experiment, at 1½d. a quart, comes to	1	9
The price paid for the rape cost only 2d. per day, to which add half a stone of straw, 1d. (being at the rate of 1s. 4d. per 112 lbs., which is above the general price of that article), and the expense, daily, comes to	0	3
Leaving profit, per day, arising from feeding on rape, of	1	6

the inveterate habit in the country of subletting and subdividing, that the fairest lands would soon be ruined by such a system, whilst the peasantry would multiply in inert, unguided ignorance, until they starved and all would be injured. But it does appear a reasonable conclusion to arrive at, that if intelligent men of capital, who understood farming, commenced as large tillage farmers, not only would they do so to profit, but they would vastly benefit the small tenantry by their example; they would give much employment to labourers; and the necessity of depending on labour would inculcate into the Irish peasantry those habits of constant industry which they are forced into when they

"When the cow had been fed on straw, she only gave seven quarts, and very soon would have given still less, the price of which, daily, would be only $10\frac{1}{2}d.$; therefore, if O'Neill got the straw for nothing, he would only have $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ by the cow; whereas, after paying for the rape, he gained $1s. 6d.$; but if he had to pay for the straw, the cow would require three stone, which, at $1s. 4d.$ a cwt., would be $6d.$, and deducting this from $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ (the price of the seven quarts of milk) there would only be a profit by the cow of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day, in place of the $1s. 6d.$ a day yielded by the rape. The same thing may be proved in regard to turnip feeding in winter. If a cow calves at November, and is fed on turnips, she will keep up her milking, but if fed on straw, she will fall off immediately to half the quantity. Now, allowing the acre of turnips to be worth $10l.$ —which is more than any other crop generally produces—and reckoning the produce at thirty tons (although, by good cultivation, Mr. Mitchell had fifty-five tons to the acre last year), the five stone of turnips, which I reckon good daily feeding for a milch cow, would cost 0 2½
And a stone of straw would cost, at $1s. 4d.$ a cwt. 0 2

Total cost per day for turnips and straw 0 4½

Whereas three stone of straw, which she would require if fed on straw alone, at $1s. 4d.$ per cwt., comes to $6d.$ a day; so that, by the use of turnips in winter, it appears you can feed your cow (after allowing $10l.$ an acre for the farm) at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day less than upon straw alone, and you get double the quantity of milk; so that one cow fed in this way yields you fully as much milk as two would give fed on straw, and the manure is also twice as valuable. This ought to show you all the error you fall into. When you talk of *keeping* a cow all the winter upon straw, you merely talk of *keeping* her *alive*. But your object should be, to keep her so as to yield you a *profit*; and this can only be done by *keeping her on moist food*, which, I have shown you above, it is more profitable for you to do than to feed her on straw, supposing the straw was made a present to you."—*Ibid.* p. 48.

migrate into England.* This mode of skilful farming would greatly increase the available produce, or, in other words, the capital of the farmer; that capital would re-act in giving employment to the people, whilst increased industry among the people would, with the opportunity to exercise it, insure to most of them comfort.

With the present system of small cottier tenants—their prejudices and ignorance, their apathy and indifference, and the neglect with which they are suffered to do as they like—hope of amendment is folly, and it is vain to expect that half a century hence they will be better than Arthur Young described them to be more than half a century ago. It is a melancholy fact that a famine from a failure of the potato crop is to be apprehended. It is known that exposure of the potatoes to the air and sun dries up the diseased sap on their surface, and arrests their decay. It is also known that putting them through quick-lime has the same effect. The people, too, generally, know how to grate the potato into water and save the farina or starch, which, when mixed with flower, or even alone, makes wholesome bread, and will keep for years. The sound part of a diseased potato may thus be saved. Unless the disease be arrested, it rapidly destroys the whole potato. Now, with the knowledge of these facts

* "There is a German colony, that settled in the county of Limerick about the beginning of the last century. The settlers were from the Palatinate, and their descendants are still called Palatinates, though they have lost the language of their fathers. They have not, however, lost the German character for good order and honourable dealing, and are looked on as the best farmers in the country." "They are most respectable people," said an Irish lady to me, "and much wealthier and far better off than any of their Irish neighbours." It is a constant subject of discussion in Ireland, between the Irish patriots and the adherents of the English, that is, between the Celtomanes and the Anglomanes, whether the misery and poverty of Ireland ought to be attributed to the tyranny and bad government of the English, or whether the indolence and want of energy of the Irish themselves be not in a great measure to blame. Now the prosperity of this German colony, though subject to the same laws and influences as the native Irish, would seem not to decide the question in favour of the friends of the Celts."—*Koel's Ireland*, p. 41.

and with famine before them, it will hardly be conceived in England that Saturday last, a fine, bright, sunshiny day, when the potatoes might have been exposed to the wind and sun and the worst grated into flour, was proclaimed as a holiday (no doubt for some good purpose), and not a man was to be seen at work in the whole county, whilst their potatoes were rotting. Some even will not take the trouble to dig them, because they are diseased, though there is not a question about it but much of them, though rotten, may be saved. The town of Limerick was like a fair. There were thousands of people idling about in the streets and at night getting up party fights, and they were leaving their food, which in a few months they will be begging from England, to rot for want of exertion, *because it was a holiday!* Here is opportunity enough for comment, but I do not wish to broach the subject.* It is, however, another evidence

* "Sure I am, however necessary it might have been in the primitive times to bring over the Gentiles to keep many of our saints' days, by making them times of diversion, it is now most necessary for our Legislature to watch better over the industry of our people, by making it penal to drink or idle on many of their festivals, when it is plainly sporting with the nation's ruin."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 72.

"Our priests and the Popish religion are also a great occasion of the idleness and poverty of the Irish by the number of *foolish holidays* which they oblige them to observe. Betwixt this wicked custom (for it deserves no other name) and the bad weather of our climate, which so frequently interrupts our labour in these parts of the earth, I verily believe one-third of our time is not only rendered useless, but spent in a lazy, listless way, that makes our people less inclined, and indeed less able to work the rest of the week. Sir William Petty computes that they keep twenty-four days in the year more than the Protestants; and allowing six hundred thousand working Papists to be here, makes the national loss thereby 250,000*l. per annum*, and proves that the Protestants work a tenth part more yearly than the Papists. Mr. Dobbs, in his ingenious essay on our trade, has computed it much higher, and, I think with reason, makes our loss amount to 325,000*l.*, which, as labour and riches are but different names for the same thing, is a mismanagement that cries to Heaven for vengeance on those who thus keep so many poor families starving and idle, and, what is worse, indispose them to labour when the holiday and their loitering or debauchery are over."—*Ibid.* p. 71. It is said, however, that the holidays are now reduced in number to six a year.

how utterly unfit the peasantry are to be left to themselves to act from independent volition. But guide them, lead them, govern them, keep a strict hand over them, which is only to be done by their acting under large and intelligent tillage farmers and capitalists and resident landlords, and they are capable of anything. The police are drawn from them; the police are trained and strictly governed. It is impossible to see a finer or more intelligent body of men than the Irish police force. Wherever the people are *employed* by others, and directed and managed by others, they exhibit much quickness and talent, are industrious and faithful. I have seen exquisite workmanship executed by them, as at Adare, near here, where Lord Dunraven employs great numbers of them in stone and oak carving for his mansion.* But leave them to themselves, though placed in comfort,—neglect them, and their multiplied pauperism, ruin to the land, non-payment of rent, and odium on the landlord may as surely be predicted in a few years as that the sun will continue to shine.

* Lady Dunraven has taken great pains to have the children of Adare properly educated and trained. Her ladyship has established, and takes great interest in, a large school there. Measures like these,—teaching the people, civilizing them, acting kindly towards them, and treating them justly, will effect more in the advancement and improvement of Ireland than all the legislative enactments that have ever been passed relative to that country.

LETTER XXV.

CONDITION OF THE KERRY PEASANTRY.—THE WASTE
AND UNIMPROVED LANDS OF KERRY.

Tralee—The River Shannon compared with the River Humber—Want of Woods in Ireland—The Condition of the Kerry Peasantry—The Waste Lands capable of cultivation—Neglect of Agricultural Improvements—Bad Treatment of one another by the Peasantry—No encouragement given by the Landlords—Leases alone, without the Attention and Supervision of the Landlord, will not be of Service—Extent of Waste Land—The Land owned by too few persons for the benefit of the country, and those persons generally but Nominal Owners because of Debts—Facilitate the Sale and Transfer of Estates.

TRALEE, KERRY, November 6.

It would not result in much public benefit to occupy your space with a description of the towns which I may visit. It is enough, perhaps, to say that Tralee, like most of the towns in the west of Ireland, is irregularly-built, ill-paved, unlit, and dirty. The river Lee runs through it under an archway. Neglect has suffered the archway to be partially blocked up with gravel, and whenever there is a flood, which now happens to be the case, the river, unable to pass through the archway, passes over the public street and floods the houses. It is now two feet deep in the main street. It has always done so, and therefore it is permitted to do so. There is a prospect, however, of the town being shortly lighted, through the efforts of some of the inhabitants.

Wishing to see something of the river Shannon, which has

been so much and so justly extolled by every writer on Ireland, I chose that magnificent natural means of transit as my route into Kerry. The enterprise of the Dublin Steam Navigation Company in placing steam-boats on the Shannon has opened this water-communication. Below Limerick the river rapidly expands, and, though so far inland, soon becomes equal in breadth to the river Humber in the neighbourhood of Hull. Here, however, similarity ceases. A vast amount of commerce from all parts of the world floats up the Humber. Its muddy waters are the source of wealth to the busy thousands who, with industrial activity and enterprise, profit by the opportunities which it affords. The taste and expenditure of those who dwell on its banks have in many places rendered pleasant to the eye and clothed with wood a country by no means picturesque. But the broad stream of the Shannon, navigable from Limerick to the sea (a distance of upwards of eighty miles) by ships of 1,000 tons burden, except by two small steam-boats, and an occasional trader to Limerick, is rarely darkened by the shadow of any vessel beyond a turf-boat; and nothing can be more uninteresting than the general aspect of its banks; the undulating hills of Clare on one side,—bare, bleak, and unwooded,—the low lands of Limerick on the other, with scarcely a hedge-row to break the monotony of the view. Occasionally, but many miles apart, you see a gentleman's seat, with a few trees about it, which becomes an object of attraction, generally more from the contrast which it presents to the apparent desolation around it, than from any intrinsic beauty.

The almost total absence of woods in Ireland in every part of it is remarkable. The roots which are everywhere found in the bogs, and the fine timber which is occasionally dug out of them, show that the present wastes were formerly heavily timbered. From whatever cause, however,—whether from the neglect or the necessity of the proprietors, scarcely an available tree for any purpose, either of ornament or use,

is now to be seen, often for a dozen miles together.* The difficulty which the peasantry find in obtaining the requisite timber for their miserable huts, renders it a costly matter to watch and preserve from injury and depredation trees which may be planted. It would seem as though a heavy retribution hung over the proprietary of the soil for the errors of their predecessors; for even the best disposed efforts of many of them now are thwarted. They sold their timber, and never planted, as long as there was timber to sell, until timber has now become so scarce, that if they plant it they must watch it, or it is stolen. They subdivided the land, and forced the tenantry to live on 40s. freehold patches to increase their political influence; the tenants now subdivide in spite of them, and multiply into pauperism, till they consume the whole produce of the soil on which they are placed. They degraded, or by neglect suffered middlemen to degrade and oppress, the people to the lowest pitch of human endurance; and now, with tastes acquired in such a school, if decent cottages are built for them, they share them with their pigs and destroy them. The people were left unaided, uninstructed, and neglected in their rude efforts to cultivate the soil; and now it is difficult to change their

* "It is strange, that in a country where, about one hundred years ago, near one-fourth part of the profitable land was under vast forests,—(it is said that, one hundred years ago, a squirrel could go from Londonderry to Cork by leaping from bough to bough),—we should now be reduced to a necessity of planting, or lie under an increasing expense of 40,000*l.* per annum, which we now pay for timber. But this great waste of our woods proceeded from many causes; for not only England, but foreigners, used to build great numbers of shipping here, as commonly as they now come to our ports to victual them. Not only our English colonies which came over, as is usual in all new settlements, but our armies and garrisons employed themselves chiefly in destroying the great forests, as the main shelter and lurking-places for rebels, thieves, &c.; and many landlords tied their tenants to burn nothing but wood, and to cut down so many acres a year. This, in process of time, helped to clear the land. Our buildings and spendthrifts with our tanners and our ironworks soon devoured the remainder, and our planting goes on now as slowly as if we still remembered the inconveniences our ancestors suffered from the huge woods in their days."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 14.*

habits thus acquired and fixed in adversity. With the most enlightened and persevering efforts, it will take long to remedy past evils ; but without effort at all, which is unhappily too generally the fact, the prospect of equal advancement and prosperity for Ireland with the rest of the United Kingdom is gloomy and disheartening to contemplate.

On passing from Tarbert through Listowell to Tralee, and onwards to Dingle, immense tracts of waste land, unimproved bog and moor, are seen. The land generally is not rich, but occasionally there are very fine tracts of land, as in the neighbourhood of Tralee. For those parts of it which have been brought under cultivation there is the most intense competition, and consequently high rents. " I have known," says Mr. Hurly, of Tralee, in his evidence before the Commissioners (Part II. page 851), " a tenant bid for a farm that I was perfectly well acquainted with, worth 50*l.* a year. I saw the competition get up to such an extent that he was declared the tenant at 450*l.*" The houses of most of the people are wretched mud-huts, often roofed only with sod ; and their children are running about the roads half naked. With these appearances of wretchedness, the land on which they live presents the further evidence of deplorable ignorance and neglect. High-rented as it may be, subdivided as it may be into insufficient patches, yet, if properly cultivated, its produce would be so greatly increased as to alleviate, for the most part, the privations of those who subsist on it. But one naturally asks, how comes it that there is such infinite subdivision as is seen about Dingle, and indeed throughout the county, and such an intense struggle for a miserable patch of land, when miles of it are on all sides lying waste and unreclaimed ? Is it ruinous to reclaim land ? Will it not pay ?*

* " It may easily be comprehended, that whoso could drain the water, and for the future prevent the gathering thereof, might reduce most of the bogs in Ireland to firm land, and preserve them in that condition. But this hath never been

Cannot men be got to work it? Or are wages too high to render such a project feasible? Let us see what the evidence given before the Land Commission says in these respects.

Mr. Crosby, landed proprietor, of Ardfert Abbey, is asked (Part II. pp. 837, 839),—

“Does the barony of Clanmaurice afford any opportunity for remu-

known to the Irish, or, if it was, they never went about it, but, to the contrary, let daily more and more of their good land grow boggy through their carelessness, whereby also most of the bogs at first were caused. . . . This draining of the bogs, as it tendeth not a little to the general good of the whole land, by amending of the air (whereof we shall have occasion to say more in some other place), and otherwise, so it brought great profit unto the authors, for the land or soil of the bogs being, in most places, good of itself, and besides, greatly enriched by the lying still and the soaking in of the water for the space of so many years the same being dried through the draining of the water, is found to be very fit either to have corn sown upon, or to be turned into pasture; making also excellent meadows, so as those who have tried that do affirm that the meadows gained out of the bogs might be compared with the very best of their other meadows—yea, many times surpassing the same in goodness; and this took place chiefly in the grassy bogs or shaking bogs, whose fruitfulness in this particular and in the plentiful production of very sweet and deep grass, after the draining off the water, was very wonderful; and all this without any other trouble or costs bestowed upon these meadows than that they dunged them the first year, to warm them the better and the sooner, and more thoroughly to amend the remainders of that coldness and rawness contracted through that long and constant continuance of the water upon them; after which, once dunging,—afterwards, for a good many years, nothing else needed to be done to them.

“This draining of the bogs was performed in the manner following:—On that side of the bog where the ground was somewhat sloping, they cut a broad deep trench, beginning it in the firm ground, and advancing it into the entrance of the bog, into which trench the water would sink out of the next parts of the bog in great abundance, and that many times so suddenly as if a great sluice had been opened, so as the labourers were constrained to run out of it with all speed, lest the force of the water should overwhelm and carry them away. Some part of the bog being, by this means, grown reasonably dry within a short space of time, opportunity thereby was ministered to advance the trench further into the bog; and so, by little and little, they went on with it, until at last they carried it quite across the bog, from the one side to the other; and having done this they made a great many lesser trenches out of the main one on both sides of the same: the which, bringing the water from all the parts of the bog unto the main trench, did in a little while empty the bog of all its superfluous moisture, and turn it into good and firm ground.”—*Boate and Molyneux's Natural History of Ireland*, p. 63.

nerative improvements with respect to waste land?—Yes, if there was capital.

“Are there large tracts of property belonging to absentee proprietors capable of improvement?—Yes, very large tracts.

“Is there anything done upon them?—Nothing.”

This gentleman has laid out about 1,500*l.* in allowances for houses, ditches, and lime, upon his estate. He is asked (p. 839),—

“Do you find this a system that renders the gross produce of the land much larger?—Yes, it has augmented it considerably. *I had districts of several hundred acres not worth 1*s.* an acre, and they are worth 20*s.* now.*

“Do you believe, looking at your own interest, that the allowances you have made have been beneficial to yourself?—Yes, beneficial to myself and immensely so to the peasantry, because it is immediately re-productive. The change from destitution and misery and giving them good houses was instantaneous, but it is difficult to get them to follow any rotation of crops.”*

* “The incitement to industry arising from a loan of lime not being apparent to those who have not considered the subject, it may not be amiss to state that, in this neighbourhood, twenty shillings will buy at the kiln twenty-six or twenty-seven barrels of lime, which is quite sufficient to manure one English acre for a crop of potatoes of the kind called cups. After this, the said acre will yield a crop of wheat, or other grain suited to the soil, to which will succeed the crop of clover that has been sown with it, and, after the clover, another grain crop. These four crops are, upon an average, worth five pounds each—that is, *twenty pounds* in the whole—which the farmer makes by his industry out of *twenty shillings* worth of lime lent him, and all upon one acre only of his farm; which acre most probably would have been, perhaps for the *entire* time, lying out to rest, as it is called, nominally in useless pasture, but *really* producing nothing. But the plan is not confined to the reclaiming of *one* acre, nor is the occupier to stand idle whilst these crops are coming round in succession. The loan of lime is still continued, and another and another acre is brought into cultivation, opening to the view a continually increasing return, until the whole farm is finally brought into its most productive state.”—*An Essay on the Improvement to be made in Small Farms*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 30.

“The practice of seeing and relieving distress, not by unproductive almsgiving, but by affording the means and encouraging the spirit of industry among those whom sickness or misfortune may have depressed and impoverished, would soon create in the landlord that interest in the welfare of his tenants which acts of kindness and benevolence are always sure to excite in the breast of the *benefactor* towards the *benefited*; and whoever thinks that an Irish tenantry (once cou-

Mr. Wilson Gun, landed proprietor, of Oak-park, near Tralee, is asked (p. 836),—

“Is the land of a nature that by proper cultivation it could be made more productive than it is?—Yes, if they farmed it better. The only way a landlord could improve them would be to have agricultural schools to teach them how to grow green crops and house feed.

“Is there much land requires draining?—Yes, a good deal. No draining is going on, or only in a small way.”

Mr. Kerry Supple, land-agent to Mr. Staughton, of Clannaurice, Kerry, is asked (p. 841),—

“Does the district, in your opinion, afford opportunities for extensive and remunerative improvements?—It does.

“Of what nature?—A better system of farming. I do not think they understand anything about farming and the reclamation of land.”

Mr. Holme, of Gurhenard, near Listowell, agent to Lord Listowell, is asked (p. 847),—

“Is there any great extent of unreclaimed land upon Lord Listowell's estate?—*Yes, there is a great deal of land upon which capital might be very profitably employed in thorough draining, which is altogether omitted.*”

But not only do the landlords generally neglect to improve, and derive a profit from capital so employed, but the tenants also, who would be more than equally benefited by such improvements, are so steeped in ignorance and apathy that they will not improve to save themselves from starvation. This gentleman, Mr. Holme, thorough drained some small fields in the neighbourhood of his house for example as well as profit, and most of the people said “he was throwing away his money very foolishly.” When they saw the change effected by draining, and were satisfied that he was more than paid for it, still they did not follow his example except in a very few instances.

vinced of the friendly disposition of their landlord) would not repay such proofs of his regard with the most sincere and ardent attachment, knows little of their nature.”—*Ibid.* p. 34.

"The general objection," says Mr. Holme, "they make is this—'You have plenty of money and we have none.' *The manual labour and the horse labour is the principal thing required. I do not see anything to prevent one industrious family thorough draining an Irish acre in the course of the year.*"

Mr. John Hurly, Clerk of the Crown at Tralee, says in his evidence (p. 852),—

"I have a farm, where I reside in the summer, which for nine years never paid more than 40*l.* or 50*l.* a year, and that was badly paid. I divided it, and left it to the tenants, and set it at the full value of it, but I gave them leases for a mere nominal rent for seven years, and during those seven years they conditioned to burn and lay out limestone, which I had upon another farm, and which I gave them without charge, *and the farm is now worth 200*l.* a year*, and as good cottier tenants as can be found anywhere. That was in consequence of the improvements solely, and by lime. But there are tenants who, if the landlord's eyes are not open, will cheat him, and not lay out what they are allowed for."

Again we see what attention and enlightened liberal management effect. The very opposite conduct, however, is the general rule. "Don't lay out a sixpence; you rob yourself if you do. Gripe all you can; you are a fool if you don't. Cheat—impose on—deceive—overreach—oppress one another; it is at once the proof and the reward of ability." Of these qualities the pages of evidence before me give abundant proof; what wonder, then, that the land is exhausted and but half cultivated—that the people are poor and destitute, and without opportunity of realizing money, and that they have no confidence in, and suspect and disbelieve one another? Mr. Holme, in his evidence, says that in Scotland, as indeed is the case throughout Great Britain, the farmer goes to the market with his sample-bag of corn in his pocket, and sells it by sample, and does not thrash it out till he has sold it:—

"There is a general feeling of confidence in each other. *But such a thing is not practised here, and could not be practised.*"

And thus, because of this want of confidence, the poor

farmers pay the penalty of their cheating propensities in being compelled to drag about their corn for miles to market, and, if they should not sell it, to drag it home again, perhaps damaged by wet, until at last they are compelled to sell it for far less than its original worth. The landlords let their lands by proposal to the highest bidder; they rarely do anything for a tenant, and if he improves, his rent is generally raised immediately, and if he will not pay this, his farm is put up to proposal, and he has to outbid the man who will offer the highest for his improved land, in order to retain possession of his farm, though his competitor never laid out a sixpence upon it, and can therefore afford to offer the highest rent.

Jeremiah O'Connor, farmer of Brandanwell, near Ardfer, is asked (p. 869),—

“Does the district afford opportunities for extensive and remunerative improvements?—Yes, it does.

“Of what kind?—Drainage and tillage; first draining, then tilling.

“Is any encouragement given to the tenants to drain?—Not the least.

“Is any encouragement given to the tenants to improve their farm building?—Not the least.

“Does any landlord encourage them to do *anything*?—No.

“Have you drained any land yourself?—Yes; and I should have drained more if I was sure of my land. *The impression upon my mind is, for I have experienced it, that if we improve, the improvements would go into the hands of competitors.*”

Mr. W. Pope, farmer, of Causeway, in his evidence, says (p. 844),—

“*If an industrious tenant lays out money in improving, he will be charged thirty or forty per cent. more rent than his neighbour. I can prove that.*”

“There is too little preference shown to the occupying tenant,” says Mr. Hurly, of Tralee (p. 800), “and that tends to prevent the proper intercourse between the landlord and the tenant in this country. *They have not much faith in their landlords, in my opinion.*”

The same gentleman says, further on,—

"There was one very great road proposed from Abbeyfeale, and one of the most useful roads. It had been advocated in this Grand Jury-room over and over again, and they said if there was a subscription of 1,400*l.* got they would grant the presentment; but it has never been got and the road has never been made, though it would have improved the country beyond measure. There would be no claims for compensation of any kind, and the result would be, the opening of an entire tract of country between this and Abbeyfeale: *but the subscribers would not come forward, and one of the largest proprietors refused to give one sixpence.*"

Mr. J. P. Sullivan, of Killarney, is asked (p. 872),—

"What is the condition of the labouring population?—Most miserable.

"From what, in your opinion, does that arise?—*It arises from the heartlessness of the farmers in exacting the most exorbitant rents from the labourers; and I think the landlords have not interposed sufficiently to protect the labourers.*"

Mr. John Lynch, solicitor, of Tralee, says of farmers and small middlemen (p. 863),—

"I have found them more oppressive to each other than the superior landlord is. I know of many cases where a sublessee distrained on his own tenant, where he had, at an early period after it became due, that man's money (either by sale of his property or otherwise) in his pocket, although that man has not for months afterwards been called upon to pay rent to the head landlord." *

* I was informed by several magistrates, that the chief part of their duties consists in settling complaints against the farmers made by their labourers. It is customary for the labourer to give his labour for three or four days a week for the use of his cottage, and perhaps half an acre of con-acre land, the farmer with whom he makes the bargain agreeing to plough his land for him, to keep his cottage in repair, to allow him sometimes to have grazing for two sheep for milking, to allow the labourer to collect manure for his potato land, and sometimes to pay him at a certain rate of wages, the rent of the cottage and land to be deducted. And the magistrates have daily complaints made to them by labourers of breaches of these contracts on the part of the farmers. The farmers often will not plough the poor labourer's potato land for him in time to set his potatoes. This is a great loss to him, as the potatoes then ripen so late that he is compelled to dig them when half grown. The farmers very generally will not keep the labourer's cottage-thatch drop dry. They will often give the labourer a part of the farm for grazing his sheep (the milk of which partly supports his family) of so worthless a character, that the sheep can barely live, and will afford no milk. Sometimes they will not allow the labourer to collect manure for his potato

"The lower you go," says Mr. Nicholas Maher, M.P. for Tipperary, before the Land Commissioners at Dublin (Part I. p. 103),—

"In the class of middlemen, the worse you find them; in fact, I do not understand the English language sufficiently to describe their cruelty and barbarity as they ought to be described."

Is it in the nature of things that any country can prosper, the inhabitants of which thus use it and one another? Talk about "misgovernment" ruining Ireland! First be honest and just to one another, and use ordinary exertion, liberality, and enterprise—this is in the power of every man, and depends on no government;—and if the exercise of these qualities (of which there is a most lamentable absence) does not make Ireland what nature intended her to be—one of the most prosperous, as she is one of the most fertile, countries on the globe—then see what is amiss with her government. But, first, let the everlasting talkers about "misgovernment" "pluck the beam out of their own eye."

To return, however, to the question of the capabilities of the waste lands,—Mr. Edward Gorham, collector of poor-rates at Brennan, near Tralee, is asked (p. 867),—

"In the district over which your collection extends, is there any extensive tract of land that might be reclaimed remuneratively?—Yes, to be sure there is; there is *an immensity of improvable land*."

"What prevents it being improved?—Two or three things. First, short leases; in the next place, the want of capital among the tenants themselves; and, I should say, the tenants not being properly encouraged by the landlords. If the tenants got long leases of the land for the *fair value*, they would endeavour to improve the land for the advantage of themselves and families."

This witness says, further on,—

ground, and very often they dispute and refuse to pay him the balance of his wages. When it is remembered that these farmers are themselves but a degree above the labourer in condition, and that they must be thoroughly aware of the privations and wants of the labourers, this conduct appears the more heartless.

"The disturbance of the country was caused by the poverty of the people. But if the country could be brought into a state of cultivation, the condition of the people would be much happier.

"Do you think that the improvements of the land, if undertaken, would afford them sufficient employment to relieve their misery?—*I am quite sure of it; I am quite positive of it.* I am certain that the land is quite sufficient to make the entire population comfortable, if properly managed, and sufficient funds were in the hands of proper persons to enable the people to work."

It is, however, proper to state here, for there is no getting over the overwhelming mass of evidence on this point, that what this witness says would be the effect of leases, and what it is natural to expect should be their effect, *will not be produced by leases alone.* There must be the constant supervision of the landlord, and stringent clauses in the leases, capable of being quickly and at light expense enforced, coupled with agricultural teaching and knowledge, or leases, instead of being an encouragement to improvement and industry, will be, as they almost invariably have been where there has been neglect, an encouragement to subdivision and laziness, the forerunners of certain misery. Mr. Crosby, in his evidence, speaks of 3,000 or 4,000 acres of land, his property in this county, under lease during his minority. On almost every lease a village had been created by subdivisions, "the population was in a most dreadful condition, and the state of agriculture was infamous." (P. 839.)

Mr. Arthur Saunders, landed proprietor, speaks (p. 879) of his father having granted to some tenantry on an estate of his at Macroom, in Cork, "leases for three lives, or 31 years; two of the lives are in existence now; and in that period," he says,—

"I have not known the tenantry the least improving—in fact, they have only just tilled and sown oats, and tilled again, and tried to take out of the land what they could."

He speaks of another farm at Castle Island in this county, let by his brother to two men upon two lives, and says,—

"It is as much as they can do to pay the rent. They burnt some of the land, and they are not disposed to improve, more than to pay their rent out of it."

Mr. J. Leahy, barrister, whose father is agent to Mr. Herbert, of Muckcross, speaks of some tenants (page 885) who—

"So long as they were yearly tenants, and *were urged by Mr. Herbert*, who went about and visited their farms, were more inclined to grow green crops and improve their farms than they have been since they got their leases."

On another estate of Mr. Herbert, called the "Palace" estate, a lease of a farm having "an excellent house, fit for any gentleman," and an orchard upon it, was given to a tenant. On his death his two sons came into possession, allowed the house to go to ruin, sublet the farm at rackrents to cottier tenants, and—

"At the end of the lease, so far from Mr. Herbert or any one claiming under him then deriving anything from it in the way of profit for improvements formerly made, the land will come to him nearly in a state of nature; and corn has been thrashed in the drawing room of the principal house."

Leases alone, then, will not in Ireland encourage improvements. There must be a diffusion of agricultural knowledge, and a constant supervision of the landlord, with a power reserved to prevent mischief; as one witness expresses it, "a snaffle must be kept in the mouths of the tenants," or leases will do harm.*

"There is an immense quantity of waste land in the country very little reclaimed, which has been remunerative wherever there was capital embarked in it," says Mr. Sullivan, of Killarney (p. 871).

Mr. Leahy says (p. 884),—

"There is scarcely any part of this county that does not, in my opinion,

* For more full information on the subject of leases, see Letter, *ante*, dated Ballina, p. 199.

afford very extensive ground for improvement; and with reference to the first and most important consideration, which I think is drainage, it has been almost wholly neglected by the farmers in this county up to the present time."

Without repeating much similar evidence, it is enough to quote the evidence of Mr. Griffith, the General Valuation Commissioner, respecting this county, which will be found in the report of the Land Commissioners (p. 52):—

"This county contains a vast extent of unimproved pasture land, amounting, in the whole, to 727,000 acres, of which it is probable about 150,000 acres may be drained and reclaimed, so as to produce corn and green crops, and 250,000 may be drained for the purposes of pasture and coarse meadow."

I think it is sufficiently apparent that the struggle for land is not because land is scarce; and that it is profitable to reclaim it. It is almost needless to prove that there are thousands of men without employment, starving for want of support and who are willing to work for most trifling wages.

"Four months out of the twelve are as much as the labourers can get constant employment at 8*d.* a day," says Mr. Wilson Gun (p. 836).

"The labouring population are in the most dreadful state in this county—nothing can be worse; the wages are low, and they never see money—they are not paid *in specie*; they receive a score garden, and it is worked out of them at the rate of 4*l.* to 7*l.* an acre," says Mr. Crosby (p. 840).

"The labourers generally cannot get employment. When they can, they get 6*d.* a day, and their diet, and 8*d.* when they feed themselves," says the Rev. E. O'Sullivan (p. 881.)

There is then land to reclaim; it is profitable to reclaim it; and there are men starving and destitute ready to do it at 6*d.* a day. Well, why do not the landed proprietors set them to work, obtain profit for themselves, and benefit the country and everybody in it? The truth is, with few exceptions, the landed proprietors of Kerry are embarrassed and have not the means. I have in a former letter alluded to

the propriety of the Government enabling proprietors by Act of Parliament to sell portions of their wastes or estates at a valuation to the Government, the purchase-money to be appropriated in liquidating debts and encumbrances according to their priority; such estates to be then saleable, (with a clear title founded on the Act of Parliament), to capitalists willing to purchase, who would generally be improving landlords. Is it not evident that some such measure is absolutely necessary? Mr. Pierce Mahony, a landlord of this county, who has carried out some very extensive improvements on his estate, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (Part III. p. 759), says,—

“ The greatest evil Ireland labours under is, that the lands are owned in fee by too few persons. I wish to see land as freely dealt with and as generally possessed, in moderate extent, as possible. The principle of monopoly has been already abandoned in trade and commerce; the sooner it is extended to land, by allowing land to circulate by transfer from hand to hand, and thus subdivide itself, the better. . . . Give facilities for breaking up large estates now encumbered almost to their full value, and only held to gratify the pride or ambition of the holders at the expense of the country.”

Measures which would effect this would do more good than 10,000 college bills; would diffuse independent and enterprising capitalists throughout the country; would throw upon the capitalist in the back ground the responsibility which he ought to take, and which, when coupled with its honours and rewards, he would generally not refuse to take; would strip from men who now flauntingly wear it, the tinsel garb of a nominal estate, without having either the means or the power to use and improve it; and would, in fact, give a *reality* to landed property, a strength and a stability to the country. We should no more hear of starving men, beside waste acres; of want of employment on lands where labour might be profitably employed. Profitable employment, and

the increase of produce, would create wealth and accumulate it into capital, and capital invested in developing the resources of the country would render it what it is capable of becoming—powerful and prosperous—the right arm, the proud participator, whether in peace or war, in the glories of the British empire.

LETTER XXVI.

THE PEASANTRY OF KERRY.—MR. O'CONNELL AND HIS
TENANTRY.

Killarney—Character and Condition of the Population of Kerry—Oppression of the Labourers by the Farmers—System of Fishing—The Money-pawning habit—Irish Railways—Cahirciveen—Mr. O'Connell and his wretched Tenantry—The propriety of abolishing Tenancies under "Middlemen" by Law—Necessity of instructing the People in Agricultural Knowledge.

KENMARE, KERRY, November 10.

THE peculiarities of individuals are ever most striking when circumstances have confined them to isolated positions. The attrition of minds and of manners in large congregations of men, smooths and polishes off the prominent peculiarities of each individual to an uniform and common standard. That which is true of individuals is not the less so of a province. The peculiarities and characteristics of its inhabitants will be the more marked the more it is shut out by circumstances from habitual intercourse with the rest of the kingdom. Such is the case with the county of Kerry, westward of Killarney. To Killarney the tide of English tourists sets in, to visit its far-famed lakes. The continual want of decencies and comforts has at length secured them; and but little is to be observed amongst the people there to distinguish them from the inhabitants of every other tourists' resort. There is the same eager pouncing on a stranger as a prize whom

is fair game to pluck; the same excess of civility, and not a whit the less of extortionate exaction. These are the excrescences which luxury and the careless spending of wealth usually create. Westward, however, of Killarney but few visitors journey. There is no commerce, an infinitely subdivided and pauper tenantry, who (excepting a little butter, which they manufacture to pay their rents) create nothing beyond their consumption. The planting of potatoes and the churning of butter bounds their knowledge; the selling of a firkin of butter a year to some Cork merchant is the extent of their intercourse with the rest of the world. Here then we may expect to find all the peculiarities of the Irish character strongly marked, and their habits still after their own hearts; and we do find them.

I have written to you in former letters much about miserable hovels in other parts of Ireland; they are more than equalled in Kerry. I have described the half-naked and potato-fed people I have met with elsewhere. Here their nakedness is not less, and they know no other food. In filthiness and squalid poverty, starving on a rood of land with miles of waste land around him, which the application of knowledge and industry would make teem with plenty, the poor Kerry farmer exists in contented wretchedness. Neglected by his landlord, he knows nothing beyond the growing of potatoes; oppressed by the hard-fisted middleman, who lives by squeezing another rent out of his industry, he is steeped in hopeless poverty; cheated and robbed by the bailiffs and drivers, who extort from him his last sixpence for rent, and their fees; and pounced upon by the middleman for an increased rent, if he improves an acre of land, he learns cheating and extortion from his betters, and practises both on the wretched being who labours on his farm. In a hovel like a pigsty, in which it is impossible to stand upright, without chimney and without window, with but one room, an iron pot, and a rude bedstead, with some straw

litter, as the only furniture, bed, or bed-clothes, the labourer, in the midst of half a dozen nearly naked children, with his barefooted wife, sits squatted on the mud floor round the peat fire. A garden plot of potatoes is their whole subsistence, and for this patch of land, and the hovel which shelters him and his family, his labour is sold to some farmer, who lets him his land and hovel, for a year.

Mr. Hickson, the agent to the Marquis of Lansdowne, a large landed proprietor in Kerry, when examined before the Land Commissioners, mentions one of the duties of an agent to be, "to protect the labourers as much as possible from oppression."

"To what oppression do you allude? Various sorts, such as making demands on him for rent that he does not owe, and keeping his crops sometimes from him. The farmers, under whom they hold extort, from them." (Appendix, Part II. p. 912.)

The Rev. J. Sullivan, the parish priest of Kenmare, gives similar evidence (p. 918).—

"The labourers are the most wretched people upon the face of the globe. I do not believe that any race on the face of the earth would suffer the privations they do under the farmers."

The majority of the landlords are non-resident, and very much of the land is let to middlemen on leases. "There are many middlemen, under whom the land is much dearer, and the tenantry are poorer," says Mr. J. M'Lure, farmer, of Castlevien, near Kenmare (p. 969).—The land is thus taken out of the management of the landlord, and the middleman, having no permanent interest in it, covers it with a pauper tenantry, from whom he exacts a competition rent, and at the end of his term renders it up to the landlord to deal with it as he can. The land being generally hilly and rocky, is let by the cow's grass and not by the acre. A tenant can live pretty comfortably on about ten cow's grass. "Land ranges at from 2*l.* to 4*l.* rent, by the cow's grass,

according to the quantity and quality of the pasture.”—(Evidence of Mr. Eugene O’Sullivan of Westcove, four miles from Derrynane, p. 913.) The subdivision, however, amongst the tenants, especially near the sea-shore, has gone on to such an extent that most of them have not more than a cow’s grass a-piece to live upon. This will give a clue to their poverty. A cow on fair good land in this part of Kerry will yield a firkin and a half of butter a year. A firkin of butter is worth 2*l.* 15*s.*; a firkin and a half of butter will therefore leave about 4*l.* a year, and the rent is from 2*l.* to 4*l.* for this cow’s grass. A patch of the land is manured with sea-weed and shell-sand, which the poor barefooted women carry in hampers on their backs great distances, and on this they raise the potatoes for their year’s consumption. The value of the butter barely pays their rent, and the buttermilk and potatoes are the only food or means of subsistence which the small tenants have. The labourers are worse off; they have not the buttermilk.

At certain periods of the year there is abundance of fish on the coast, but the people are so utterly ignorant and untaught that they do not know how to fish. “There was a curious system along the coast which struck me as a very absurd one,” says Mr. Keane Mahony, of Castlequin, in the barony of Iveragh, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners (Part II., p. 898).—

“They went to a great expense in preparing nets and *waited till the fish came to them instead of following the fish*. They waited in the harbour till the fish approached, and they had a good place to make a haul; and the consequence was that in very few instances, and by the merest chance, were they successful. They have adopted a different system in the island of Valencia. They have got a lighter description of seine, and have given up the habit of waiting for the fish; and now follow the fish.”

Absurd as this appears, it is only another evidence of total ignorance, and of a want of that common “*nous*” and intelligence which are substitutes for knowledge in most other

places. The neglected and untaught Irishman, full of impulse, has his sympathies and his passions easily excited ; he is guided with facility when he trusts you ; but of himself he has no sort of contrivance to help himself or better his condition. He simply does as he is taught, and follows the steps of his father before him. The natural bent of his mind is not to ingenuity, but to cunning. He is as helpless as a child at a contrivance or a plan which shall drain his land, or aid him in fishing, or improve his cottage, or save his diseased potatoes ; but he is great at a contrivance which will palm a bad sixpence upon you ; and the trouble he will take, and the roundabout way he will go to overreach you, are more amusing than effective. The better educated vulgar among them take a pride even in thinking that they deceive you. Who has not heard Irish-manufactured stories without end of the great ability and cleverness with which John Bull is gulled by them. Like most Irish stories, they must be taken *cum grano salis*.

When at Galway, I had a conversation with two gentlemen ; one the rector of the town—the Rev. John D'Arcy, a most straightforward and useful man, and a gentleman who is allowed by all parties to have been of vast service in improving the town—the other a landed proprietor in the neighbourhood. The conversation was upon loan funds, and on the utter ignorance of the people of the commercial value of money. Mr. D'Arcy mentioned, as an instance of this, the fact that the poor *pawned money* to his knowledge to the extent of hundreds every year, in the town of Galway. I laughed at this as an incredulous story. Seeing him serious, I told him I did not doubt his word, but would like to be convinced of the fact by seeing some such pledges myself, otherwise no one would believe me if I mentioned it. He was about politely to show me the town, and we all three walked into the first pawnbroker's shop we met with, which happened to be Mr. Murray's. Mr. Murray was not in, but

his shopman was, and Mr. D'Arcy at once explained the object of our call, and told him that I doubted that money was ever pawned. The shopman said he would soon convince me it was a fact, and pulled out a small drawer containing several bank-notes with duplicate tickets pinned to them, and also a guinea with a duplicate ticket round it. I unpinned some of these myself, and took the description of the notes down; the other gentleman who was with me did the same, and read the description of the notes. I thought this so strange a fact of utter and absurd ignorance of the commercial use of money, that I stated it to you in a former letter. In going out we met Mr. Murray, the shopkeeper, who seemed anxious to account for the pawning by various surmises, such as the 10*l.* note being a daughter's fortune that the poor people did not like to break into, and the guinea being a heir-loom or pocket-piece. In answer to my question,—“Was a guinea ever left unredeemed and sold as a forfeited pledge?” he replied that this had frequently occurred. A *Tralee* paper, however, has discovered “that I am not the man for Galway, where I have been served in a manner the most laughable, and well worthy of an Irish wag.” It then says—Mr. Murray “persuaded” me of what both myself and the gentleman with me had seen and felt, with our own eyes and hands, and that I “jotted down” his information as a “veritable fact.” How very clever this is, to be sure. What “waggery” there is in telling a lie, even supposing Mr. Murray to have done so; which he did not.* These poor money-pawning and fish-catching people are such sharp fellows to attempt to deceive any body! But

* The *Tralee* paper afterwards disowned the authorship of this discovery, which, it appeared, had been invented by the *Galway Vindicator*, or some such creditable authority, which, with the means of ascertaining the truth close to its own printing-office, unblushingly ventured a falsehood in order to cast a slur on an undeniable truth. Such, to a great extent, is Irish Journalism, and such are very many of the sources from which information respecting Ireland is derived.

your information is not usually obtained in any such slip-slop manner. Let not Galway, however, hold down her head, for the people of Kerry, where the paper that made this bright discovery is published, *spread nets and wait for the fish to come into them*. I notice this foolish attempted contradiction only to stop it, for I see that that great authority, Mr. Dillon Browne, has plumed himself much upon this assumed "waggery" of the poor ignorant money-pledgers in imposing upon me.

I will not weary you by repeating the story of the wretched state of agriculture of the people here, and of the mode in which they exhaust the land. You see here, only more strongly marked, the ignorance of agriculture, which elsewhere prevails. Their want of enterprise, their contentment with little, their indisposition to improve of themselves and their suspicion that they will be robbed if they do improve, are here plainly perceptible. They will not leave the place where they are born "as long as they can get a corner in a bog to stick a cabin in and grow potatoes," says Mr. Butler of Waterville (*ibid.* 895); and he attributes this to "the want of a spirit to better their condition," and to their "being easily satisfied in that way." "Where there is scarcely any resident proprietor the people will not originate any improvements themselves. They must be instructed," says Mr. Keane Mahony, of Castlequin (*ibid.* 899). "It is difficult to get them to make improvements; they are naturally an indolent people, and do not like any innovation," says the Rev. Dennis Mahony, of Dromore Castle, near Kenmare (*ibid.* 917). The Rev. John Sullivan, the parish priest of Kenmare, is asked (*ibid.* p. 919),—

"Do you find in your experience that a few instances of persons being removed who have executed improvements creates a general distrust amongst others, and a disinclination to make improvements?—Decidedly; it remains in their minds for twenty years. Things that have occurred nine or ten years ago will be given to you as a reply when upbraiding them for not improving their farms."

All this clearly points to those remedies which will alone avail. They must be taught, and employed, and encouraged; they must be led on, and urged, and forced on. I see no plan more likely eventually to effect great good among them than the establishment of railways. It will drive in among them men of enterprise and capital, who will force them on. It is very problematical whether any railroads in Ireland will pay, beyond one or two trunk lines. I have never yet met an Irishman of intelligence acquainted with the country, that said they would pay. That, however, is another question. If established, I think it certain that they will effect great good. One is projected from Valencia harbour to Wexford. About 300 men are now employed regularly in Valencia in slate-cutting; as usual, an English company finds the enterprise and the capital. Near Kenmare, also, there is a copper-mine, which employs about 70 people, also worked by an English company. The scenery around the coast of Cahirciveen is magnificent. Beautiful as are the lakes of Killarney, they are eclipsed by Dingle-bay. Were there any means of comfortable travelling and accommodation, there can be doubt that this coast would attract many visitors and much wealth.

The wretched-looking town of Cahirciveen, with its dirty, unpaved streets, and old hat mended windows, reminds me of another subject. The property of this town is rented to Mr. Daniel O'Connell, who, as a middleman, sublets it to its present tenants, and extracts a profit rent out of it.* In

* The whole of this statement about Mr. O'Connell's property was afterwards violently and abusively contradicted. Nearly the whole of the Irish press joined in an attempt apparently to hunt me down, and readily gave circulation to the abusive contradictions. It will be seen, from subsequent letters, with what success they were rewarded—or, rather, how disgracefully false were the contradictions. Mr. Daniel O'Connell, in Conciliation Hall, denied that he was a "middleman." The fact that he is so in every sense—exacting *three times* the amount of rent from his sub-tenants that he pays to the head-landlord—will be found conclusively established in a Letter subsequent to this, dated from Killarney.

this country they pluck the geese alive for their feathers, and turn the poor pen-feathered and wretched birds loose to get over it as they can. This is repeated several times in a year. As if apprehensive of their coming fate, as each goose is caught to go through the plucking operation, the whole flock, after the manner of geese, set up a terrible cackling, and screeching, and hissing. This habit is not confined to geese of the feathered tribe. Until I came into Kerry, and passed over the estate of Mr. Daniel O'Connell, I never could divine the reason of the hubbub of the O'Connells—of the “screeching, and cackling, and hissing,” when the neglectful conduct to his tenantry of the Marquis of Conyngham was exposed. Why should men, who are eternally prating about absentee landlords and neglectful landlords, and who are ever using the destitution and discontent of the poor tenants as a means of abuse of English legislation, fall foul of me for exposing a marked instance of neglect, whilst, at the same time, I pointed out the benefits which had accrued to tenants from the attention and encouragement bestowed on them by Lord George Hill, a neighbouring landlord? But my eyes are open now. “The murder is out.” It was another instance of what that clever fellow of Tralee calls “waggery.” There was an apprehension that the turn to have their decent feathers plucked off might come round to the occupiers of Derrynane, and hence the cackling, and screeching, and hissing of the flock of O'Connells, and Brodericks, and Brownes. At and in the neighbourhood of Cahirciveen and Derrynane, Mr. Daniel O'Connell possesses an income from land of about 3,000*l.* a year. A small portion of this is his own fee-simple property; another small portion he rents on lease renewable for ever, and about two-thirds of the property he holds on terminable leases, under the Dublin college, Mr. Hartop, Mr. Bland, and Lord Cork. He is, in fact, for two-thirds of his property a middleman, living on a profit rent derived from small

tenants: and we will see presently how he manages them. The bulk of this property is held on a lease for his own life. With his private affairs, however, I have nothing to do, nor will I meddle with them, though I had queer stories enough related to me. I have no business with anything but the manner in which, by his treatment of his sub-tenants, he benefits or injures his countrymen and the country. A gentleman named Butler, residing at Waterville, mentions a lease of land, let by his father, to the father of Mr. Daniel O'Connell. When old Mr. O'Connell died there were not 12 tenants upon it, and in 1841, when the land came out of lease (15 years afterwards) there were 54 tenants upon it. (*Ibid.* 895.) His general character as a landlord or middleman is, that any tenant who applies to him may have leave to erect a cabin where he pleases. He permits subdivision to any extent. This wins a certain degree of popularity; but the land under lease by him is in consequence in the most frightful state of over-population. The competition for land is, therefore, intense, and they will offer almost any rent for the most miserable fragment of land. In this condition they are left in a total state of neglect. They have no agricultural schools; no encouragement; none to lead or to guide them, and the poor creatures are left to subdivide their land and to multiply, and to blunder on, until, in the words of Mr. Keane Mahony, "their principal feature is distress." (*Ibid.* 898.)

I entered several of the cottages at a place called Derrynane Beg, within a mile from Derrynane. The distress of the people was horrible. There is not a pane of glass in the parish, nor a window of any kind in half the cottages. Some have got a hole in the wall for light, with a board to stop it up. In not one in a dozen is there a chair to sit upon, or anything whatever in the cottages beyond an iron pot and a rude bedstead with some straw on it; and not always that. In many of them the smoke is coming out of

the doorway, for they have no chimneys. In one that I entered the door was taken off the hinges and made a table of, by placing it on two turf-baskets. Unaided, and unguided, the poor creatures are in the lowest degree of squalid poverty I have yet seen, and this within sight of Derrynane-house. As one of the tenants told me "they were eating one another's heads off, and if they did not get some assistance they would starve and the gaols would be full." Wretched as are the tenants on the Marquis of Conyngham's property in Donegal, their condition is fully equalled by the condition of the tenantry of Derrynane.* The "hissing and the screeching" is thus fully accounted for. In future, however, it will be remembered that amongst the most neglectful landlords who are a curse to Ireland, Daniel O'Connell ranks first—that on the estate of Daniel O'Connell are to be found the most wretched tenants that are to be seen in all Ireland. If a middleman is execrated, as an useless drone who squeezes the very life's blood out of his miserable tenants, the name of Daniel O'Connell will not be forgotten. Though not the worst among middlemen, he lives by the system.

Adjoining the cottages on this property are neatly thatched and roomy cottages on the Marquis of Lansdowne's estate, who takes some pains to encourage his tenantry.

In fact, wherever there is ordinary attention paid by any

* The Derrynane tenantry, as any one may convince himself who will go through Derrynane Beg, are worse off than any tenantry in Ireland. They are in a more lost, filthy, wretched, and neglected condition. Badly off as are the Marquis of Conyngham's tenantry, Mr. Daniel O'Connell's are worse off, and for this very obvious reason: the tenantry of the Marquis of Conyngham hold under the head-landlord, and pay but one rent, whilst the majority of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry hold under him as a *middleman*, and pay two rents—namely, the head-landlord's rent and this *middleman's* profit-rent—the two united being *three times as much* as is paid to the head-landlord; that is, Mr. O'Connell, as a *middleman*, puts twice as much profit-rent into his pocket, extracted from wretched sub-tenants, as he pays for the same land to the landlord from whom he rents it.

landlord to his tenants there are signs of improvement and comfort. Wherever there is a middleman, and utter neglect of the people, and subdivision is allowed, there the misery which marks the Derrynane property is observable.

I know the difficulty of interfering with the rights of property; but a terrible mischief requires measures to meet it. Were all subtenancies of lands in Ireland made void, and the tenant constituted the tenant of the superior landlord, much individual wrong, no doubt, would be done; but the public good it would effect would be enormous. At present the middleman has no interest in the land, and cares not how it is injured, so that he gets a profit out of it. The landlord cannot improve it, or spend money on it, for if he did the middleman would reap the benefit in an improved rent. You will not, however, hear Mr. O'Connell advocate any such measure. This and instruction of the people in their business of agriculture, by model farms and schools; and the encouragement of industry by simply improving the lands to the profit of the improvers; or by any means, in fact, which will teach the people how to work profitably, would soon alter the aspect of Ireland, and rapidly put an end to the repeal agitation.

LETTER XXVII.

BANTRY AND THE CONDITION OF THE SURROUNDING POPULATION.

Beauty of the Country near Bantry Bay, and its neglected Capabilities—Bantry Town and its Statistics—The Inn at Bantry, and its Accommodations—Reasons for the poverty of the People of this District—Reasonable claim of the Tenants to be paid for their Improvements—The want of Encouragement and High Rents prevent Improvements—Evidence and Contradictions regarding these Facts—Of the various aspects of Truth in Ireland—What Encouragement and Attention on the part of a Landlord will effect—Their want keeps Ireland in Distress.

BANTRY, CORK, November 14.

THE road from Kenmare into the county of Cork passes for the most part through a barren mountain district. The highest elevation of the road is attained on entering the county of Cork. From this point nothing can exceed the grandeur of the mountain scenery, or the beauty of the distant prospect of Bantry Bay, running far inland and dividing itself into many shaped and numberless creeks. Nowhere in Ireland can you turn without being struck with the beauties or the fertility which nature has lavished on this unfortunate country; and yet, go where you will, there seems, as it were, a blight over all things. Man—amidst all this beauty and fertility—man, who elsewhere in Great Britain often beautifies that for which nature has done little, and converts barren wastes into fertile fields, has here done

nothing, nay, worse than nothing. If there be an eyesore in the prospect, be sure it is the work of man—his wretched tumble-down mud hovel, or the boghole which he has carved in the hill-side. You will generally look in vain for a tasteful cottage, or for a wood, or for a garden, or for a hedge, or for a well squared clean field (unless it be close to some gentleman's domain, and they are indeed "few and far between"); in fact, for anything which can show the persevering application of industry or taste. But you see in many places miles of waste land and bog sloping to the very edge of Bantry Bay; and the coral-sand and the sea-weed of that bay will reclaim any land, and produce the richest crops with draining and cultivation.* In some of the valleys and on parts of the land adjoining the bay where these means have been resorted to the heaviest crops are obtained. You see, too, dotted about, cottages so wretched that no description can convey an idea of them, in the very midst of scenery which you would think would exalt and refine the taste of a *savage*, and in the very centre of land lying waste

* Major Ludlow Beamish's account of his visit to the Kilkerrin estate of the Irish Waste Land Company contains the following analysis of these sands, as made by Dr. Sullivan of Cork, a pupil of Liebig, and now associated with Professor Kane at the Royal Dublin Society:—

" CORAL-SAND IN 100 PARTS.

" Siliceous sand	2. 3
Carbonate of lime	90. 0
Animal matter	7. 5
Phosphoric acid	trace.
	<hr/>
	99. 8

" SHELL-SAND.

" Grit, or siliceous sand	21. 6
Carbonate of lime	71. 0
Animal matter	6. 7
Phosphoric acid	trace.
Magnesia	trace.
	<hr/>
	99. 3

" From the large supply of ammonia which the animal matter contained in these sands would yield, and their extreme richness in carbonate of lime, they

with the materials for rendering it abundantly fertile, as it were offering themselves temptingly for use. There is something sadly wrong in all this, and it is not wonderful that there should be discontent.

The town of Bantry is situated at the foot of the bay. There is depth of water for vessels of any tonnage to come to the very doors of the houses, and there are 4,000 inhabitants in the town, according to the last census. Sprat and herring-fishing and curing, and line-fishing, are carried on in the bay, I am informed, by about 250 heads of families. About 50 heads of families live by pig jobbing, buying hides, as butchers, and slaughter-house attendants. About 50 heads of families are shopkeepers. There are about 20 nailers, about a dozen gentry, doctors, agents, and heads of police altogether. These, with cobblers, tailors, blacksmiths, masons, washerwomen, sawyers, &c., about make up 50 other heads of families; and there are about 80 labourers heads of families, or altogether 480 heads of families with apparent means of living. There are 600 inhabited houses, which,

must necessarily exercise an important influence upon vegetation, more particularly the coral-sand; but the effect is gradual, and not immediately apparent.

“Payen and Boussingault, measuring the manuring powers of different substances by the quantity of nitrogen which they contain, make coral-sand more valuable than farm-yard manure, as appears by the following comparative statement of the quantity of nitrogen contained in one hundred parts of each.

	Nitrogen.	Relative Value.
100 lbs. of Coral Sand (<i>Merl</i>) contains . . .	0·512	128
„ Farm-yard Manure	0·40	100
„ Shell Sand (<i>Trez</i>)	0·13	32½

“From the experiments made at Kilkerrin, it would appear that two years at least must elapse before any sensible benefit is produced by the application of either of these sands, more particularly the first named; but their fertilising property is fully manifested upon that part of the shore which has been most exposed to their influence, and where a rich carpet of white clover covers the surface of the ground.”

with one family (though many have two) to each house, would require each family to average seven in number to make up the population of 4,000. This leaves 120 families, or some 800 people, without means of living. I am assured that about 50 families live entirely by begging; the rest get a job to do when they can, and live by a bit of garden and a pig, and by raising coral-sand and sea-weed out of the bay, which they sell. This may account for the apparent wretchedness of the greater part of the town. Many of these poor people are ejected tenants from the lands of middlemen falling out of lease, who resort to the town to seek a hovel, and such chance-work as they can get. Others of them "squat" themselves on some rocky and uncultivated patch, contrive a wretched cabin to shelter themselves, and on their backs carry bog-earth from some exhausted bog to make a surface on the rock, and grow themselves potatoes on which to exist. The town itself is surrounded with hills, and affords scenery which our Torquay, in Devonshire, can scarcely rival. But you will look in vain for the handsome villas, for the taste, the diffused wealth, the thriving activity, the order, the comfort, the cleanliness, which you see there. Excepting the court-house, the church, and the hotel, there is not a decent building in the town. The streets are unpaved, unflagged, and filthy, and not one of them is straight for one hundred yards. Four-fifths of the inhabitants live in mud hovels, such as you see in the country, and which here form the outskirts of the town. These consist usually of a single room, a hole for a window with a board in it, the door generally off the hinges, a wicker-basket with a hole in the bottom, or an old butter-tub, stuck at one corner of the thatch for a chimney, the pig, as a matter of course, inside the cottage, and an extensive manufacture of manure going on on the floor. This is in the streets of Bantry. Surely there is something wrong here? Still, however, I am informed that Bantry is improving. Nay, the very hotel—the

sole hotel in this town of 600 houses—in which I write, is infinitely below any ale-house of the very smallest six-house village in the most out-of-the-way nook in England in ordinary comfort and cleanliness. Yet the landlord, who is very civil and obliging, is of necessity making money. My breakfast service this morning was a curiosity. Roasted bean-coffee, in a leaden teapot, the spout a-crooked from a tumble, the broken handle clumsily tied on with a thick cord, and an old cork stuck in a hole in the lid where the knob had once been, and everything else, as the newspaper paragraphists say, “*en suite*.” The dirtiness of the room kept the breakfast service in countenance. These things are so customary here, that I have almost ceased to notice them. In that congregation of wretchedness called Cahirciveen, in Kerry—O’Connell’s own town—I was awake at five in the morning by the incessant bellowings of a bull-calf that wanted its breakfast *in the room below me*; and yet these hotel-keepers are respectable citizens.* The greater part of Bantry Bay is an oyster-bed, and there are shrimps for the catching; but for neither love nor money will you get either oysters or shrimps in Bantry. Nobody buys them, and therefore nobody gets them; or perhaps it is as likely nobody gets them, and therefore nobody buys them. In England men make money by spending money, paradoxical as it may appear. The shopkeeper eats oysters, and the oysterman has money, therefore, to buy goods off the shopkeeper. When a teapot gets dilapidated, the hotel-keeper buys a new one from the ironmonger, and the ironmonger, thus supported, can afford to take his wife and family an occasional trip, and put up at the hotel. By supplying and paying for their mutual wants they create mutual wealth and comfort. In Ireland, how-

* On my subsequent visit to Cahirciveen (see *post*, Letter dated from Kilarney), I found the hotel at Cahirciveen so furbished up in consequence of the notoriety it had obtained that I scarcely knew it.

ever, there are three ways by which this general diffusion of wealth and comfort is lost,—First, a vast number of the people have nothing wherewith to buy anything, and do not therefore think of buying. Their condition is an unhappy one. Secondly, there are a very goodly number of the people who, having nothing wherewith to buy, yet buy very extensively. In these cases the unfortunate shopkeeper who sells does not derive any profit from the transaction. There is here evidently the will to spend money without the means. This is a misfortune to all parties. Thirdly, there are those who have the means, but who have not the heart to spend. The number of the latter gentlemen is pretty numerous, and it is questionable which of these three classes of citizens is the most beneficial to society in general—those who cannot buy, those who buy and cannot pay, or those who can but will not buy.

In the preface to the second edition of his most useful book on the *Industrial Resources of Ireland*, Dr. Kane truly says,—

“ All that is sound and permanent in England’s industrial power grew not out of oratorical elegancies, but from hard-handed, stern, and persevering work. By such work alone—work of mind and of body—can a people hope to advance.”

Alas ! how true is this description as applied to Ireland ! It is by “ oratorical elegancies ” alone that Ireland seems to struggle to advance. How many rigmarole speeches in Conciliation-hall will manufacture one bale of cloth ?—or how many of Dillon Browne’s speeches, for instance, will make one steam-engine ? If it needed a demonstration, Adam Smith has given it,—that “ Labour is the source of all wealth.” It was this which made England wealthy : it is the want of this which makes Ireland wretched.* But if there is no one to pay for work, you cannot expect people to work for the love

* “ It is certain that the property of every nation depends as absolutely on the industry of its people as the safety of a ship on the diligence of the mariners who sail in her ; and therefore it is to the last degree incumbent on us to secure this

of it. Then comes the reaction: there is not the work for which to pay, and those who want the work, and are ready to pay for it, if it is not there to be had, resort elsewhere with their money. If there is no demand there will be no supply; if there is no supply the demand flies to the market where it is. But who is to create the demand in the country? Surely those who draw from the country the means which naturally ought to create it. And who is to create the supply? The people in ordinary cases would do this (there being a demand) by the operation of natural laws; but they work for *reward*—that is their impulse to labour. But if, by an absurd ingenuity,—by a greediness which chokes itself—by a system of “killing the goose which lays the golden eggs,” that reward is snatched from the grasp of the labourer, the supply will cease, even though the demand should exist, and the demand must be driven away for want of the supply. It is the curse—the blight of this unfortunate country, that both these evils exist in full force in it. Those who draw from it the means which ought to create a demand in it do not in it create a demand. And the very same men, by refusing to give leases, and by equally refusing to refund to a tenant his expenditure in improving the land, if he should do this without a lease, freeze industry, put a stop to improvement, banish labour, and stint the supply.

One or other of these two things a tenant has a *right* to expect if he improves his land—either that his land shall be secured to him for a term sufficiently long to repay him for

great point, which we are generally reckoned very defective in.”—*Dr. Madden's Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, p. 203.

“If, as Dr. Chamberlain computes, the very children of Norwich, from six to sixteen years, do earn 12,000*l.* *per annum* more than they spend, what a sum might we raise to the public by the hands of our Irish children, who do nothing. In many parts of the kingdom, where trade and our manufactures have not yet reached, the natives have contracted a sort of natural indisposition to labour, and have an habitual sloth, which nothing can remove but the severest laws.”—*Ibid.* p. 205.

the money and labour he invests in it, or that he shall be paid for the value of the improvements he has effected in the land, if the landlord will not give him a lease, and chooses to terminate his tenancy and increase the rent. This is simply common justice; for he has then invested his labour and money, not on his own land to benefit himself, but on his landlord's land to the benefit of his landlord. If a merchant employs a tailor to manufacture his bale of cloth into coats, the tailor, if the merchant refuse to pay him for his labour and skill, has his action against the merchant for the value of his work and labour. It is simply just that he should have it. But if a landlord, or a middleman aping landlord, employs a farmer to manufacture his bog into corn-fields, or permits him to do it under a false pretence of security that he shall repay himself for his labour, and then takes from him the corn-fields so manufactured without repaying him, then has the tenant no action against his landlord for the value of his work and labour so expended. This constitutes the difference between the law as regards merchants and the law as regards landlords. The one must pay for permissive labour employed for his benefit with cash down, or a check on his banker; the other need only wipe off such little scores with a notice to quit, or an action of ejectment. The latter course has plainly an advantage over the former—that is, for the landlord. The landlords who have the privilege of making these laws have always had a very clear perception that this was an advantage. But then, as Lord Eldon used to put it, “on the other hand,” the farmers are not so stupid as not to see that the scale is not quite even—that they peep through the other end of the telescope: through the end the landlords peep through the profits of the system (supposing it to proceed) are very considerably magnified to their advantage; but taking a farmer's peep through the other end shows the profits to them to be infinitesimally

small, and the vision of probable advantage so minute, and indistinct, and uncertain, and distant, that the poor farmers in despair cease their manufacture of bogs into corn-fields, and the landlords' bogs remain bogs, and repay both them and their tenants with bog-returns and bog-profits. This is but another elucidation of the adage, that after all, "honesty is the best policy." The simple truth is, that this principle of landlord and tenant-law is not honest; and its impolicy is seen in the bogs and wastes of Ireland, as well as in the diminished supply and the want of demand.

I can imagine some of your readers exclaiming, "This is all very well, you know, but this is mere talk." I assure them it is not mere talk, as a perusal of the evidence given before the Land Commissioners at this town of Bantry would convince them. According to the evidence of Mr. Freeman, the Roman Catholic curate (Part II., p. 924), 38 families, comprising 230 individuals, have been ejected from the property of Lord Kenmare in the barony of Bantry since 1840. On the other hand, this is flatly contradicted by Mr. Gallwey, the agent.

Mr. Michael Murphy, miller, of Dunimark, says in his evidence (Part II., p. 930),—

"I am acquainted with many cases in which the tenantry on the estate of the Earl of Kenmare have been very hardly, indeed cruelly treated, and subjected to arbitrary exactions, by a person employed as the under-agent of that nobleman."

He says further on—

"The term of letting is generally from year to year." "The effect of this mode of tenure is to make the tenants completely subservient to their landlords, and to place them in subjection to the persons employed under the landlords to a degree scarcely credible to those unacquainted with the fact from actual knowledge and experience. It has also the effect of rendering the tenantry utterly careless about improving their condition."

Mr. Gallwey, the agent, says this evidence springs from a hostile feeling in Mr. Murphy towards him.

Further on Mr. Murphy says (p. 932),—

“I have not the slightest doubt that, if the land was properly cultivated, the population would not be too great in the barony if it was three times its present number.”

William Neale, a tenant, swears that his rent under a middleman was increased by Lord Kenmare's agent from 18*l.* 4*s.* to 30*l.*, on the lease falling in; that he could not pay the rent, and that he was turned out without being allowed anything for the improvements he had made; moreover, that he was compelled to bribe the driver, or bailiff, by giving him 5*l.*, and that the tenantry generally paid him bribes (p. 934).

Mr. Gallwey, the agent, flatly contradicts each of these statements.

The Rev. Thomas Barry, the Roman Catholic priest, is asked (p. 941),—

“Have there been any cases of extensive removals of tenantry in the district with which you are acquainted?—Yes, the most brutal. I have known an instance where there were persons, of an unexceptionable character, willing to pay the highest rent which could be put up on land in the country by their industry and exertions, and they have been thrown upon the world.

“Recently?—Yes; there have been some instances within this year.

“Were those persons tenants who had previously paid their rent regularly?—Yes, and were willing to pay to the last.”

These statements have reference chiefly to Lord Kenmare's estate. Mr. Gallwey contradicts them, and attributes them to resentment against himself.

Mr. W. O'Sullivan complains that he was turned out of the land on which he was born, that a higher rent was put upon it, and the new tenant was broken in two years. That there is a “regular system of oppression” practised by the driver under Mr. Gallwey, and that “cows, sheep, and money, and everything is given to him” as bribes (p. 946).

Mr. Gallwey denies the whole of this.

Timothy Connor complains (p. 946) that he was turned out of his house on the lease falling in because he would not give a bribe of 5*l.* to the driver.

Mr. Gallwey says he was turned out because he was a quarrelsome tenant, and that the driver is warned against taking bribes.

Cornelius Connor gives similar evidence (p. 946).

"Do you remember anything which passed between you and Dennis Sullivan, the driver, about a cow?—Yes.

"What was it?—Sullivan sent a man to me and asked me for a bribe, and, as I could not give a bribe, I offered a cow. This was four years ago."

The bribe, it appears, was in order to get some land.

Mr. Gallwey gives the same answer to this witness as to the last.

Cornelius Henry Donovan complains that he laid out 200*l.* in building a house on some land. He was asked 10*l.* more rent, which he refused to pay, and was turned out without any compensation (p. 947).

Mr. Gallwey says he was turned out because he was obstinate and refused to pay the rent the place was worth.

I have simply here given you a digest of the evidence on both sides. Do not imagine that I offer an opinion upon it, for one naturally shrinks from meddling with a question in which truth has so many aspects, where gentlemen on the one side are ready to state upon their oaths that "black is black," whilst gentlemen on the other are equally ready to assert, upon their oaths too, that this is all a mistake, for that "black is not black at all, but a lovely white." The reference backwards and forwards to these pros and cons has brought under my eye the immense mass of downright flat contradictions which are to be found in the appendices to each volume of evidence. I had the curiosity to count them, and find 310; and there are at least double this number dispersed throughout the evidence on oath. That is to say, in about 1,000 instances the statements made

before Lord Devon upon oath have been flatly contradicted upon oath. After this very convincing proof of the variety of aspects which truth assumes in Ireland—for there is not a doubt about it, but that every one of these gentlemen, on both sides, swore to the truth,—I ought to esteem myself most fortunate in having been subjected to only two formal contradictions: one from a reverend gentleman in Cavan, who thought a statement of mine about him not complimentary, and explained it away “on the other side”—we were both right, of course; the other, from an unhappy agent in Donegal, who, in the elucidation of his view of the truth, happened in the conflict to get hold of “the unpleasant end of the stick;” to be sure, this was not his fault, and therefore he ought to be satisfied.*

There is other evidence, however, which must be taken, to be unbiassed on either side—the evidence of landowners in the district, which too plainly indicates on whose shoul-

* Since this letter, however, was written, Mr. O’Connell took upon himself to contradict, in characteristic phraseology, my testimony regarding his property in Kerry. A reference to the letter dated from Killarney, *post*, will show that he is the least happy of any of his fellows in exposure; and, to use the mildest phrase, his *contradictions* have been *proved to be* most enormous *mistakes*, which it is my firm belief he would give something less than his annual *tribute* never to have made. It is a kind of law of human nature—or, rather, it is a very common failing of human nature—for men to become sycophantic to every *great* man, and to every man in a position of influence and power. The reader may take my assurance for fact, that in Ireland this is, at *the least*, as true as it is in any other part of the United Kingdom. In Ireland, Mr. O’Connell has his sycophants—a swarm of crawling, creeping, cringing, lying reptiles, who live the disgrace of our common nature. From these creatures it may be well conceived that a perfect storm of abuse, contradiction, calumny, and coarse personality, was heaped upon me. They, however, did this good public service—for which they deserve my thanks, which is the only notice I will take of them—that, by their servility to the “*Liberator*,” (so called)—by their calumnies and abuse of myself for stating the truth regarding him—they made the whole facts so known and so much a matter of public comment, that when the true character of the “*Liberator*” was subsequently proved, his exposure and defeat were the more complete and signal. Henceforth, perhaps, his servile adulators (if any such now there be) will remember the adage,—“*Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*”

ders must rest the blame and the fault of there being uncultivated wastes, wretched cultivation, and misery in this district.

Mr. John O'Connell, landowner, of Bantry—no relative at all, by the way, of the gentleman whose portrait you painted the other day “i’ the act to kick,”*—has encouraged his tenants at Skibbereen to grow green crops, and they are beginning to do so. But he says,—

“The landlords must press the people to do so, and encourage them, and they must make them allowances, because the high rent of the land will not admit of it, unless the people are remunerated to some extent. . . . I know that all the land in the country is over-let. The land cannot bear at present what is put upon it. The people pay too much for their land—that I am ready to admit myself as a landlord. I am sorry to say we expect too much.”—(Page 938.)†

* See Appendix, 12.

† “It is of no use to insist on a rent, from the generality of Irish tenants, such as a farmer of *skill* and *capital* might afford to pay. If such a rent is wanted, he must first be given the *skill* and the *capital* required, otherwise it would be like the Egyptian order to make bricks without straw. The thing would be totally out of his power; and the sure consequence must always be, that as the horse which is overburdened will not draw, so the tenant that is so overcharged as to make him lose hope of being able to live by the land instead of paying the exorbitant rent demanded (or even as much of it as he reasonably might), will pay nothing. He will, by every device and pretence that can be resorted to, get everything possible out of the farm, with a view, if he finds he cannot live where he is, to carry off as much as he can, that he may live elsewhere; and any one who has been employed in the management of estates shortly after the peace of 1814, when the produce of land declined so much as to make the war-rents more than the tenants could pay from the produce of the land, will be able to bear testimony to the truth of this statement.”—*Prize Essay on the Management of Estates in Ireland*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 5.

“On the other hand, the rent ought not to be such as to enable the tenant to pay it without calling forth that exertion and industry which he may be fairly expected to employ.

“The miserable appearance of some farms, held under old leases at nominal rents, contrasted with the adjoining lands, let at a fair and moderate rate, will sufficiently prove this assertion.”—*Ibid.* p. 6.

“The landlord in embarrassment will be driven for relief to high rents and harsh measures, under which all those of his tenants must suffer except the few who may be able to take advantage of their landlord’s distress, and procure for themselves beneficial bargains by opportunely affording relief in some pressing

It appears that land is let by tender or proposal, and that such is the competition that "if 40*l.* be asked for land worth only 10*l.* there will be twenty applicants for it," and the highest bidder is usually accepted.

This same gentleman says further on (p. 939), in proof of what landlords may effect by looking after the interests of their tenantry,—

"I have a property that came into my hands about fifteen years ago; there were about 700 acres—a fee simple property. They were the most refractory men in the country, prize-fighters, and the head of a faction; they paid no rent—they got into arrear. It was the estate of Lord Riversdale. I bought the property, and sent for them immediately upon buying it, and squared the accounts: they owed four years rent; I forgave them three and commenced with one year, and they are paying me one half-year's rent in hand. They are paying the original rent still, and there are not now in this country a more comfortable class of tenantry; and instead of being in the public-house, and at the fairs and markets fighting, they are well clothed, and every man has a slated house and barn, where there was nothing but poverty and indigence."

He simply encouraged them in building the houses, and gave them leases. He says afterwards,—

"I know that those who hold by lease are becoming industrious and making money."

Mr. Samuel Hutchins, magistrate and landed proprietor, speaks of the great facilities that exist for making improvements in the land (p. 942). He is asked,—

"In any of the other districts you have referred to (Macroom, Carbery, Skibbereen, and Charleville) has any plan been acted upon by the land-

emergency, or supplying the means of some desired indulgence. These contracts, however beneficial to the tenant, are not always of advantage to the estate. From such transactions most commonly arises that injurious class of persons denominated 'middlemen,' who, invested *thereby* with a temporary power over the soil, and unrestrained by those feelings which hereditary property is calculated to create, 'whose own the sheep are not,' oppress to the uttermost the wretched tenantry, whose unhappy lot it is to be brought under their control.'—*Ibid.* p. 2.

lords to encourage improvements?—I believe not. Very little effort has been made at improvements in this part of the country. Matters are improving generally, *but not by any effort on the part of the landlords, or very little.*"

Mr. Richard White, a landed proprietor near Bantry, who was educated in England and came over with English habits, and who has managed his own estate for twenty years, says,—

"I came into this country determined to pursue a totally different system to any other landlord, which was, to give an encouraging lease for three lives."

He assisted his tenants, devoted his time to the personal inspection of the tenants and their farms, and the result is, in his own words,—

"Since I have done so, I have not made a distress upon my estate, nor turned out a man; and *I am perfectly convinced that my estate has not only doubled itself, but trebled itself, in value, in the last eighteen years.*"

Further on he says,—

"I flatter myself there is not a better paid estate in the country."

"Do you attribute the improved condition of your property and the better payment of the rent to giving leases?—Yes, I do, solely. I am satisfied, if the landlords would give leases to the tenants, and if it was the fashion to do it, there is a great deal of misfortune in the country that would not exist."

The Rev. Samuel Payne, agent to Lord Berhaven, says (p. 935),—

"It is certainly a pity that there is not a legislative enactment insuring the advantages of his outlay to the tenant. It is only an act of justice and prudence." . . . "Mutual protection *ought to be* the object."

Well, but we have seen that it is not. And I have before me the names of ten tenants, all with families, averaging six in a family, six of whom have had actions of ejectment commenced against them within the last three weeks, and the other four received notice to quit last rent-day, not one of whom I am informed owes a fraction of rent. They don't know why they are turned out. This is on Lord Kenmare's

property. These men and their families will necessarily resort either to Bantry or to the corner of a bog, and become inhabitants of hovels, and beggars. What are they to do in Bantry? There is no trade, and no encouragement to trade. They must, therefore, add their mite of starvation to those already starving for want of employment. Lord Kenmare is reputed to be a benevolent man; and there may be a cause for turning these tenants out, and there is certainly the right to do it. But this is not the way to make Bantry a city of palaces, nor yet to have a thriving and contented people; for these people *must* starve, and perhaps do worse.

Is it not, then, apparent that neglect and want of encouragement of the people have had much to do in making the country what it is? And the neglect has been on the part of those who had nothing else to do but to attend to her interests—whose *duty*, in fact, this was. Where ordinary attention to an estate and to a tenantry has been exhibited, we have seen the value of an estate “trebled in eighteen years,” and the people made comfortable and happy.

Surely the Bantry evidence ought not to be without its lesson to neglectful landlords.

LETTER XXVIII.

CORK AND ITS NATURAL ADVANTAGES; ITS NEGLECTED
AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES, AND MINERAL WEALTH.—
COMPARISON BETWEEN CORNWALL AND CORK.

Description of Cork—Neglect of Fishing and Cultivation, and the Wealth these occupations would produce—The Social Remedy—The Mineral Wealth of the county of Cork—Comparison between the people of Cornwall and Cork—Enterprise and Industry make the people of one County rich, with few bounties of Nature; whilst the people of the latter County are poor and miserable, with every natural advantage, because of their deficient Enterprise and Industry.

CORK, November 20.

It is in some degree expected that when you write from a town you will notice its peculiarities and its capabilities—that you will, in fact, localize your letter according to its date. The larger, however, is the town you visit, the more impossible does such a task become, unless, indeed, you give your communication the character of a mere descriptive directory. This, however, is not my object; I have to deal with the condition of the people more than with the towns in which some of them may dwell.

It will be enough, then, perhaps, on this subject to say that Cork is a very extensive, and, for the most part, a well-built city. It stands in a hollow, surrounded by lofty hills closely impinging upon it, from which fine prospects of the city below are afforded. Many of the streets ascend these

hills, and give a degree of picturesque beauty to parts of the city, warranting the title by which Cork-men love to designate it, "that beautiful city, called Cork." A fine river runs through the town into the harbour of Cork, which is eleven miles below the city; and the quays of the river exhibit much mercantile bustle. About 500 vessels of small tonnage trade to the place, and there are several steamers. The principal trade consists in the export of pigs, live cattle, eggs, corn, butter, and provisions for the English markets. There are twelve good markets in the town to supply the population, which amounts to 100,000 inhabitants. There is a celebrated porter brewery in the town—that of Messrs. Beamish and Crawford—which, before Father Mathews's temperance movement, brewed 100,000 barrels a year. The temperance movement at once reduced the quantity brewed to one-half. Its manufacture, however, has completely rallied again. There are many fine public buildings in the town, and the city is the head quarters of the staff of the southern military district of Ireland. There is also a military gaol in the barracks, on a plan introduced by Colonel Mansell, of Limerick, with much success, by which solitary confinement and labour are given as punishments to soldiers, under military supervision, and they are punished for offences and reformed without being degraded. There is a Chamber of Commerce here, too, which, by an odd kind of contradiction, is, in fact, on all ordinary occasions, a political discussion-shop on the question of repeal. Politics and commerce have, it is true, a distant relationship; but how the extension of commerce, which, it must be presumed, is the object of a chamber of commerce, can be promoted by repealing the union of the country with the most commercial country on the globe, and by shutting up Ireland—one of the least commercial countries on the globe—to itself, is a species of Irish, or rather Cork repeal logic, which it is not worth while further to dilate upon. Generally, however, there is percep-

tible in Cork an evident spirit of commercial activity, to which they are indebted not a little to the encouragement of their neighbours across the water (whom these repealing gentlemen traduce *because* they are their best customers), and to the enterprising spirit of commerce and improvement of Englishmen and Scotchmen who have settled amongst them, who conduct and own their most extensive establishments, and whom also it is the fashion of these repealing gentlemen, by way of reproach, but with most questionable taste, to term "foreigners." A railroad is in progress of construction from Bandon to Cork which, it is anticipated, will be of great service to the town in opening its markets to a distant district to the west; and eventually the interior of the country between Cork and Dublin will be connected by railway, the bill authorizing the construction of such a line, in connexion with the Dublin and Cashel Railway, having passed last session of Parliament.

The most remarkable feature which strikes any traveller through Ireland is the *uniformity* of neglect of natural advantages, and of misery amongst the people, which are everywhere to be seen. Will draining improve and enrich the country—draining is neglected, and the people exist in poverty. Will liming and green-cropping turn bogs into fertile fields, and give plenty to the inhabitants,—liming and green-cropping are unpractised, and the people starve. Will fishing on the coasts, on any persevering and sensible plan, insure comfort and wealth—the people so manage it that they barely live by it, while their neighbours from the opposite coast come and take the fish before their eyes, and make money by it. Does the country exhibit mineral wealth easily to be won, and insuring employment and comfort to the whole community, and wealth to the proprietors—the mineral wealth is left where it has ever been, in the bowels of its native mountains, the people pine for want of employment, and the proprietors remain inactive, surrounded by a

meshwork of financial difficulties. These reflections were strongly impressed upon me in my journey from Bantry to this city, and are lamentably borne out by evidence. Some few miles out of Cork, between Inishannon and Ballyhassig, you see cottages by the road-side the delapidation and wretchedness of which cannot be surpassed. There is a deep valley extending for several miles in length, and of considerable width, in which for ages the *débris* of the surrounding hills has been deposited. Through the centre of it runs the Carrigaline river, a small sluggish stream, which, for want of deepening, floods the whole valley, and renders it a bog. The valley is called from this "Anabog." I am assured that such portions of the valley as have been drained are the finest lands in the county of Cork, and bear the heaviest crops. Deepening the bed of the river and increasing the fall would afford effectual means of drainage. Yet one of those miserable squabbles in which Irishmen think it a luxury to indulge, prevents its drainage, and there, by the high road-side for miles, lies a valley naturally of the richest land, now a profitless swamp, and the people are squatted starving on insufficient garden-plots beside it. Mr. Carnegie, of Northesk, a gentleman who holds extensive agencies in the county of Cork, and who has exerted himself to improve the state of agriculture, in a letter "on draining," addressed by him to the tenants on two extensive estates—the Massy and Hutchinson estates, in this county—says, "he found the land not yielding one-quarter the produce that it would if regularly drained and subsoiled;" "the tenants all anxious to get more land, although they had not cultivated or improved the half of what they had, which, if drained, subsoiled, and limed, would give them *more than sufficient* employment, and treble the crops."* He tried

* "In England or Scotland, no man without capital would think of farming, any more than he would of setting up an extensive mercantile establishment without it, but in Ireland we all know that a great portion of those who are called farmers have neither skill nor capital. The land which they hold is wor out,

himself this system of improvement, to set an example to the tenants, and grew "the finest crop of yellow Dantzic wheat, that had been seen in the south of Ireland, on land which no one ever thought of sowing," and which grew only sour grass and rushes before, and where, of course, the people were always poor.*

"There is scarcely a part of the country that does not require draining," says Mr. Saarsfield, of Doughcloyne, near Cork, before the Land Commissioners (Part III. p. 1).

Without, however, quoting a mass of evidence to support this position, it will be sufficient to give you one quotation from the evidence of Mr. Shea, of Reanies, in the barony of

and cannot be made productive in the hands of such occupiers. Although they have no means to cultivate the land out of which they have dragged the vitals, and made it as poor as themselves, yet, having no other means of existence, they cling to it, and would almost as soon part with their lives as leave it."—*Letter to Lord Carberry, by James Carnegie, Esq., Land Agent, Cork.*

"The tenants in the south of Ireland are generally men without sufficient capital for the lands which they hold. A man with a capital of fifty or sixty pounds would take a farm of a hundred or a hundred and fifty acres. No man in England or Scotland would think of such a thing. But that respectable class of yeomanry which is the strength and pride of England is unknown here."—*Ibid.*

* "The land of Ireland is uneven, mountainous, soft, watry, woody, and open to windes and flouds of raine, and so fenny as it hath bogges upon the very tops of mountaines, not bearing man or beast, but dangerous to passe, and such bogs are frequent over all Ireland."—*Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, London, 1617. Part 3, p. 159.

"The fields are not onely most apt to feede cattell, but yeeld also great increas of corne. I will freely say, that I observed the winter's cold to be far more mild then it is in England, so as the Irish pastures are more greene, and so likewise the gardens al winter time; but that in summer, by reason of the cloudy ayre and watry soile, the heate of the sunne hath not such power to ripen corne and fruits, so as their harvest is much later then in England. Also I observed that the best sorts of flowers and fruits are much rarer in Ireland then in England, which, notwithstanding, is more to be attributed to the inhabitants then to the ayre."—*Ibid.* Part 3, p. 159.

"Ireland yeelds much flax, which the inhabitants work into yarne, and export the same in great quantity; and, of old, they had such plenty of linnen cloth, as the wild Irish used to weare thirty or forty elles in a shirt, al gathered and wrinckled and washed in saffron, because they never put them off till they were worne out."—*Ibid.* Part 3, p. 160.

Kinallea, in this county, which embodies in it the pith of the majority of the evidence on this subject. He says (*ibid.* Part III. page 26).

"The district is for the most part bounded on the east and south-east and west by the sea-coast."

That is, there are facilities for fishing, and obtaining seaweed and sea-sand, for manure, on all sides of it.

"The soil is not rich, but productive; the population is entirely dependent on the cultivation of the soil for subsistence. The district is very thickly inhabited. The great majority of the people, both farmers and labourers, are very poor, and obliged to live from year's end to year's end on the worst description of potato, without either *meat, fish, or milk*; and are very often reduced to a limited quantity of the same, though the district produces a vast supply of the best description of that esculent for the market. The houses are in general of a bad description, being composed of mud and covered with straw. There is a considerable quantity of wet land, very capable of being drained and made productive."

With such poverty and want of employment among a dense population, and "a considerable quantity of wet land, capable of being drained and made productive," beside them, it would seem to require no Solomon to find out a *social* remedy, without looking for a remedy in the repeal of the Union for existing distress and poverty, owing to the want of employment. "We want employment; we have no food," say the people. "Employ labour, guided by intelligence, upon me, and I will produce abundance of food," says the land. "As you are side by side," anybody but a Repealer would say, "then help one another; and it is evident you will satisfy the wants of each other." "Oh, no," say these great logicians, "it is a Parliament in College-green, and 'Ireland for the Irish,' that are the things wanted to set all to rights." God help you, gentlemen, and send you a happy deliverance into the regions of common sense!

The sea around the coast teems with fish. I am assured that in Scull-bay and Crookhaven the mackerel are often

seen over the whole surface jostling one another, and absolutely running on shore to escape the porpoises, which follow them into the bays, and prey upon them. The people often knock them on the head with the oars of their boats, and yet will not exert themselves to net them. Tell the men, "Why don't you get out your nets, and exert yourselves to take the fish, or you deserve to starve?" and you get an answer, "Och, the nets want mending;" or "Sure, we haven't got the nets ready;" or, as one man thus occupied answered a gentleman who asked this question, "Och, musha, by dad, sir, before we could get the nets out, they would be off;" and these poor exertionless, good-natured, apathetic men, do in reality almost starve, whilst the men of St. Ives, and from the coast of Cornwall, cross the Channel, live and labour in their boats, and, in the sight of these starving people, realise large sums, and obtain employment and comforts for themselves and families, by catching the fish which swarm on the very shores of these bays.* Well, most

* "This trade, before the revolution, we had a particular company engaged in (as Sir William Petty tells us) with great success in the west, though we have shamefully laid it aside ever since. However, as Lieutenant Chaplain has lately undertaken the whale-fishing on our northern coast, and our Parliament hath resolved to encourage that and all our other fisheries, it is to be hoped we shall see them flourish, at least proportionably to the warmth and zeal they espouse them with. And, indeed, as they may prove, in Sir William Temple's words, as rich a mine to us under water as any we have under ground (unless we will excuse our laziness in not taking them, as Busquebius says the Turks did theirs to him. viz., because they run away when they went to catch them), I cannot see what can prevent our succeeding in a design which, with due care, will not leave us a beggar or an idle hand in the kingdom."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 214.

"Mr. Borrich observes, in his *Batavia Illustrata*, that their pretended secret of the manner of salting their herrings is a mere chimera, the whole art consisting in an extreme neatness in the materials they use, and in curing the herrings as soon as they are taken, and, as it were, killing them with the very salt with which they are pickled before the air and sun have made any impression on them."—*Ibid.* p. 213.

"As this trade is left entirely open to us, and is so convenient to us that the fish come to our very doors to be taken, how faulty and negligent must we have

men would say, "As you are close to one another, as you want fish for food, or money which fish will realise with a little labour and enterprise, to obtain you comforts and necessities, just catch the fish which have come to you to be caught, and that same wealth, and comfort, and independence, which the Cornish men earn on your shores, you will earn too, and that will remedy your present state of distress." "Oh, dear, no," say the Repealers, and they bear out what they say by acting accordingly,—“the remedies which are wanted, and which will in fact cure everything, are political discussions in the Cork Chamber of Commerce, Daniel Callaghan for a member to carry out our views, and O'Connell to get up a political agitation to sever us from England: a 'demonstration' is the thing, and, as an earnest of our sincere conviction that these are the only remedies for the starving men of Skibbereen and Scull, we pay tribute to Mr. O'Connell for advocating them.”

The general character of the western part of the county of Cork is mountainous and rocky; but its rocky mountains show many indications of great mineral wealth, whilst its valleys are fertile, and productive of agricultural riches. On the western coast of Cork metalliferous deposits and mineral indications are everywhere to be seen. Go to the sea-shore and look up at the cliffs, and the veins of copper-ore are staring you in the face. A line drawn from south-east to north-west cuts through the mining districts of Cornwall, crosses the Channel, and then cuts through the south-western portion of Ireland, and, with the exception of tin, similar mines of copper and lead are to be found in the counties of Kerry and Cork that are found in Cornwall, with this differ-

been in overlooking it so long, which might have enriched the nation and employed the poor, and given so comfortable a subsistence to so many different trades, since even women and children—nay, the lame and the blind, if they have hands, might get bread by it—as spinners, cordwainers, and netmakers, &c.—throughout the year.”—*Ibid.*

ence, that the Irish mines are much richer. Limited attempts to work the mines of Cork and Kerry have been made, which, when prosecuted with enterprise, backed by capital, have always been successful. The Berehaven copper-mine, beyond Bantry, which has been worked with enterprise and capital, has realised vast sums as profits; and the Mining Company of Ireland is beginning to raise great quantities of copper-ore. A gentleman of much intelligence and enterprise, Mr. Connell, of Cork, has also recently commenced, several mining undertakings in the west of the county. He commenced the Cosheen Mines, at Scull-harbour, near Skibbereen, by means of a company, about six years ago, and, although the capital invested in working that mine amounted to only 2,500*l.*, upwards of 18,000*l.* worth of copper-ore of the richest quality has been raised during that period, and the shares of the company are selling at 180*l.* premium. This is but an indication of the success which follows almost *every effort* in Ireland. In Dumanus Bay another copper-mine has been commenced working, called the "Dhurode Mine," and which has been in work about two years. There is abundance of ore in view unworked, wanting only capital and enterprise to realise it. On the eastern side of Bantry Bay there is another mine, called the "Gurtavallig Mine," opposite the Berehaven Mine, which was commenced last August, and the shares in which, from its great promise, are now selling at 19*l.* premium. In fact, whichever way you turn to the west of the county there are superficial evidences of great mineral wealth, which the enterprise of one gentleman—Mr. Connell—has of late years begun to realise, and has shown what may be done. Six years ago not a man would subscribe a single penny to prosecute any mining project. It is a fact which the Swansea sales' list proves, that the copper-ores found in the mines of Cork are amongst the richest in the world. I will prove this, however, by quoting from the last September list before me by taking the highest

per-centage of copper in the ore of the known mines of every country sold at Swansea, and the price per ton which each description of ore realizes.

PRICE OF ORE.—SEPTEMBER LIST.

Name of Mine.	Highest Produce per Cent. of Metal from the Ore.	Price per Ton at which the Ore sold.
Cobre Mine, Cuba . . .	22½ per cent.	£ s. d. 18 3 6
Santiago Mine, do. . . .	15½ per cent.	12 14 6
Cuba Mine, West Indies . .	19½ per cent.	16 2 0
Kapunda Mine, S. Australia	23½ per cent.	20 13 6
Montacute Mine do. . . .	22½ per cent.	19 3 6
Godolphin Mine, Cornwall .	{ Per-centage of produce not given; but highest price of ore per ton }	17 7 6
Vivans Ore, Cornwall . . .	Ditto ditto	16 12 0
North Roskear, Cornwall . .	Ditto ditto	12 12 6
Tincroft Mine, Cornwall . .	Ditto ditto	11 19 0
	(The price of all other ores of Cornish mines is less than those quoted, and, therefore, the produce less rich.)	
Cosheen Mine, Cork . . .	43 per cent.	38 1 6

The Cornish returns are taken from the *Atmospheric Railway Gazette* newspaper; and are the returns of the copper-ores sold at Redruth on November the 6th this year. This, therefore, proves that the richest copper-mine in Cork is nearly twice as rich in the quality of its produce as the richest copper-mines in the world, and more than twice as rich as the richest copper-mine in Cornwall.

At Ballybunion, in Kerry, you have alum-cliffs unworked, of which Dr. Kane has given an account in his book (p. 229);* and in both Cork and Kerry, asbestos, and cobalt,

* * In Dune Bay, the upper stratum of the cliff is composed entirely of very anthracitous alum-slate, in thin laminæ, which are divided by parallel and transverse veins of crystallised allum, the same mineral occurring in nodules, efflorescences, and in loose powder, in the more decomposed beds, often contaminated by shades of yellow and red. In the small cave beyond copper pyrites abounds, sparsely by arsenical iron, and in the cavities another combination of alum uric acid and a mineral alkali."—*Dr. Kane's Industrial Resources of*
, 229.

and malachite have been found in great quantities.* So ignorant were the people employed, that in working a copper-mine some years ago, large quantities of cobalt were found near Killarney, and they actually mended the roads with it, till an English miner saw it, and, knowing its value, procured a vessel-load of it under some pretence, which he sold for 6,000*l*. As soon as the people found out its value, as they manage everything in this country, they became so stupidly greedy after it, that they worked the mine, though repeatedly warned of the consequences, into one of the lakes of Killarney, and of course drowned it.

Well, you will ask, what does all this prove beyond this, that they have rich copper-mines in Cork and Kerry? I will show you. In Cornwall there are no surface indications of any mines whatever. The miner, by his skill and his knowledge of his craft, guesses where the mine is; when he has fixed on what he conceives to be a likely spot to commence work, on Bodmin Moor, or some place equally bare and bleak, half a dozen square miles of which will hardly produce food enough for a pony to live on, he has a perpendicular shaft of some hundred fathoms to sink, and at the bottom of this he drives level east and west, without any guide but his own skill, without any encouragement often, beyond his own determined and enterprising perseverance, until he hits upon the mineral vein. In order to do this he must have an expensive steam-engine to raise the earth, to pump out the water, and to force down air for the miners. In Cork the miner has but to look at the crags above him, and he sees the vein of copper, and knows where to work. He drives a level into it, out of which the water flows into the sea, and he has nothing to do but to wheel out the ore and rubbish.

* I obtained some very beautiful specimens of malachite, whilst in Cork, through the politeness of Mr. Connell, the managing director of the Southern and Western Mining Company of Ireland.

He requires no expensive land-carriage,—no expensive machinery.

In Cornwall it is known there are mines, because the industry and the skill of the people have searched them out. For three centuries back, despite every difficulty, every disheartening circumstance, the Cornish men have bored their barren county like a honeycomb in search of mineral wealth. They come to the shores of Ireland to look for fish; they depend on the produce of Ireland for food. So barren is their county, that it will not grow corn enough and provision enough for its population, and, to put a converse case to that which it is the fashion of the Repealers often to put, the money for which they labour is sent to Ireland for food. Yet there is not a Cornish labourer whose cottage is without a clock and a bright chest of drawers, with a tea-tray upon it; which does not exhibit, in fact, every comfort which industry and cleanliness can give. With his cocked-hat meat-pie made for him by his wife, and cooked in his own cottage, and in his own oven, he goes well fed and contented to his daily labour, in which he himself is a speculator. Despite his barren soil, despite the fact that his coasts will not supply him with fish, despite the difficulties and uncertainties which hem him in on every side, he labours with intelligent enterprise and persevering industry, and he deserves his reward of plenty and comfort; but in Cork—in a county blessed by every gift of nature—girt with gold—for, realize the fish on its coasts, and they are gold—with gold spread over its surface—for, reap the produce it will yield to intelligent cultivation, and it is gold—with gold appearing from under its surface and staring you in the face, and asking you to take it, for veins of the richest-copper mines in the world openly show themselves, and to win their produce is gold—the people stand by, high and low, and, with their hands in their pockets, cry, “Och, musha, by dad, sir, may be before we got the nets out the fish would be off.” “Och, sure, who should we drain and

improve for, we've no fixity of tenure?" "Sure, wouldn't we be ruined if we paid a sixpence to work that vein of copper, when may be it won't pay?" and, thus satisfying themselves amid teeming wealth of every kind, they starve.* What has the Cornish man by nature, or under the Govern-

* "Ireland yeelds excellent marble neere Dublin, Kilkenny, and Corke; and I am of their opinion who dare venture all they are worth, that the mountaines would yeeld abundance of mettals, if this public good were not hindered by the inhabitants' barbarousness making them apt to seditions, and so, unwilling to enrich their prince and country; and by their slothfulnesse, which is so singular as they hold it baseness to labour, and by their poverty not able to beare the charge of such workes; besides that the wiser sort think their poverty best for the publike good, making them peaceable, as nothing makes them sooner kick against authoritie than riches. Ireland hath, in all parts, pleasant rivers, safe and long havens, and no lesse frequent lakes of great circuit, yeelding great plenty of fish. And the sea on all sides yeelds like plentie of excellent fish, as salmons, oysters (which are preferred before the English), and shell-fishes, with all other kinds of sea-fish. So as the Irish might in all parts have abundance of excellent sea and fresh-water fish, if the fishermen were not so possessed with the natural fault of slothfulnesse, as no hope of gaine, scarcely the feare of authoritie, can in many places make them come out of their houses, and put to sea. Hence it is that in many places they use Scots for fishermen, and they, together with the English, make profit of the inhabitants' sluggishnesse. And, no doubt, if the Irish were industrious in fishing, they might export salted and dried fish with great gaine."—*Fyne's Moryson's Itinerary*, London, 1617. Part 3, p. 161.

"I am confident that the nation, being bold and warlike, would no doubt prove brave seamen, if they shall practise navigation, and could possibly be industrious therein. I freely professe that Ireland in generall would yeeld abundance of all things to civill and industrious inhabitants.

"Touching the Irish dyet, some lords and knights, and gentlemen of the English, Irish, and all the English there abiding, having competent meanes, use the English dyet, but some more, some less cleanly, few or none curiously; and no doubt they have as great, and, for their part, greater plenty than the English, of flesh, fowle, fish, and all things for food, if they will use like art of cookery."—*Ibid.* Part 3, p. 161.

"The wilde Irish, in time of greatest peace, impute covetousnesse and base birth to him that hath any come after Christmas, as if it were a point of nobility to consume all within those festival dayes.

"When they come to any market-town to sell a cow or a horse, they never return home till they have drunk the price in Spanish wine (which they call the King of Spaine's daughter) or in Irish usquebaugh, and till they have outalept two or three daies' drunkennesse. And not onely the common sort, but even the lords and their wives, the more they want this drink at home, the more they

ment, that the Cork man has not? He has a poorer and more sterile country from nature than the Cork man, and the Government taxes his dogs, his horses, his servants, his carriages, his armorial bearings, his windows, his income, and it lets the Cork man off scot-free in all these respects to keep cur dogs in every cottage to hunt when he had better be working, and permits the gentry among them to assume an appearance of wealth when they have it not, free from all taxation. But the Cornish man has comforts and wealth, the Cork man starves in poverty. The Cornish man and the Cornish gentleman alike labour, body and mind, day after day, with untiring perseverance. The Cork gentleman hunts or smokes cigars in the coffee-houses and club-rooms of London or Paris, and the Cork peasant, with his hands in his pockets and his pipe in his mouth, burns his shins in contentment over his turf fire, and watches his potatoes boil in a black iron pot, the best and the only piece of furniture in his hovel. "To be sure," say the Repealers, "it is the Union is the cause of this, and which is the bane of Ireland." "Look at Ireland, the richest country in the world in fertility, with unequalled harbours, and capabilities of every kind, with a people industrious, intelligent, brave, and kind, and yet they are starving amid the bounties of nature; and what *can* it be owing to *but the Union*?" says Mr. O'Connell. Oh, Irishmen,

swallow it when they come to it, till they be as drunk as beggars."—*Ibid.* Part 3, p. 163.

"These wild Irish never set any candles upon tables. What do I speak of tables, since, indeed, they have no tables, but set their meate upon a bundle of grasse, and use the same grasse for napkins to wipe their hands."—*Ibid.* Part 3, p. 164.

"Touching the meere or wild Irish, it may truly be said of them what of old was spoken of the Germans—namely, that they wander slovenly and naked, and lodge in the same house (if it may be called a house) with their beasts. . . . I say slovenly, because they seldome put off a shirt till it be worne. And these shirts, in our memory, before the last rebellion, were made of some twenty or thirty elles, folded in wrinkles and coloured with saffron, to avoid lousiness incident to the wearing of foule linnen."—*Ibid.* Part 3, p. 180.

how long will you be deluded? Proclaim a general fast-day, and pray to God that in His mercy He will vouchsafe to you common sense, and enable you to see how to shun sordid deceivers* and how to realize the wealth which is bountifully thrown at your feet.

* " For I can raise no money by vile means,
By heaven, I would rather coin my heart,
And drop my blood for drachmas, than to wring,
From the hard hands of peasants, their vile trash,
By any indirection!"

BRUTUS.

LETTER XXIX.

THE FISHING AND MINING ADVANTAGES OF CORK.—
 REMEDIES SUGGESTED FOR AVERTING THE FAILURE
 OF THE POTATO CROP.

Scull Bay—Its abundance of uncaught Fish—The Mineral Wealth of its Coasts—
 The Cosheen Copper Mine—The Southern and Western Mining Company of
 Ireland—Condition of the people—Their apathy—Will not take *the trouble* to
 fish—The people being neglected do not improve—High Rents—Want of
 Enterprise—The failure of the Potato Crop—Remedies suggested for preserving
 the Potatoes sound, securing Seed, and preventing, as much as possible, the
 evils of a Famine.

CORK, November 22.

I HAVE had the opportunity since my last letter to you of visiting the mining districts in the neighbourhood of Scull, and of wandering amongst the hamlets on the rough hills of West Carbery. The Bay of Scull is exactly opposite to the island of Cape Clear, the extreme south-western portion of Cork. The bay itself is well sheltered by hills on three sides, and by islands out to the sea, and, like some dozens of similarly neglected places in Ireland, offers every facility for commerce. It abounds also with fish, if the people chose to catch them. The hills which surround the bay, and which form the country there generally, are extremely rugged and rocky in appearance, but seem to abound in mineral wealth. Many of the stones of which the walls and cottages are built

up and down the barony, are coloured over with the green and purple oxides of copper, and some of them have portions of malachite adhering to them. I broke several of these stones, and also portions of rock exhibiting this appearance, and the fragments broken off showed minute shining particles of copper in the body of the stone. These evident appearances of mineral deposit have drawn attention to this district for a considerable period, and several mining projects have been set on foot. With that misfortune, however, which seems to haunt Ireland, some of these were the projects of mere schemers, and mines were commenced which, from bad and wasteful management and incompetent superintendence, ended in failure and loss, and brought discredit upon this industrial resource of profit and employment in Ireland, where ordinary skill and competency, economy and good management would have insured success. Some, however, are still working, and one at Scull harbour—the Cosheen mine—though the means for working it have been very limited, is paying its way under careful management; and under the superintendence of Mr. Thomas, an experienced Cornish miner, promises to become a valuable property to its proprietors. About three miles of adits have been made into the mountain side, which, opening to the sea-shore, carry off the water from the mine, and the produce is wheeled out ready for washing and shipment, without cost of machinery or land carriage. The produce of copper found has paid the expense of working it hitherto, and some fine lodes of copper have been discovered. I went down one of the shafts, and saw a vein of copper, which the miners were just breaking into, four inches thick, of very fine ore. This mine, during the last six years, has kept about seventy men in constant employment, at wages equalling 1s. a day. These men are all of them comfortably off, are peaceable, well-behaved, industrious, and contented. I mention this as an instance of what enterprise in giving employment accom-

plishes. The success of this mine, and its promise, coupled with the wealth produced by the Berehaven mine, have led to the formation of a company—the Southern and Western Mining Company of Ireland—the object of which is to prosecute mining in this district on a more extensive scale. If this company be kept free from jobbers and schemers, and be as carefully and ably managed as the Cosheen mine appears to have been under the direction of Mr. Connell, of Cork, there is every fair expectation of success, and vast benefit to the country must accrue from it.

Before the establishment of this mine there were no roads, there was no market nearer than Skibbereen, there was no employment for the people, and their condition, living in hovels amongst the rocks, cultivating little patches of land, was indescribably wretched. The limited extent of the mining operations has but partially relieved that distress. It has, however, lessened the competition for land, created a market for produce, and led to the formation of roads. By these means the condition of the whole population has been considerably ameliorated.

There exist, however, still, amongst many of these cottagers in the hills, the most dreadful privations. I entered several of the cottages, and in some of them it was shocking to see the destitution and mode of living of the inmates. One that I entered,—the cottage of a labourer,—was scarcely three yards square. I had to stoop nearly double to enter the doorway, out of which the peat smoke was issuing, there being no chimney. Inside this cottage I could not stand upright by a foot. The roof was not drop dry, and this hole, worse than any pigsty, was the only living and sleeping room of the labourer, his family, and his pig, when he had one. In another cottage which I entered—the cottage of an old farmer, whose family were grown up, and most of them married, a grown son and daughter only living with him and his wife,—there were two doorways, one on each side the cottage. The

doorway next the wind was stopped up with a straw mat, through which I could see the light in a dozen places; the other had a wooden door, which was off the hinges, and served, when placed on two props, for the only table. A chair without a bottom, a piece of wood to sit on, and an iron pot, formed the whole furniture of the room. Some young pigs were asleep in a corner on some straw, and appeared to occupy the only comfortable part of the cottage. The meal of the family, boiled potatoes, was preparing.

Yet in this exposed and miserable hovel a family of seven stout young men and women had been reared. I asked them if they could not get any fish to their meal, as there was a net hanging up? The daughter, a healthy-looking young woman, who sat by the peat-fire on the mud floor, said, "Yes, they sometimes got fish; her father and brother went out a fortnight before and caught 1000 herrings in the bay one morning before breakfast, but they had not been out since." The herrings were all consumed, or sold or given away, and they were sitting down contentedly to dry potatoes, with the bay swarming with fish, not 100 yards from them. I asked why they did not go out again and fish. The answer was, "The weather was too rough." It was certainly not a mild sunshiny day, which would make fishing a pleasure and an amusement; but it was such a day as, I am confident, not a fisherman on the west-coast of England or Scotland, from Cornwall to Glasgow, would, for a moment, have thought of remaining idle at home. And yet this old man begged money of me, because of his *poverty*, when I left his cottage! In the bay there are swarms of herrings, of mackerel, of lobsters, crabs, oysters, shrimps, turbot, cod, and other fish; and yet in the town of Skibbereen, not ten miles off, a large and populous town, where I stayed, it was impossible to get fish of any kind. I thought I would try, from curiosity, if this were so; and after going through the list of fish,—oysters, crabs, lobsters, shrimps,—

was duly informed after each query by the waiter of the chief hotel, that no such thing was to be had in the town. And yet these poor people complain of living on dry potatoes and of poverty!

"If they were *encouraged* to go out fishing—for all my district is on the sea-coast—it would be a benefit," says the Rev. J. Barry, the parish priest of East Scull.*

"Do they follow fishing much in your district?—Very little.

"Is the fish abundant?—Yes, as much as upon any other part of the coast of Ireland.

"What is it prevents them?—Want of means of getting the apparatus."†

The fact of the matter is, it is the disposition of the people,—they will not move of themselves. I am informed on good authority that there is a society with large funds in Dublin, formed for the very purpose of providing fishing-tackle and boats as a loan for fishermen who are too poor to buy them, and it is a fact that the society is rarely ever applied to for assistance. The Rev. Dr. Traill, the rector of Scull, offered his own boat to some men living near the shore, whose excuse for not going out to fish was "that they had

* Evidence before the Land Commissioners, Part II. p. 959.

† "Mr. Dobbs has writ so well and so fully on this matter (our fisheries), that I cannot but recommend his essay on our trade, and this branch of it in particular, to the perusal of every Irish gentleman. But, besides this, I have read and considered many tracts that seem to be written with great truth and judgment on this subject, and they give such large accounts of the gain the Dutch make by it, that it is amazing we should not long since have fallen into it, and endeavoured to share it with them. But I have read a proclamation of the States-General, prohibiting the exportation of staves for herring-barrels and fishing-nets to foreigners under great penalties, in which they call that branch of their fishery their chiefest trade and principal gold-mine, which is the greatest confirmation of all the advantages which those authors assign to it, though many of them seem to have writ with a secret envy to the Dutch gain by commerce. I shall only observe how greatly we, as well as Great Britain, have neglected it—how useful it might be to us, and consequently how necessary it is that we should encourage it."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 211.

no boat," but the *trouble* of running it down the beach and launching it prevented them ever using it. Wherever voluntary exertion is required, they prefer stinting themselves of food and of comforts to using that exertion to obtain either. Yet, as labourers under direction and *compelled* to work, they are as good labourers as are to be found. We know they are good labourers in England, but they always labour there under direction—under a master. They are excellent labourers in the mines here—under a master; but let them depend on voluntary exertion and *they prefer doing nothing*. For instance, Michael Sullivan, a labouring man, in the parish of Abbey Stowry, near Skibbereen, is asked by the Land Commissioners (*Ibid.* p. 964):—

"Have you a pig?—Yes.

"Have you a pig-house?—No.

"Where is he kept?—He must be kept in some part of the house, in a corner.

"Have you any room for a pigsty outside?—No; I might make room for the pig if I was sure of the house for a second year, *but I do not mean to go to the trouble*; and many the same as me do not do so, not being sure of the house for a *second year*."

Thus, rather than take a day's "*trouble*" in building a pigsty with mud or stones, this man, and "many like him," will live with filthy swine in his cottage for a year! And yet the same man is asked, "Have you constant employment?—No." The plain truth being, that he would rather be lazy and do nothing if left to his own choice, than exert himself for a day to build a pigsty and increase his comfort for a year; the "*being sure for a second year*" being a mere excuse, which, however true, is in fact no excuse.

But does not this character of the people—for it is their universal character in the west of Ireland, as I have seen it exhibited in hundreds of instances—plainly point out the want of judgment of their management and employment? Here is a people, whose quiet docility and industry, if

employed, and directed, and urged on, and superintended by others, cannot be excelled, but who, if left to themselves, become indolent, careless, and unenergetic ; yet, from one end of the country to the other, the great mass of them are left to their own voluntary exertions as petty farmers, and are rarely employed or superintended by others. The result is, as might be expected, improvement rarely ever takes place among them. "As long as I recollect," says Mr. James M'Carthy, middleman, of Goleen, near Crookhaven (*ibid.* p. 947), "agriculture has been in the very same state." "Rotation of crops there is none," says Mr. T. Townsend, of West Carbery (*ibid.* p. 966), "with the exception of potatoes and corn alternately every year, *from time immemorial*." "Many is the comfortable farmer that has destroyed himself by subdividing his land amongst his children. Scarcely one of them has any idea of putting his children out to trades or sending them abroad to provide for themselves, all depending on their bit of land to support the whole."*

* "It is perhaps owing to the want of education that there is so little spirit of enterprise to be found among the great bulk of the agricultural population of this country ; at least, it appears that the spirit of enterprise exactly corresponds with the extent of education throughout the kingdom.

"In the north-eastern counties, where education most prevails, it is not uncommon to see a small farmer provide for his sons, by giving them trades, or putting them apprentices to shopkeepers, or sending them to sea or to America, and thereby preserving his farm unbroken for one of his family. But in the south and west of the kingdom, where education has made little advance, the people, totally unacquainted with the wants of civilised life, have no other idea of providing for their children than by dividing among them the land they possess. Nor have their families ever learned to desire anything which a small piece of land cannot be made to supply ; and, contented with their lot, they support nature as well as they can, living upon their inheritance, without a thought of bettering their circumstances. The original *mansion-house* (as it is not unfrequently termed) by degrees extends itself, and a cluster of cabins is formed around it by those who have issued from its walls, among whom the original farm (which may have been, when granted, of very considerable extent) is found to be divided in the most absurd and inconvenient manner, according to the allotment of those who bequeathed it by will, or as it may have been acquired by purchase. The same individual, holding perhaps his land in scattered fields, remote from his

The general complaint amongst the poor tenants is against "high rents" produced by the system of middlemen. The landlord in fee gets perhaps 100*l.* a year rent for a large tract of country from a tenant, who sublets at a profit rent of 200*l.* a year to one or two sub-tenants, who again sublet the land in small patches to the farmers at a further profit rent of other 200*l.* a year, and the farmers again sublet patches of their worst land at exorbitant rents to their labourers. Under this system the labourers never see a shilling in money, and are always in debt to the farmers; and the farmers, from the high rent which competition compels them to pay to the lowest middleman—generally five times the rent paid to the head landlord—are steeped in poverty and never possess capital to invest in improvements if they had the inclination to do it. The lower middlemen, too, in order to exact these high rents, are perpetually giving their sub-tenants notice to quit, to frighten them into paying their rents, till the poor fellows, naturally timid, indolent, and unenterprising, have no heart or means to do anything. You thus have several circumstances in Ireland perpetually all leading to the same lamentable state of poverty and wretchedness. The high rent the tenant pays his immediate landlord prevents his accumulating capital, so that he cannot improve if

house and remote from each other. This is such a common case that there is no one at all conversant with Irish estates who must not have seen hundreds of instances of it. The *near* neighbourhood of the houses is not found to produce a corresponding *close* intimacy in the occupants. Their children quarrel—their pigs, cattle, and poultry, all at some time or other do mutual injury and create dissension; so that everything gets into a state the exact reverse of what it ought to be. The dwellings are clustered together which ought to be separate, and the land is scattered which ought to be connected, and the people are made enemies who ought to be friends. To remedy this, a consolidation of their different holdings, and the removal of their dwellings to their respective allotments, becomes absolutely necessary. This naturally leads to a judicious arrangement of the land into new compact farms, equivalent in size to the detached holdings formerly possessed by each, in which *straight* mearings may be introduced, as far as the *lay of the land* will admit."—*Prize Essay on the Management of Irish Estates*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 20.

he would. The general want of any kind of enterprise amongst the middle classes and monied men deprives those of lower station of the opportunity of employment, and thus compels their poverty—for the want of enterprise is by no means confined to the poor tenants and labourers; and the general want of voluntary exertion in the labourers and small farmers themselves, makes them rest content with dry potatoes and a filthy hovel. More liberality on the part of landlords, and a riddance of those lazy drones, the middlemen, who usurp the position of the landlords, without conferring any of the benefits of landlords, would lead to improvement in the condition of the tenantry. More enterprise on the part of monied men and amongst the middle classes would diffuse employment, and with it increased comforts to the employed; and more voluntary exertion on the part of the tenants and labourers themselves would insure them many comforts and means of which they are deprived. Any one of these circumstances would insure a better condition for the mass of the people; *all united would, of necessity, insure to the people of Ireland equal wealth, prosperity, and comfort with the inhabitants of the rest of the empire.* The want of any one of these circumstances limits the opportunities and means of the bulk of the people; *but the general want of all of them, which unhappily is the fact, leads to that widely-diffused poverty and wretchedness which are everywhere visible in Ireland.* These are the true causes of Ireland's poverty, and no repeal of the Union, or other Government measure which does not ameliorate these causes, will ever have the slightest effect in altering its poverty-stricken condition.

The general topic of conversation everywhere now, is the failure of the potato crop. I have refrained hitherto from referring much to the subject, the statements of failure and of means of cure have been so contradictory. It appears, however, to be generally agreed upon, wherever I have been, that the crop this year, from a larger spread of land having

been placed under cultivation, and from the abundance of the produce, has been about one-fifth more than an average crop; and that in many places the potato disease has destroyed one-third of the produce; and that if the disease could be now arrested, there is still abundance of food in the country to supply the wants of the people. It has also been found that, by whatever means attained, thoroughly drying the potato arrests the disease. Various plans, such as quick lime, layers of ashes, kiln-drying, exposure to the air, and ventilation, have been suggested to attain dryness. Most of these are utterly futile, as beyond the general means and comprehension of the people. A simple plan of ventilation has been proposed, which is, I think, in the power of every peasant. It is to make an air passage under the length of the potato pit, and to have one or two vent-holes or chimneys on the surface of it. This may be accomplished by simply digging a narrow drain longer than the pit is intended to be, and placing stones or dried turf over it in such a manner as to prevent the potatoes and earth falling into it, but sufficiently wide apart to admit air; or, where stones are plentiful (or even turf), by placing them edgewise on the ground and resting against each other, thus Δ , an air passage may be secured under the pit. If the potatoes be piled over this, being round bodies, there will be interstices or spaces between them, which will permit of ventilation through them from the air passage or drain underneath, if there be a chimney for the air to pass out. This may be made by simply placing a broomstick upright in the potatoes, before the top of the pit is earthed up. After covering up the top of the pit, by simply working this stick round, on taking it out a hole will be left into the body of the potatoes quite sufficient to serve for a chimney; and for every purpose of ventilation. The next thing to guard against is frost. Frost always descends perpendicularly. This is an ascertained fact, as most persons have seen. Under the

archways of bridges, however wide, and however freely the wind may rush through them, the water is rarely frozen, although on each side the ice may be thick. This then being a fact, the only thing required is simply a sod to place over the vent-hole or chimney-top every night, or when it may be raining hard, to keep the potatoes dry, and free from frosting. Both ends of the drain or air-passage should be kept open. Now, this simple plan is within the reach of every peasant. It has been tried, and has been found to be *perfectly effective*. The diseased potatoes have been cured, and the sound ones kept sound by it. It is, however, of no use in the world telling the peasantry this. They are so ignorant and apathetic—so stupidly obstinate in their old ways, that they will persevere in their old plan of closing up the potato-pits with earth, and leaving the diseased potatoes to ferment and communicate their contagion to the sound ones, till the whole pit is one mass of rottenness, though you point out to them for a month the certain consequences of their adhering to their old rude and wasteful plan. They have been preached to, lectured to, instructed by handbills from authority, told by newspapers for the last month methods of preserving their potatoes, and in not one in a hundred instances has any one plan been attended to. The pits in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred (and I saw some hundreds of them yesterday) are made as they always have been. Wherever the pits have been made on the old fashion, on opening them the potatoes have been found rotting. *About Christmas the great bulk of these pits will be almost simultaneously opened, and it is nearly an ascertained certainty that the potatoes so pitted will then be destroyed. A sudden dismay and general panic will then be the result, unless prompt measures be taken to prevent such a calamity.* The Rev. Dr. Traill, of West Carbery, has suggested that the reconstruction of the pits on a plan that will insure ventilation should be immediately ordered, and, if necessary,

made compulsory by the Government. This might be readily accomplished by the clergy, or perhaps better by the magistrates and police of each district being directed to see that these orders were carried out, as a national measure, necessary to prevent a national calamity, one or two men in each district being provided to superintend and instruct the people in the re-formation of the pits.

Another important matter is to save seed for next year. The decay in the potato begins always at the bottom. The vitality of the potato is at the top, or where the eyes are clustered. This is called the "collar" of the potato. As the potatoes are prepared each day for a meal, by simply cutting off this collar, or about a quarter of an inch thick from the top of the potato, and laying these aside in a dry place, perfectly sound seeds will be secured for next year, and the bulk taken from the potatoes will scarcely be missed—will not, in fact, equal one potato each meal.

Another matter as important is to endeavour to prevent, as much as possible, the horrors, the high prices, and extortion of a famine, if unhappily it should come upon us. A gentleman of much intelligence in Sligo, an extensive miller and corn-factor, and therefore a practical man, has submitted to me this plan,—that a nominal subscription should be entered into by each county generally for the purpose of relieving, or rather *preventing*, the distress which may arise from the high price of provisions next summer. That a committee of the leading men of each county should be formed, having at their disposal this subscription, should it be found necessary to call it in. That these committees should each purchase, as they may deem it expedient, say 1,000 tons of oatmeal, at the lowest present price, holding this oatmeal over in stores till the next spring and summer, and that then it should be retailed, under proper superintendence, by a storekeeper, *for cash*, at a moderate profit, merely sufficient to cover the storage and salary of the storekeeper. That the committee

should raise money for the purchase of the oatmeal by their joint note, which the banks would at once discount. All sales of the oatmeal to be lodged each day in the bank to account of the promissory notes outstanding. On winding up the transaction, the oatmeal would be, *at the least*, worth its present value, and, if sold at a small profit, enough to cover the expenses, none of the subscriptions would need to be called for. But should there be a loss on the sale, the proportion to each subscriber according to the amount of his subscription would be trifling. Now, the present price of oatmeal is 14*l.* per ton: should there be *no* famine, I am assured from the experience of former years that the price of oatmeal next spring and summer will be thought "dirt cheap" at 16*l.* per ton; but, *should there be* a famine from the failure of the potatoes, oatmeal—which will be the substitute resorted to—will, as it has done before, rise to 25*l.*, or even to 30*l.*, the ton. The good effected by this plan would be, that these stores would regulate the price of oatmeal in the market, and would prevent the ruin of the farmers by extortioners, meal-mongers, and "Gombeens" men, and insure to them if they must unfortunately buy food, that food at a reasonable rate. It will then be time enough to meet those unhappy cases where labourers may have lost their potatoes, and have no means to buy oatmeal, by a special subscription for that purpose; and this plan will insure to such a special subscription the purchase of a larger quantity of food for the starving, because it will keep down the price of oatmeal.

These three plans will, if carried out, I feel assured by all that I have seen and heard, insure, first, *the arrest of the disease in the potatoes, and the preservation of food for the people*; secondly, *seed for next year*; and lastly, if there should occur the calamity of a famine, *there will be a substituted food secured for the people at a reasonable price*.

However, whilst convinced of the easy practicability of all these plans, I am as firmly convinced as that I am now

writing to you, such is the general apathy, want of exertion, and feeling of fatality amongst the people—such their general distrust of everybody and suspicion of every project—such the disunion among the higher classes, with similar apathetic indifference, that unless the Government steps forward to carry out, to order or *enforce* these or similar plans for the national welfare, *not any one of them will be generally adopted, and nothing will be done.* Christmas is approaching when the potato-pits will most of them be opened; the poor people will clasp their hands in helpless despair on seeing their six months' provisions a mass of rottenness; there will be no potatoes for seed next season; a general panic will seize all, and oatmeal for food will be scarcely purchasable by the people at *any price.* The Government, however, have been *warned*—let them act promptly, decisively, and *at once*, and not depend on the people helping themselves; for, such is the character of the people, that *they will do nothing till starvation faces them.**

* The truth of this prediction, in every particular, is now unhappily being verified. The potato-pits, on being opened, are found to be filled with diseased potatoes. Nothing was done to avert the calamity or to prevent the mischief; potatoes are wanting for seed, and a panic is beginning to seize on men's minds, which is being turned to the extraction of money from England to keep the poor of Ireland from starving, whilst not a word is said about the shameful apathy and neglect which permitted such a state of things to come about. I do not hesitate to state my conviction, from what I saw and from what I learned, that for the greater part of the severity of this unhappy calamity, *the people of Ireland have themselves to blame*, and their own disgraceful apathy and laziness. But the Government *ought to know* this their character, and ought to have taken measures to *drive them on*, if they were too lazy and apathetic to follow when led.

LETTER XXX.

DESCRIPTION OF MALLOW.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE
GRAND JURY LAWS.

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Description of Mallow—Its Spa—The Water-power of Quartertown—Administration of the Grand Jury Laws—The late Rev. Sydney Smith's opinion on this subject—Inglis's opinion—The O'Connells, and Road Presentations—Summary of the present Grand Jury Laws—The mode in which jobbing is managed under them—The mischievous system of Applotment—Suggested Remedies.

MALLOW, CORK, November 26.

THE town of Mallow has one of the most English looks with it of any town in the south or west of Ireland that I have yet been in. It is situated in a pleasant fertile country; a fine river—the Blackwater—runs through it, a very neat church and an old ruin give it a picturesque appearance and the houses are large, well built, and clean looking. There is a thriving and decent respectable look about it, which is not often seen in the towns of the west of Ireland. This is to be attributed perhaps in some measure to its being a watering-place. Numbers of consumptive and delicate persons resort here for the recovery of their health, the climate being mild and salubrious. Money has thus been spent in the town, and a class of good houses has been provided to accommodate such visitors and residents. The spa which is resorted to resembles the waters of Clifton; it is

tepid, and impregnated with magnesia in its passage through the limestone rocks of the district. Another and primary reason for these evidences of comfort and prosperity is, that there are very many resident gentry in the neighbourhood who form a pleasant local society, and who, in spending their incomes, give employment and encouragement to labour. The people are here very quiet and peaceable, and if let alone, and not excited and urged on to mischief by that pernicious system of political agitation which prevails, and which is the greatest curse and bar to all improvement which this country possesses, are well conducted. Sir Denham Norreys is the chief land-owner in the district, and he is giving much employment by building a handsome mansion in the town. The Cork and Dublin Railway will pass through the town, and will no doubt greatly increase its prosperity. At Quartertown in the neighbourhood, there is a considerable water-power on the river Clyda, which runs through the property of Mr. Dillon Croker, a gentleman who has very creditably exerted himself on many occasions to improve the condition of the people. There is a fine and unfailing stream of water, to which engineering skill can give a fall of thirty-seven feet, and which has been calculated to afford constant water-power to the extent of 200 horse-power. This stream now works two large flour-mills. On account of this advantageously situated water-power, a project has been started to erect a cotton manufactory and to commence there the cotton manufacture, and a company has been formed with that object. Should the project succeed, of which there is every prospect, it will be of much benefit in affording employment to a densely populated district.

There are few questions which form a more general subject of complaint in Ireland than the administration of the Grand Jury laws, and the applotment of the county cess, as it is called, or the apportionment among the occupiers of the soil of the cost of those roads and improvements which the grand

juries have presented as necessary to be made. In former days the grand juries were the means of perpetrating the most notorious jobs unblushingly. Since the alteration of the Grand Jury laws, the jobs still go on as before, but with a more intricate contrivance. It would seem as though jobbing were innate among the Irish gentry: it is next to fox-hunting and cock-shooting. It is a peculiar excitement, in which the Irish mind delights. The peasant "jobs" away his daughter with a promise of half his farm to his son-in-law for marrying her. The son-in-law comes to take possession, but finds the land occupied by another, to whom the father had previously given possession, between whom and said son-in-law there is, of course, a fight for the land; and should the son-in-law get "licked," he passes it on to his wife, or to his father-in-law, for deluding him under false pretences into the silken mesh-work of matrimony. So every private gentleman has a plan of a road in his coat-pocket for the peculiar benefit of his own particular estate, which, through the instrumentality of the presentment sessions and the grand jury, he intends the public to pay for. Talk of doubling a fox, or marking down a woodcock, what comes up to canvassing and blarneying the associated cess-payers (whom yourself or your particular friend have chosen when on the grand jury) into a promise to support your presentment for a road just past your door, and through the middle of your five miles of bog? And should your political opponent do this, what equals the delight of a dinner-party to all your friends, who are magistrates of any part of the county, on the day of the barony-road sessions, and of bringing them in to vote *ex-officio* and swamp the votes of the poor subservient associated cess-payers, whom your political adversary had spent a year's contrivance in getting appointed, and in canvassing to support his little job? Oh, it "beats cock-fighting" far away!

To give the English reader, however, a clear conception

of these Hibernian delights, we must review them a little in the order of time. The late celebrated and reverend author of *Peter Plimley's Letters* to his dear brother Abraham in the country, thus describes grand juries as they managed matters some forty years ago :—

“ The grand juries in Ireland are the great scene of jobbing. They have a power of making a county-rate to a considerable extent ; for roads, bridges, and other objects of general accommodation. ‘ You suffer the road to be brought through my park, and I will have the bridge constructed in a situation where it will make a beautiful object to your house. You do my job, and I will do yours.’ These are the sweet and interesting subjects which occasionally occupy Milesian gentlemen while they are attendant upon this grand inquest of justice.”

To come, however, to a more recent period—to the year when Inglis wrote his book on Ireland, which was in 1834, shortly previous to the passing of the Grand Jury Act—the same *hereditary passion* (I think we may call it) is by him recorded, and in a quarter, too, where purity of motive it is “ rank blasphemy ” to suspect. Only think of immaculate Daniel doing a little in grand jury jobbing!—the “ saviour of his country ” sweetening his punch out of the profits of grand jury presentments, which poor Paddy had to pay for ! “ I am now in O’Connell’s country ; here is the property of Daniel O’Connell, Esq., or the ‘ Liberator,’ as the people called him,” says Inglis, in his *Journey through Ireland*, p. 134.

“ Be it known to the reader,” he continues, “ that O’Connell is less popular in his own country than he is elsewhere. If you ask an innkeeper, or an innkeeper’s wife, anywhere in O’Connell’s district, what sort of a man their landlord is, ‘ Och, and sure, he’s the best of landlords ! He takes the childer by the hand, and he wouldn’t be over proud to dthrink tay with the landlady.’ But if you step into a cabin, the owner of which owns Daniel O’Connell, Esq. as his landlord, and if you ask the same question, he ’ll scratch his head, and say little any way. Shortly before I visited Cahirciveen, there was a road presentation in that neighbourhood, and the ratepayers, who have now a vote in these matters, refused at first

to pass it, unless the O'Connells would pay two-thirds of the expense, because, said they, '*the O'Connells have lived long enough out of road presentations.*' "

But no doubt Inglis was a base calumniator, an assassin, a blaspheming hound, a sacrilegious villain—don't believe a word of this testimony, but listen to his next paragraph, which you may safely credit, because it refers to "the boot on the other leg." He says,—

"I have reason to know, from unquestionable authority, that before the late Grand Jury Bill was enacted—that is, up to the present time—there had been much shameful grand jury jobbing in many of the Irish counties, particularly in Tipperary, Clare, Limerick, Kerry, and Roscommon. A grand juror of Tipperary called one morning previous to the holding of the quarter-sessions upon a brother grand juror—a man, however, of much greater influence than himself—and pulling out and unfolding voluminous plans and papers, began to explain the advantages which would accrue to the public from the construction of a certain road through his (the expounder's) property. 'Put your papers in your pocket, man,' said the man of influence, 'say nothing about the public advantage. I'll just say its a little job of my own;' and so things were managed."

This picture, through the medium of a different process, is exactly what transpires now. We have, however, now arrived at the period of the Grand Jury Act, the provisions of which I will endeavour as briefly as possible to explain, and then show how the "hereditary passion" exhibits itself under it.

By the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 116, "An act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the presentment of public money by grand juries in Ireland," it is enacted in the 4th section, that it "shall be lawful for every justice of the peace for any county to assemble, with the cess-payers associated with them, to hold a special or presentment sessions, at such times and places as the grand jury shall appoint." And (by section 7) for the purpose of enabling the grand jury to prepare a list of cess-payers, the high-constable, or collector of the money levied by grand jury

presentment, must deliver to the secretary of the grand jury a list of the names of one hundred occupiers in each barony, or county of a town, who may be the highest rate or cess-payers. By section 8 the grand jury may fix on any number of cess-payers, not less than five nor more than twelve, to be associated with the justices at the presentment sessions, according to the circumstances of the barony; and out of the hundred names given in by the collector the grand jury must make out a list of double the number of associated cess-payers determined upon. By section 9 the majority of the justices present at the presentment sessions must choose a chairman, who must draw out from the list of cess-payers, so given in, the number determined on by the grand jury to be associated with the justices; and these, with the justices, constitute the presentment sessions. By section 12 all applications for works, the expense whereof it is proposed to levy off the county at large, or off the barony, must be made at the presentment sessions holden for such barony; and by section 17 such applications shall then be decided upon to be adopted or rejected by a majority of voices. Section 18 gives instructions how to proceed if the application be rejected, by a process of appeal to the judge of assize, under which, if the applicant only perseveres, though he may be defeated once or twice, he will be certain ultimately to carry his proposal, as it must pass, unless opposed before a jury with as much pertinacity as he presses it, which is not generally likely to be the case. By section 31 the sheriff must nominate one freeholder of lands above the yearly value of 50*l.*, or leaseholder of lands above the yearly value of 100*l.*, to be placed on the grand jury panel for *each* barony, and complete the panel of 23 by selecting from the list of gentry of the county qualified to act as grand jurors. By section 37 the grand jury thus empanelled proceed to decide on the presentments made to them from the presentment sessions, and to adopt or reject them. The cost of these presentments

when allowed as directed by the act, are leviable in proportion upon each parish or "denomination" in a barony, and the sum to be paid by each individual occupier is "applotted" by two persons, to be chosen at a public meeting of the landholders or "inhabitants," who are required (sec. 151), "fairly and justly, according to the relative annual value of the several subdivisions of the lands and tenements therein contained," to make the applotments, and to make oath before a justice of the peace for the county "that they have made the said applotment justly." False swearing in this respect is made perjury by section 172. And by section 153 this applotment, or cess, is to be paid by the occupying tenant.

Such is now the law, and we come now to examine how the "hereditary passion" exhibits itself under it:—

"Were the landlord and landlord proprietor obliged to contribute their portion according to their interest in the grounds, it would be the cause of stopping a good deal of jobbing going forward," says Mr. Thomas Townsend, of West Carberry, Cork. (*Ibid.* c. 967.) "Landlords are continually endeavouring to get new lines of roads through their properties, and in very few instances offering to contribute to any part of the expense. And from the description of rate-payers associated with the magistrates at road sessions, instead of being a *check*, they have made things much worse than formerly."

The first step taken, should a grand juror have "a little job of his own" in his barony, is to tell the grand jury:—"You know I know very well the people in my barony, and I will select the required number of names, if you permit me, from *the best* of the hundred names sent in by the collector." A request so reasonable is, of course, assented to by the gentlemen from other parts of the county, who expect similar courtesy when the selection comes to their districts. Double the number determined on as associated cess-payers are then carefully selected from his own tenants, and it matters not which of these may be afterwards chosen as associated cess-payers, as there is little fear but they will

vote for "the job" at the presentment sessions; and he himself will do the rest for it when it comes before the grand jury, by diligent attendance, and canvassing, and speechifying,—

"The associated cess-payers are always chosen by the gentlemen who represent the barony," says Mr. Richard White, landowner, of Bantry. (*Ibid.* p. 928.) "Suppose myself,—I put down all the tenants who will support any measure I wish to carry" . . . "and they are generally in a class of life not fit to be intrusted with a vote."

If, however, he is not a grand juror, then the application must be made in due form to the presentment sessions. To insure its success, the associated cess-payers are, if possible, canvassed, and their support secured before the presentment day. This is usually no very difficult matter from the station of these cess-payers. The country gentleman rides up to the mud hovel of the associated cess-payer, who rejoices in all the pride of station of a six-acre farm; asks for Pat Murphy inside; pats on the back the sweet little boy without clothes who is scratching his head and rolling over the pig; inquires feelingly after the health of Mrs. Murphy, who "thanks his Honour for a fine gintleman, an' if she could only get buther-milk to her praties she'd do very well;" tells Pat "to come to his house, and he shall have a rabbit that he (the gentleman) shot yesterday;" and so far as Pat is concerned "the job" is done, and "his Honour" departs amid the blessings of the assembled family,—"May the Lord give you a safe journey; *may everything prosper wid you*, for a fine good gintleman." A few such visits as these, and an invitation to his friends among the magistrates in *any* part of the county who have a right to vote in any barony, to come and dine with him, and just vote for "his little job," insures him a road through his estate at the expense of the occupiers of the barony, provided there is not a counter-project of rival pretensions started by some other influential gentleman of the district,

in which case the *ex officio* votes of the magistrates are sometimes brought to bear to swamp the cess-payers where they cannot be won, and the man of most influence is sure to carry the day.

"The system of the grand jury cess, and the road jobbing, and the partial way of doing business, are very much to be found fault with," says Mr. Daniel M'Carthy, vice-chairman of the board of guardians at Skibbereen. (*Ibid.* p. 959.) "Magistrates go from one barony to another to carry a road that is for the benefit of the owner in fee; and I should think that they ought to be the persons to pay for it."

"I do not think that the persons who represent the grand jury are the most competent," says Mr. William O'Sullivan, farmer, of Carrigrass Castle, near Macroom (*ibid.* p. 945); "they do not know the wants of the people, and it is all a jobbing system."

Should, however, any gentleman, for the sake of the public good, propose a road, who does not happen to be a man of preponderating influence, the cess-payers, to save their pockets, won't vote for it. What do they care for the public? their landlord has not canvassed them. If such a measure even should be approved of and get into the grand jury, there is none of the excitement of the "hereditary passion" to back it; it lacks supporters in the grand jury, no one knows anything about it, it is voted a bore and rejected. Then comes the cess-payers' turn to exercise the "hereditary passion." They unfortunately, and most unjustly, have to pay for all these "jobs" thus palmed upon them. A lumping sum is imposed on the town-land or parish, which must be apportioned on each occupier. A notice of the meeting to choose apportioners must be stuck up on the door of the church, convening "the landholders and inhabitants" to choose apportioners. On this choice, according to the preponderance of parties or factions at the meeting, depends the fact whether Pat Murphy shall be apportioned by his friend to pay 1s. cess, or shall be adjudged by that nameless scamp, his enemy, to pay 10s. cess. A matter of such general importance is, of course, a matter of conse-

quence. Sometimes it is managed by two men going with the notice—the churchwarden and one in the secret; the churchwarden posts the notice on the church door, according to law, and his friend in the secret immediately pulls the notice down. On the day appointed in the notice for the meeting to choose applotters, Pat Murphy “has caught a cowld and can’t go and dig praties that day;” and Dennis O’Sullivan, his neighbour, “has got a pig in the measles, and can’t lave it.” The meeting is held in due course, the churchwarden in the chair, and Mr. Patrick Murphy and Mr. Dennis O’Sullivan are duly appointed applotters for the town-land by the assembled inhabitants, to the number of four, the said applotters included, and they proceed to make the applotment, which every one else in the village swears he won’t pay, because he knew nothing of the meeting, and the matter is at length settled by a satisfactory fight. Do not let your readers imagine that this arises from the love of fighting; there is generally a very sufficient provocation.

Mr. Thompson, of Dingle, agent to Lord Ventry, in Kerry, says, before the Land Commissioners (Part II. p. 855):—

“The county-cess is at the will of the applotter, who is very often a very corrupt person. I cannot see any rule they go by except the imagination, or the dishonesty, or the interest of the applotter. Two townlands of equal value are often applotted, one four times more than the other, with only a ditch between them. There is no certainty about it. A man rated low this year, may be high next year, if there is a new applotter.”

Sometimes, however, when it gets known, the whole parish assembles at the choosing of the applotters—those who pay rates as “landholders,” and those who do not as “inhabitants,” and a regular row takes place:—

“Nothing can exceed the disgraceful scenes that occur in this county at the different places where applotments are to be made. There was a

case brought before the grand jury, at which I was, at the last assizes at Killarney. A day was appointed for appointing applotters, and the church, it appears, was the place allocated for electing them; and one party, who were anxious for one set of applotters and one arrangement, got into the church by some back way, while the others were kept waiting outside, and they made their appointment, and subsequently those who were waiting outside got in and made their appointment. The consequence was two applotments were made and two sets of applotters appointed, and the collector got both applotments. He was obliged to go back to the old applotment. He did not know what to do."—(Evidence of Mr. Denny, landowner of Tralee.)

To be sure there is the little matter of the "oath" required, with the penalty of perjury attached, "to applot fairly and honestly;" but, indeed, the less said about that the better, for it appears to be the custom for the applotters, as they are not remunerated by the Act of Parliament, to leave themselves out of the applotment by way of reasonable remuneration for services done. Hence the stimulus to the "hereditary passion" on the part of themselves and friends.

Peter Thompson, Esq., of Tralee, treasurer of the county of Kerry, is asked,—*

"Do you know in what manner the sums named in your warrant to be levied on the parish is applotted upon the parish, and by whom?—There is no regular mode of doing it. The applotters are appointed every year from among themselves.

"Is there any appeal from the decision of these people? I have no experience upon this subject. It has been found that the applotters not being paid men had a right to pay themselves, and they have left themselves out of the applotment; and when questioned upon it before the grand jury, they said that they thought that that was the least they could have for their trouble."

"There are continual conflicts," says Mr. Lynch, of Tralee (*ibid.* 863), "at the meetings for appointing applotters, and nothing generally results, except that the collection of the rate is left almost to the discretion of the collector, and he falls back upon the previous applotment."

* Land Commissioners, Part II. p. 858.

He recommends a barony valuator to be appointed by the grand jury, from whose decision there should be the right of appeal. At present he says,—

“ You have no responsible class. The only security is the *oath* that the parties take, which I have no hesitation in saying advisedly, for I have been often consulted on the subject, is *totally disregarded*.”

It is, however, hard and unjust that the occupier should be taxed for the permanent improvements on the landlord's estate, in the shape of roads and bridges, which will, by increased facilities of intercourse, necessarily increase his rents, he paying nothing towards those improvements, whilst his occupying tenant, with a very uncertain and perhaps temporary interest in the land, is made to pay for them. There is much evidence given before the Land Commission setting forth this grievance :—

“ I think it most mischievous,” says Mr. Lynch, solicitor of Tralee, (*ibid.* p. 861), “ that the cess should be imposed by the grand jury law, the present as well as the past, upon the occupier, though that occupier should actually have in his pocket a notice to quit from the landlord, by which his tenancy was determinable, and that no advantage could arise to him either immediately or remotely. I therefore think, for that reason, that the landlord whose rent is benefited by making roads should be the individual upon whom, in the first instance, this cess ought to be imposed.”

“ I think it unfair to make the tenant at will, who has no certainty of his ground, pay the entire expense of the new roads and other works carried on at the baronial charges, and that the landlord, who really derives the benefit of it, pays nothing.”—(Evidence of the Rev. James Barry, parish priest of East Scull.)

It is difficult to suggest an efficient remedy, for the evil is not so much in the law as in the “ hereditary passion” of the people. If the cess is imposed equally on the landlords, they will oppose generally the making of *all* roads; and roads are one of the surest means of improving the people and the country. To give a fixed salary to the county surveyor, and debar him from the exercise of private business, compelling him to devote his time to an examination

of the plans proposed, and to report upon them, and suggest necessary roads ; and to give each barony a power to assess itself for the making of a road in the barony if desired, which it cannot now do, nor get such a road unless some influential person presents it at the sessions, would do much good. The question, however, is one of those peculiarly Irish ones, not so difficult in itself, but difficult because of the character of the people for whom the law is made, and who, whether from the " hereditary passion" of jobbing, from a perverse ingenuity, or from whatever cause, subvert and render mischievous and nugatory almost any enactment. The mischief, however, is inflicted by them upon one another, and it is the duty of the Government, as far as possible, to prevent them like children from falling into the fire, and, as far as possible, by judicious checks, to render the " hereditary passion" harmless among them.

LETTER XXXI.

CHALLENGE TO MR. O'CONNELL TO PROVE THE CONDITION OF HIS ESTATE.—WATERFORD; ITS NEGLECTED ADVANTAGES AND CAPABILITIES.

Notice of Mr. O'Connell's defence of his Estate and contradiction of my description of it—Challenge to him to prove the description correct before twelve impartial Gentlemen—Tender of issue what shall be proved—Description of the country from Mallow to Waterford—An Irish three-story house—Waterford and its neglected Advantages—Its Exports—Its Politics—The Copper Mines—State of Agriculture—Deposits in the Savings Banks—Recommendation to the Government to cultivate Waste Lands as a means of employment for the people and as a profitable investment of capital.

WATERFORD, November 29.

BEFORE I enter upon the subject of my letter to-day I think it necessary—due, in fact, to you—that I should briefly advert to the recent defence of Mr. Daniel O'Connell, in Conciliation-hall, Dublin, to my charge against him, and which I now repeat*—"that amongst the most neglectful

* The defence, briefly, was this : that the town of Cahirciveen was a very improved and good town, and that it owed its improvement to Mr. O'Connell. The place about which I wrote was Derrynane Beg, which is just seventeen miles from Cahirciveen, the two places being as distinct as Killarney and Cork. Any man of plain sense will ask, "What, then, had Cahirciveen to do with Derrynane Beg?" Why, nothing beyond this, that they have one middleman over them in common. That is their common misfortune. But it was possible to say something about Cahirciveen—that it has a nunnery, a market-house, a reading-room. and a Fever Hospital, and, being just two miles from the Valentia slate-quarry, that

landlords who are a curse to Ireland Daniel O'Connell ranks first; that on the estates of Daniel O'Connell are to be found the most wretched tenants that are to be seen in all Ireland;" and that "whenever a 'middleman' is execrated his name will not be forgotten."

Trick and chicane, unblushing impudence, a tongue which falsehood never stayed, are the stock in trade on which this man has long existed; they have imposed upon an impulsive and unreflecting people, generous to a fault. By the exercise of these means he has wound himself round their hearts; but the time is arriving when the viper whom they have cherished and fed will no longer hide from them his native qualities.

By a garbled extract from one of my letters he excites the national vanity of his hearers against me; and, having thus prepared them to believe anything he might choose to state to my prejudice, he enters upon a lengthened description of what he has done for the town of Cahirciveen, and on that rests his defence. His listeners applaud, even his opponents are staggered, and his friends vehemently exclaim, what a "scoundrel," and Heaven knows what else I must be, thus to misrepresent him.*

its houses are slated; but it was impossible to say a single word in defence of Derrynane Beg;—so the two, though seventeen miles apart, were "hocussed-pocussed" together, and it all went down as gospel in Conciliation Hall, that because the houses of Cahirciveen were slated from the quarry close by, *ergo*, my description of the wretched hovels of Derrynane Beg with their rotten potato-stalk thatches, was monstrously incorrect. Thus thought the logicians of Conciliation Hall, and they absolutely voted that this absurd defence should be printed and circulated. I need hardly say that, because of the course which I subsequently took, the vote fell still-born, and this cunning ruse was a failure.

* As a specimen of the manner in which any man is attacked here who dares to state the truth, I cut out the following letter from a paper called the *Munster Chronicle*, published in this town, and purporting to be addressed to the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, a Dublin paper:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

"SIR,—I beg leave, through you, to ask that very self-sufficient personage, *The Times'* Commissioner, a single question—one frequently asked by Irish

I will pass over the preparatory artifice, and simply quote what I said of Cahirciveen. "The wretched-looking town of Cahirciveen, its dirty unpaved streets, and old hat-mended windows, reminds me of another subject," namely, that he is the lessee of the town, "and sublets it at a profit rent as a middleman;" and I proceeded then to describe the condition of his tenantry on other parts of his estate. These three lines are positively every syllable that I wrote about Cahirciveen. Refer to my published letter and see. Every syllable of the sentence is literally true. Upon this text he enters into a statement about convent-building, priest-paying, fever hospitals, butter markets, not exacting any rent for a churchyard, the excellence of the inn there, and a vast deal more, all ending in self-laudation. The trick succeeded; his less acute auditory were driven off the scent. Without entering into a detailed examination of his statements, nine-tenths of which are pure moonshine—in fact, utterly false,—what answer, I ask, did he give to the charge of having within a mile of his own house the most wretched and squalid and pauperised tenantry in all Ireland? Not one word of answer did he give. Brazen as he is, he had not brass enough for that. In fact, he occupied his auditory with every topic but the charge against him. And yet they could not see his evasion.

I will not, however, stoop to bandy talk with this man. I came not here to humbug the English people, and I shall at once take a course which every Englishman and every

recruits in answer to impertinent jibes and insults from their English fellow-soldiers—viz., 'I say, Jack, how old was you when your mother was married?'—I am, &c. &c.

"J. D. S."

I beg to assure this gentleman, that if he will favour me with his name, I will travel to his lodgings to give him a thrashing—a punishment which his "Irish recruit" would be certain to get if he knew no better than to ask such a question, and which the son of every gentlewoman will be ready to favour him with if he is man enough to publish his name.

honest Irishman will say is a fair course, and offer to appoint six gentlemen, whom I will select from different parts of Ireland ; Mr. O'Connell, if he dare, may do the same ; I will proceed with them, in ten days, or whenever he pleases, to Cahirciveen ; I will show them, and him too, if he chooses to come, its dilapidation—its filth ; I will show them the inn of which he has said so much, and which (because of the civility of its landlord to me) I unwillingly say, that with one exception it is the very worst that I have been in in the United Kingdom ; I will take them to his estate under Mr. Hartop, in the hills behind Waterville, from which, as a middleman, he derives a profit rent of *one-third of his income*, and about which, in his laboured defence, he has not said one word ; I will show them his tenants living there in a state of neglected wretchedness such as none would believe who did not see it, in huts not weather-proof, badly roofed, often with sods, without chimneys or windows, and with literally *an iron-pot and a turf-basket as their only furniture*. The beds, usually a heap of stones, covered with turf and heather ; the tables, the turf-basket bottom upwards ; the mud floor their seat. They shall see the multiplied pauperism, the infinite subdivision of land, the utter neglect and misery of the people, left there in a state of nature, untaught, unheeded, to multiply in misery as they list. These poor people must be of necessity removed when the lease is out by Mr. Hartop, who will then get all the odium of the misery which this middleman's neglect has created. They shall hear from the mouths of these poor people—this middleman's *tenant-farmers* !—that they are in the habit of migrating to Cork, to Limerick, and to Waterford, in the potato season, in order to earn enough at potato-digging, in competition with the poor peasantry of those counties, to pay this middleman's rent. I will take them to Derrynane Beg,—I will let them look for themselves through the hovels there. They shall for themselves hear the stories

about "Old Huntingcap," as O'Connell's uncle was called, —about whom I do not wish to say one word, and they will judge of the weight to be attached to his brag about his *ancestry* ! Before "Old Huntingcap's" time they were "unknown to fame." They shall hear for themselves, too, the stories about his *morality*, of which he makes so perpetual a boast. They shall hear, too, from a dozen witnesses, who saw his tenant's cattle impounded and sold for rent but a month due, that Serjeant Jackson's charge against him, on whatever testimony founded, was true. They shall hear and see for themselves all this, and if they do not *unanimously* conclude as I did, that this same Daniel O'Connell is the most unprincipled impostor—the most unblushing—(pardon me ; I will not imitate his foul-mouthed phraseology) *fabricator* that the world ever saw, I will submit to be termed what he pleases. Now, this I challenge him to do, if he dare. Do not let him flatter himself that I shall shrink from the task, hateful as it may be, of fully exposing to the gaze of the world the whole history of his career, the full picture of his tenantry's condition. No glozing over, no cunning, no evasion, no talking about the Cahirciveen convent, and churchyard, and the butter market, shall avail him ; in all its appalling wretchedness, the condition of the poor, neglected, peaceful, and intelligent people on his property under Mr. Hartop and under Lord Cork, at Derrynane Beg, shall be exposed.

I shall set about this task, if he dare accept the challenge, with zeal, because I feel that I am engaged in a good work for Ireland, in thoroughly unkennelling and exposing this impostor. In my whole tour through Ireland I have seen the mischief created by the agitation which he fomented, and which is kept up by the most worthless and reckless of the community. The respectable men of his own party, who are estimable men, because they conscientiously entertain the principles they hold, believing them to be for the benefit

of the country, are constrained by a kind of mob-law imposed on them by the worthless, to support this man in all his vagaries through thick and thin ; and, whilst in their hearts condemning his mischievous course, are obliged to aid him. In Cork I heard of many instances of gentlemen subscribing to his "tribute," as he calls it, to save appearances with the mob, and who do not hesitate in private to express their conviction that the greatest drawback on the prosperity and advance of Ireland, in misdirecting the energies of her people, is the political agitation which this man fomenta. The priesthood, many of whom are highly estimable men, in like manner generally deplore the mischief he causes ; but, dependent upon the good-will of their parishioners, they are often compelled, contrary to their better sense, to bow before the mob outcry got up by the most worthless scamps in their parishes, and to add to the seeming popularity of this schemer. The whole scheming structure is hollow. It only wants one good battering to tumble to pieces. A thorough exposure of this unprincipled mountebank, who one day drinks "the immortal memory of William III." in the waters of the Boyne, and the next, to serve his sordid ends, strives to urge on his countrymen to certain bloodshed, by execrating the English Government, and exciting them against every act of England, would, I am convinced, be a national benefit. Let his trusting and confiding countrymen but once have their eyes opened to the sort of thing that deludes them, and whom they blindly follow, and there is an end to his capacity of mischief, and some hope for Ireland.

This, too, I beg of English travellers, who next year may visit Killarney,—go to Cahirciveen, the scenery will repay you. On the island of Valentia, the property of the Knight of Kerry, you will find a clean town, a comfortable inn, where you can both eat and sleep in cleanliness. Look at the town of Cahirciveen, and compare it with Valentia ; look at its boasted, wretched inn, and compare it with that a

Valentia; go round by Derrynane and look at the houses of the tenants yourselves,—the scenery will repay you for your trouble, and I know that you must remember this man's statements about himself and his estate, when compared with the reality, with disgust.

This man, however, does not constitute Ireland; and, with a feeling of profound contempt for such a person, I turn to subjects more deserving of attention; merely stating this, that I wait his determination, and I will be ready with my friends any day he pleases to prove him to be what I have said he is.*

In my way to this town from Mallow I passed through Mitchelstown, and had an opportunity of witnessing the benefits resulting from resident landlords. Lord Doneraile owns a large estate at Doneraile, on which he resides, and, under the superintendence of an able Scotch steward, and by encouragement, he has enabled the peasantry to live in a better class of houses, and to cultivate their land in an improved style. At Mitchelstown Lord Kingston resides at the castle, one of the most splendid edifices in Ireland, and the kindness and urbanity of his lordship to his tenants, and the pains he takes to have them instructed, and his general courtesy to the gentry of the neighbourhood, not only make his lordship beloved, but have accomplished much in improving the character of the surrounding population. The peasantry, however, are slow to improve, and inveterate in their habits of subdividing and pauperizing the land. It is the custom of his lordship to give leases. There is no doubt, under every ordinary circumstance, of its policy; but he complains, and justly, that his land is subdivided in spite of him, and at the termination of each lease is rendered up to him covered with people, most of whom it becomes necessary to pay to get rid of, in order that some of them

* See Letter, *post*, dated Killarney.

may be enabled to live out of the land. Nothing, in fact, but the progress of education and opportunity of employment will remedy this evil. From Mitchelstown, as you travel eastward, it is a general fact that the houses of the farmers and the style of farming improve. You seem advancing, in fact, towards civilization. Leaving out of the question the fine towns of Limerick and Cork, it is a general fact that the further you get westward, among the pure Irish, the more barbarous, uncivilized, and helpless are the people, the more uncultivated and waste the country, until you get to that *Ultima Thule* Cahirciveen. It is only in that happy region, which has lately been blown on the wings of fame, that what the Irish peasant terms "a regular three story house" is generally found, which being interpreted into vulgar English, means the pig on the floor under or beside the bed, the unhappy victim of insect persecution on the bed, and a row of cocks and hens roosting on a stick above the bed. To be sure, a family arrangement like this has its advantages; for the grunting and snoring of the pig soothes poor Paddy into forgetfulness of cutaneous irritation, and the crowing of the cock above his head "at early morn" prevents his slumbers being too prolonged. This is what that "broth of a boy" "our son Maurice" terms being "very comfortably off," in a letter about "his babes," to his "fond papa."*

The town of Waterford is, naturally, perhaps one of the most favoured towns in the kingdom. It is about a dozen miles from the sea, and a magnificent tidal river runs quite through the town, at the quays of each side of which vessels

* At this time, a letter was going the round of the papers from Mr. Maurice O'Connell to his father—evidently written for publication—in which, after bestowing some O'Connellite epithets upon myself, he says the wretched tenantry of Derrynane Beg are "very comfortably off," and concludes with stating that his "babes" are well, and signs himself "your fond son." This from a man of forty years of age savoured not a little of the burlesque.

of 1000 tons can discharge. At low water there is a depth of fourteen feet. Into this fine river, the Suir, the river Barrow and other navigable streams discharge themselves, opening a natural water communication to no less than seven adjacent counties. There is an inexhaustible store of the finest fish on the coast, which, so far as it has been fished and sought after, has amply repaid the speculators. Turbot is sold by contract to the London market at 8*d.*, and soles at 6*d.*, the pound. This means of profitable enterprise and employment might with facility be increased tenfold. This splendid river running through the town gives many fair sites for houses. Much of the town has a very Lower Thames-street appearance, being composed chiefly of stores or warehouses; but there are one or two good streets, and many public buildings and institutions, which justly make it rank high amongst Irish towns. The population is about 30,000. It will, too, in a short time, be the focus and terminus of several railways. With all its great natural advantages, however—advantages which, I am certain, if possessed by any town in England, would soon lead to a second Liverpool,—as to trade and commerce it is stationary, except in one respect—the export of provisions. A timber vessel or two, and one or two emigration vessels, constitute the amount of its passenger traffic and foreign trade, apart from the steam-boats. In all other respects it is supplied chiefly from Bristol. Its export trade of provisions to England, however, is enormous, as the following table perhaps will best show :—

**EXPORTS OF PROVISIONS FROM WATERFORD, FOR THE YEAR
ENDING JULY 31, 1845.**

Live pigs exported	82,021	Average 2 cwt. each ..	Cwts. 164,042		
Pigs manufac- }	248,807	{ 497,613 flitches, 72lb.			
tured into bacon }		{ each	319,894		
Pigs ditto into }	2,695	Average 2 cwt. each ..	5,390		
barrel pork .. }					
	333,523	Pigs.	489,326	24,466	6
	Cwt.				
Butter	131,805				
Lard	30,072				
	161,877	.....	.....	8,093	17
Wheat	124,179	Barrels 2½ cwt. each ..	311,197	15,559	17
Oats	207,147	Barrels 14 stone each	362,507	18,125	7
Barley	7,986	Barrels 16 stone each	15,974	798	14
Flour	693,800	cwt. }	698,218	34,910	18
Oatmeal	4,418	cwt. }			
				101,954	19

The people, however, though they neglect the finest position that ever town possessed, by no means neglect the very profitable trade of politics. A large majority of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics and Repealers, who, for want of a party to fight with, have begun to fight among themselves. The wealthy and respectable among them wish for Repeal, because they have an idea that it will benefit the country; these form one party, are for the most part estimable citizens, and by no means disloyal; the other party are the out-and-out democrats, who not having themselves a "rap" to lose, are very anxious to have a rap at everybody who has.

"The whole coast from East to West is rich in mineral treasure," says Mr. Barron, auctioneer, of Waterford, before the Land Commissioners. This mineral treasure has been in part worked at the Knockmahan copper-mines, which are about twelve miles from Waterford. These mines have proved very profitable to the speculators, and employ a great number of people, whose condition thereby has been raised from one of starvation to one of comfort. At Portlaw, also,

near Waterford, an extensive cotton manufactory has been established by a firm of enterprising members of the Society of Friends, named Malcomson, which gives employment to about 2000 persons, and has created a town, and a market for produce for the neighbouring farmers. The same gentlemen have established a ship-building yard and patent slip, at Waterford, and also an iron-foundry, successfully. It may be taken as an indisputable fact that wherever enterprise and industry, coupled with prudence, have been embarked in any undertaking whatever in Ireland, it has of necessity succeeded, for there are no competitors.

With regard to the state of agriculture in the neighbourhood, though better than in the west, it is still most indifferent. Generally speaking, nothing is done for the tenants; they have no security of their farms, and they will not improve even when they have the means. This arises from two causes—a suspicious want of confidence in their landlords, and the most complete ignorance of the science of farming. If with good faith and kind treatment they were taught and encouraged, they are naturally grateful, and in time would be led into a better way. It is hard, however, to teach anything to matured ignorance, and many landlords give up the attempt, and many never make the trial. Sir H. W. Barron, in his evidence before the Land Commission here, says,—“They are alarmed at the great expenditure incurred by landed proprietors, who improve,” and they very slowly follow instruction. Instead of investing their money in the land to be returned fourfold, they “stick it in the thatch” (Evidence of Rev. T. Flynn). They are afraid to let their landlords know they have money; and from penurious living, and getting their money together by hard saving, they constantly make what is here termed “a poor mouth,” without occasion, and impose upon those to whom they owe money.

“The destructive system of agriculture,” says Mr. Piers

Q. Barron, before the Land Commissioners (Part III. p. 449),—

“Is owing in a great measure to the uncertain mode of tenure, to gross ignorance on the part of the farmer, his unwillingness to lay out any capital he may have amassed in manuring or fertilizing the soil (which I attribute to the fact that the Irish farmer never makes money; he does not know how, but he scrapes it together by his beggarly mode of living, and hence it is death to him to part with a penny), and the absence of all encouragement to improvement on the part of the landlord.”

The appearance of the majority of the cottages of the tenant-farmers is generally so wretched, they are so devoid of comforts inside, and they live so miserably, that those who never examined below the surface would imagine them all to be in abject poverty. Many of them are so; but there are very many who are not, and who choose to live in this manner, because they have no other desire. Many of them, apparently half-starving farmers, will give their daughters portions of 100*l*. At the Savings-bank in Cork there were, up to the 20th of this month, 12,356 depositors, depositing the enormous sum of 421,676*l*., or an average of 34*l*. for each depositor. I am assured by Mr. Craig, the able manager of that bank, that about one-third of these depositors are farmers, that they are the heaviest depositors, and that they have latterly been very much increasing in their deposits. Taking this gentleman's rough estimate to be correct, and I have no reason whatever to doubt its accuracy, this would give nearly 200,000*l*. deposited by the small farmers twenty miles around Cork—an enormous sum; and yet their land is not one quarter tilled for want of judicious outlay in draining and subsoiling. The Mallow Savings-bank has 3,000*l*. lodged in it, one-fourth of which, I am informed by the manager, is lodged by farmers. Being a small bank, however, they are slow to lodge money in it, being suspicious of having it known that they have money. This strongly-marked *trait* of their character is often laughably exhibited.

The chief clerk of the Cork Savings-bank told me that he has been often called out into the vestibule of the bank by farmers, who come stealthily alone, and, like Moses among the Egyptians, "look this way and that way, and seeing that no one observes" them, whisper in his ear, lest the clerks should hear it, the important secret "Sir, I wish to deposit 10l." I have not been able to get the return from the Waterford Savings-bank.

Of the state of agriculture itself Mr. Barron, in his evidence, says (*ibid.* p. 446),—

"The farmers of this county know no more of a proper rotation of crops than they do about the rotation of the planetary system. Lime and sea-manures are those principally in use, and they are often abused from ignorance of their properties. . . . The farms are in tillage principally, and of a system the most admirably calculated to reduce the land to the very *maximum* of sterility—a constant succession of white crops; first wheat where the soil will give it, and then a crop or two of oats, then a sprinkling of dirty hay-seed, and then the land let out to rest itself in a sort of pasture that Pharaoh's lean kine would starve upon. They know no more about artificial grasses than they do about roast beef and plum-pudding. Nothing is fed in the houses in this county except the people and the pigs, and, unfortunately, their bill of fare is the same—the very worst description of the lumper potato, because this description is the most prolific."

Further on he says,—

"It is my opinion this county would support *five times its present population* were an improved system of agriculture introduced."

Speaking of the labourer in this county, he says,—

"He is the most barbarously treated creature on the face of God's earth."

Further on he says,—

"The unfortunate Irish labourer lives like the savage, save that he boils the roots which he digs out of the earth. What cares he for educating his children? What can he know of the blessings of education? You may build a national school at his door, but the instant the child is able to crawl, the father needs his help; and when he should be at school he is in all likelihood pilfering a bundle of firewood from some neighbour's ditch or gentleman's demesne. I have lived amongst them, and

seen what I describe. The people must be fed before they attend to educational pursuits."

This testimony, which I only quote, instead of describing it as I have seen it, in order that the candid gentlemen I have to deal with here may not have another topic of abuse and contradiction, leads me, in conclusion, to inquire, is there no available remedy by which these poor and much-to-be-pitied people can be raised from so degraded and dreadful a condition?

Major Beamish, of Cork, one of the proprietors of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society, has published a description of his visit to the Gleneask estate, in Galway, and also an account of the other estates belonging to that society, from which it appears that, "by an expenditure of 25,000*l.*, 16,000 English statute acres of reclaimable land have become the property of the society, and been placed in a condition of productive culture." Supposing this vast tract divided into twenty acre farms, on which a tenant could comfortably live, you have here 800 farms, each supporting a family, or at the average of six a family, giving comfortable subsistence to nearly 5000 people, and the outlay yields a return of seven per cent. to the society. Now, in this very county there are 50,000 acres of unimproved land which may be advantageously reclaimed for cultivation and drained for pasture; and in the province of Munster there are 390,000 acres of unimproved land which may be advantageously reclaimed for cultivation, and 630,000 acres drained for pasture (Griffiths's Report). The Government, or, technically speaking, the Woods and Forests, draws a large rental from Ireland in head rents and quit rents. I have not the returns, but I am informed it is about 75,000*l.* a year, of which sum, it is said, only 9,000*l.* a year is expended in Ireland. The Government, then, is an Irish landlord, and an Irish absentee landlord, draining Ireland of money in this respect, and spending it elsewhere. It is

shown by the reports of the Irish Waste Land Society that their outlay of money in cultivating waste lands returns them 7 per cent. Now, whatever other encumbered and poor or apathetic Irish landed proprietors may do, let the Government follow this example—take measures to obtain waste lands and to bring them under cultivation. 50,000*l.* a year of their income from lands in Ireland thus spent would comfortably provide for 10,000 persons every year. Agricultural schools, and superintendence to teach the peasantry how to cultivate the land properly, would insure them a continuance of plenty. There would be an outlet for industry, less competition for land, improvement diffused, production increased, discontent allayed, and the well employed and contented Irish peasant would treat with contempt the sordid miscreants who now lead him to his ruin. This, in reality, would *cost less* than paying 20,000 soldiers to keep in check a discontented peasantry, supposing it sunk and lost. But it would be capital well invested, for it would return 7 per cent., and create estates out of worthless bogs. Let the Government do this—do that, in fact, which is sensible and just, and act fearless of party. Party, let them be assured, they can never please. Everything in Ireland is made a party matter. In Cork, a thief could not steal a silver fork but it was made a party matter, and the thief was, in consequence, acquitted. Even the potato pestilence is converted into a party matter. Cast off party then, act fearlessly and with straightforward honesty of purpose. Do that which is right, and never mind trimming to conciliate anybody. Put down crime, arrest agitation; be assured the bully is a coward, and will quail before you; and though the press may frantically shriek at you, it is in reality little regarded because of the violence of its party antipathies. You will rise in the estimation of the good men of every party, and will be what every Government ought to be—a *father* to the country.

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LETTER XXXII.

WEXFORD; ITS APPEARANCE AND ITS PEOPLE.

Comparison between Wexford and its people and the West of Ireland—Appearance of the county—Cromwell and the three hundred Virgins—The Baronies of Forth and Bargy, and the race which inhabits them—Condition of the People—Irish *Patriots*—Paying Tenants for Improvements—Embarrassment of Estates—Remedy suggested.

WEXFORD, December 4.

I HAVE already pointed out to you the great improvement which is perceptible in the country, in the state of cultivation, in the houses of the peasantry, and in the people, in travelling from the west into Waterford. As you travel further eastward to Wexford the change becomes more and more striking. In the west I never saw a woman below the rank of a lady, or in towns below that of a shopkeeper's wife, who wore stockings and shoes. The poor creatures are seen, with baskets or "creels" of potatoes or turf on their backs, carrying loads like beasts of burden, without stockings or shoes, their legs red from exposure to the cold, and paddling barefoot through the mud and wet. In the county of Wexford I have not seen any woman not decently clad with stockings and shoes. In the west I never saw a cottage without a pig walking in and out as it pleased, that had a clean floor, or any kind of decent furniture in it, or a good thatch, or without a dunghheap or cesspool close to the door. In the

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rage is unknown amongst them. The land is well manured for *every* crop, and cultivation has advanced far beyond anything that I have seen in the south or west of Ireland. You see comfortable farmhouses, well-thatched and whitewashed, with good farm-yards behind them, squared fields, hedge-rows, and sufficient wood to be ornamental. The rents are high—higher than in any other part of the south of Ireland, yet they are well paid; the soil is generally a poor thin soil—a kind of sandy loam. To what can this great difference in the appearance of the country, in the state of cultivation, in the progress of civilization, in comfort, in cleanliness, in order, and good conduct be owing, for this county is in Ireland, and subject to the same laws as every other part of Ireland? It is not fifty miles from Tipperary, with its fine land and low rents, where dirt, and disorder, and bad cultivation, and savage brutality reign triumphant. It is worth inquiry, and I think the inquiry will show the Wexford men that they have good reason to be proud, as indeed they are, of their descent from the “British barbarians” and “Saxon savages,” whom it is the fashion of those in Ireland who have not their good qualities to traduce, and to whom they owe all that distinguishes them in civilization, in cleanliness, in comfort, and in good citizenship.*

* The town of Wexford has of late been made a prominent topic of discussion, from the fact, that the *Fabricator* has taken it into his head to fabricate a story respecting it calculated to arouse the passions and dormant antipathies of the mass of the people who dwell in it, if antipathy there can be in a kindred race. The Irish papers have been full of late of stories about “English monsters stabbing three hundred helpless unoffending virgins, one by one, at Wexford. When, however, I name Mr. Daniel O’Connell as the authority for this statement, there is an end of all belief of it. I took some trouble to ascertain if this story had the slightest foundation. I obtained introductions to some very old people in this town, who remembered quite well many conversations with old people when they were children, about the circumstances of Cromwell’s entry into Wexford, and who related to me several anecdotes that they had heard, but none of them ever before heard anything about the massacre of three hundred women in the town by Cromwell’s soldiers—a circumstance which, had it taken place, would hardly have been forgotten, as almost every family must have had some relative thus massacred.

This, however, is a position first to be proved; I want nothing that I write to be taken for granted; for the thousand flat contradictions on oath, of statements made on oath, in Lord Devon's book of evidence, have shown to me the necessity of being prepared with proof, even of such an

As one old inhabitant told me, "the story had taken them all quite by surprise, and nobody believed it." It is impossible that the memory of such an occurrence, had it taken place, should not have been handed down by tradition from a period not very remote, for the immediate ancestors of some of my informants—their fathers and grandfathers—carry back tradition to within about fifty years of the occurrence. When we hear stories in Ireland gravely told of Milesian descent some fifteen hundred to two thousand years ago,—for they are not particular to five hundred years,—is it possible to conceive that an event which, had it occurred, must have deprived almost every family in the town of some relative, under circumstances of great atrocity, and which took place in the lifetime of the great-grandfathers of many of the existing generation, should have been forgotten? An old "Life of Oliver Cromwell" which I have before me, enters into minute particulars of his attack and entry into Wexford, and tells of the streets being "cabled across." It says that all who fought and had arms in their hands were slain, but it says nothing whatever about the "three hundred virgins." Amongst many anecdotes still remembered by old people (though the "three hundred virgins" are forgotten), I heard the following:—"That when the town capitulated, Cromwell rode sword in hand into it at the head of his dragoons. The fierce manner of armed men thus riding into a hostile town, so frightened a poor old woman of the barony of Forth, that she rushed into the street, and in a frenzied manner spread her cloak before Cromwell's horse, and cast herself on her knees before him, screaming, with her clasped hands raised to him,—'Oh, Cromwell, jewel, spill no more blood!' Cromwell reined in his horse, ordered his men to sheath their swords, and they rode quietly into the town to the quarters provided for them." Whilst there, I also obtained a copy of an original letter, written by Cromwell to the commander of the garrison, and now in the possession of an old inhabitant, which plainly shows that the temper and disposition of Cromwell, however fierce and unscrupulous when opposed, was to fight with armed and fighting men, and not even against capitulating and vanquished men, far less against women. The following is the letter:—

"SIR,—I have had the patience to peruse yor propositions, to which I might have returned an answere with some disdaine. But (to be short) I shall give the soulders and non-commissioned officers quarter for life, and leave to goe to their severall habitasons, with their wearing cloaths; they engaging themselves to live quietly there, and toe take upp arms noe more against the Parliament of England. And the commissioned officers quarters for their lives, but to render themselves prisoners. And as for the inhabitants, I shall ingage myselfe that no violence shall be offred to their goods, and that I shall protect the towne from plunder. I expect yor positive answere instantly; and if you will, upon these

important fact as that the windows of Cahirciveen are mended with old hats,—of which more hereafter.

The barony of Forth was peopled by the soldiers of Strong-

termes, surrendr and quite in one houre, send forth to me foure officers of the qualitie of field-officers, and two aldermen, for the performanse thereof, I shall theareupon forbear all acts of hostility.

“Yor Servant,

“O. CROMWELL.

“October 11, 1649.

“*For ye Commandr in Chiefe in ye towne of Wexford.*”

(Copied from the original *verbatim et literatim*, 5th May 1830.)

Beaumont, an intelligent French author, in his recent book on “Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious,” says, regarding Cromwell’s conduct in Ireland, (p. 78),—“I could refute several other prejudices existing against Cromwell; and if this were the proper place, I could show that his was the first English army in Ireland that ever observed strict discipline, respected the inoffensive inhabitants, scrupulously paid for every article supplied on its march, and showed itself an instrument of order as well as of terror. The very same man who had so coolly commanded the massacres of Wexford and Drogheda, hanged two of his own soldiers for having stolen a couple of chickens from an Irish cabin. I might say, if I had leisure, that Cromwell was the first man before our time who had appreciated the future destiny of Ireland—its union with England. He realised not only the political but the Parliamentary union; for in his time Ireland sent thirty members to the English Parliament. Finally, I might add, that his son, Henry Cromwell, was the most honest Governor that Ireland had hitherto possessed. So disinterested was his administration, that, at its close, he had not money to defray the expenses of his passage to England.”—*Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious*, by *Gustave de Beaumont*, p. 78.

Whilst in Wexford, I heard of some atrocious cruelties practised by the rebels, and many a horrid account of the piking, in cold blood, of seventy-four of the citizens on the bridge of Wexford during the last rebellion. Such horrors are, however, best buried in oblivion. The Wexford people themselves disown all participation in that atrocity which, they say, was committed by Connaught men. Be this as it may, these are but the natural results of disunion, rebellion, and civil war—curses which many of the so called “Patriots” of Ireland strive night and day to bring upon their country. Every argument, every artifice, every dress which the English language affords, has been resorted to, to influence the people of Ireland against this country. Whilst in Wexford, I saw, in one of the local newspapers, the following rubbishy attempt at alliteration, running up and down the alphabet as an artifice of excitement:—“No, Irishmen!—the women of Wexford NEVER SHALL sink before the swords of British barbarians and Saxon savages again!” Stuff! Yet thus are the poor Irish peasants deceived, inflamed, and led on into acts of folly and violence. ¶ They speak of “English hate.” If such a feeling anywhere exists, did “English hate” of the present day ever pen against Ireland so atrocious a paragraph as this?

bow on the first invasion of Ireland. History says that Strongbow raised his handful of men (about 900 for the conquest of all Ireland!) in the county of Pembroke, in

In the same newspaper, and apparently by the same pen—for abuse is the one idea, alliteration the one dress—I saw the following paragraph about myself. It gave me some amusement, as I dare say it will to the reader. I copy it as an average sample of the style in which I saw myself spoken of by every Repeal newspaper I happened to see; and because it may show to the reader some of the annoyances and difficulties with which I had to contend. The Tory press generally remained silent, or chuckled at the abuse the Repeal press heaped upon me, and sometimes joined in the same strain. If the reader asks why I was so spoken of by the press of Ireland—for in the pages which he may have read I do not think he will find much to deserve such a comment—my answer is—my fault with the Irish press was in being an Englishman, unswayed by their paltry jealousies and party views, and because I exposed the truth, no matter which party it might serve or damage. It was a part of that exposure regarding the tenantry of Mr. O'Connell, and their wretched and disgracefully neglected condition, which no newspaper in Ireland dared to originate, which insured me the abuse of the Repeal press, a sample of which I now quote in the following paragraph:—

“THE GUTTER COMMISSIONER IN WEXFORD.

“The above libeller of O'Connell has had the audacity to set his contaminated foot within the precincts of our peaceable county, for the purpose, I presume, of sending forth to the world, through the columns of the infamous newspaper which he represents, a libel on the character of the people of this famed county. He left this morning (Friday) for Ross, after having, the previous evening, taken a monstrous feed at John's Town Castle, the seat of Grogan Morgan, Esq. You see that the libelling O'Connell is a passport for him to every anti-Irishman's table! He ought to be lashed out of Ireland before his breakfast some fine morning.”

The gentleman thus spoken of as an *anti-Irishman* is a resident landlord of great wealth, and that wealth is spent in *employing the poor*,—and this is his reward!

At Kilkenny, a newspaper of kindred spirit there, set a fellow to watch me, and boasted that it had taken measures to ascertain every movement I made!

Let me not, however, be misapprehended. There are dirty dogs in every profession. It is unfair and unjust to judge of any profession from its worst samples—from those amongst its members whom its members despise. I have every reason to be gratified with the manner in which I have been spoken of by the respectable and able portion of the press of Ireland.

From the people of Ireland, as distinguished from the press, I received from all ranks the most gratifying courtesy and hospitality. It was indeed their sounder and more honest appreciation of the arduous task I had to fulfil that encouraged me to persevere.

Wales. The Pembroke people to this day style their county "Little England beyond Wales." I have heard "the Women of Little England beyond Wales" drunk as a toast in Pembrokeshire. Pembrokeshire has, in fact, now a Saxon population, and there, as everywhere else where they are, they are a bold fine people, and live well and comfortably. In the adjoining county of Carmarthen they are pure Welsh, and live as miserably as the poor Irish, and it is a fact that in the union workhouse at Narbeth, which is a town on the borders of the two counties and receives paupers from each, the diet found sufficient for the poor Welsh of Carmarthen, who always live on poor diet, starves the men of Pembrokeshire, who are accustomed to live better and are bigger men; and the dietary in that workhouse has in consequence been compelled to be raised to the English standard, Well, it was by this snug little army, that would stand in a ball-room, raised in this county of Pembroke, many of the men no doubt Welsh, that Ireland was invaded; and by taking advantage of that "profound barbarism and ignorance" in which Hume says "the Irish from the beginning of time had been buried," and of those divisions among them which led them, according to the same authority, to "exercise perpetual rapine and violence against each other," this little band mastered the country. Many of them settled in the county of Wexford, in the barony of Forth, and their friends joined them from Pembroke. In this barony till recently a mixed old Saxon and Welsh language was spoken. When Cromwell came over here a large number of his soldiers peopled the barony of Bargy, and spread generally through the county. In the baronies of Forth and Bargy at this day it is difficult to see any marked difference between the appearance of the country or the people, and England, or its population. There are the same cleanliness, and order, and neatness. Great industry exists amongst a peaceable and well-disposed people. The stacks in their stackyards are

trim and neat, and not as though tumbled there by a whirlwind, as you see them in the west. The houses are clean swept and whitewashed; the pig is where it ought to be, in its sty in the yard; and comfort and contentment, the rewards of industry, are everywhere seen. I purpose, however, giving you some evidence of this.

Mr. C. A. Walker, a magistrate of Belmont, near Wexford, after describing the state of agriculture in the inland parts of Wexford to be both backward and slovenly, goes on to speak of the "parish of Carey, which is a sea-coast parish." (Appendix, Part III. p. 475.)

"It is," he says, "a small one, and since the first English settlement under Strongbow, it has never been known except in a constant course of rotation and production, and it is still as good as the first day."

Mr. John Nunn, landed proprietor of Silver Spring, in the barony of Forth, says (*ibid.* p. 480),—

"That district is *peculiarly* circumstanced; they have been always a *very industrious* class of persons, managing their own bits of land well.

"Should you say the tenants on five and ten acres were thriving?—Yes, they are generally; they are generally a *very industrious class of men.*"

Further on he says,—

"The middleman is a class almost unknown in the district I speak of."

"There are no properties under the courts," and "the tenants hold generally by lease."

That is, there is industry among the tenants, there is not grasping greediness and laziness and extravagance in the class above them and in their landlords, and the tenants are fairly dealt with. Hence there exist prosperity and comfort. For instance, Mr. Morgan, who is the largest landed proprietor in the county, is resident (as are most of the proprietors), and employs regularly about 400 men in building and beautifying and improving his castle and domain. **S** these men, natives of Wexford, have executed **very b** carving work.

Again this witness is asked (*ibid.* p. 482),—

“ Does the con-acre system prevail much throughout the district?—Not much; the farmer is too fond of holding it himself, and having the crop himself.

“ At what rate of wages can employment be obtained?—The general rate of wages is 10*d.* a day.

“ Have there been in the district any agrarian outrages?—No, indeed, not for years. In the barony of Forth it is a thing unknown, and I may say unknown in the barony of Bantry.”

Again, we have the farmer minding his business, and giving fair wages to his labourers. We do not see him here living out of con-acre rents, idling at fairs and wakes, and starving his wretched labourer on wages at 5*d.* a day, and consequently there are “ no outrages.”

Mr. Pierce Ryan, farmer, of Davidstown, in the barony of Bantry, is asked (*ibid.* p. 487),—

“ Have there been any agrarian outrages in your district?—No, indeed they are hardly heard talk of.”

Mr. William Warrener, farmer of Fannystown, in the barony of Bargy (*ibid.* p. 488), is asked,—

“ Have there been any agrarian outrages in the district?—Not any. I do not know of any instance of it. The people in our district are very quiet.”

It may be set down as a fact which cannot be controverted that wherever there is enterprise, backed by intelligence and capital, success rewards the effort in Ireland; wherever there is ordinary industry and economy among the people, backed by a knowledge of the occupation they are engaged in, whether it be farming, or fishing, or trading, and they are at all dealt fairly by, there are prosperity and comfort, *and capital is created*. You see this at Wexford in the east, you see it at Londonderry and at Belfast in the north. I gave you instances of it at Sligo and Galway in the west, and I have seen numerous instances of this in the south and generally over Ireland. The outcry about “ want of capital”

is nonsense ; there is capital enough in the country, if put to use ; the wants are, *want of enterprise* and *want of industry*. Where you see these qualities common, there you invariably find prosperity. But the outcry about "justice to Ireland" is worse than nonsense—it is unmeaning, senseless—nay, it is wicked ; for if it has any meaning, it means "anarchy for Ireland," "plunder for *patriots*." The late Sir Francis Burdett, in one of his speeches in the House of Commons, alluding to "Irish patriots," said, "They were unlike any other patriots in the world ; for the patriotism of men in other countries generally led to their poverty, but *Irish patriots* always 'feathered their nests.'patriotism and *pay* are synonymous terms. Look at the examples, from "the Fabricator" downwards, if this is not true. In almost every town in Ireland you see some raggamuffin paid lecturer of sedition, who of course is a flaming patriot, like the "bone and sinew" man of Sligo, living by exciting the poor country people into political discontent, and by teaching them to disregard their true interests—patient industry and minding their business.

The people, however, as an ingredient requisite to their prosperity, must be dealt fairly by. It is incumbent upon the owners of landed property that as a duty they should look after their property. "The general complaint with the people,"—says Mr. Michael Furlong, farmer, of Raheen, near Old Ross (*ibid.* 465),—

"Is, that they have no one to lay their hardships before. If they apply to the agent he will tell them he has nothing in the world to do with such questions—that he has nothing to do but to receive the rent, that is his employment ; and, as the landlord is an absentee, he is not at home to refer to."

Mr. Brehon, magistrate, of Newtown, says (*ibid.* p. 470),—

"When the proprietor will take the trouble to receive his own rents,

it affords more general satisfaction than any other course, and, in my opinion, tends more to promote his own interest."

An efficient agent, who looks after the tenants and attends to their wants and encourages them, and whose object is not merely "5 per cent. on the rents twice a year," would, however, be of almost equal benefit. By appointing such men and paying the people for the improvements they effected on the land, in draining and building, either by a lease sufficiently long to insure repayment to the tenant for his outlay, or, if he is a tenant-at-will, by giving him the value of his improvements if ejected (which is only honest, and nothing more), the people would be encouraged to labour.

"The people would labour twice as hard," says Mr. Pierce Ryan, farmer of Davidstown, in the barony of Bantry (*ibid.* 487), "and be twice as industrious, if they were paid for their improvements."

"The payment for improvements as regards the tenants would be very important," says Mr. Nunn, landed proprietor, of Silver Spring (*ibid.* p. 484),—

"That would go a long way to meet those unfortunate agrarian disturbances that occur, not happily in our county, but in other parts of Ireland; because, if a tenant goes in possessed of some capital, but from some unfortunate circumstances he loses it and offends his landlord, all that the landlord requires is that he should have a year's rent, and if he is not able to pay that he turns him out. If a tenant could bring in a bill for permanent improvements, and say to his landlord, 'If I go out, you must pay me that,' I think it would be the means of making the landlord and tenant come to terms, without depriving the unfortunate farmer of his means of subsistence. Besides that, if the tenant were to go out, he would not go out a reckless member of society, as some of them do, ready to knock any man's brains out."

This would, too, gradually lead to the English system of the landlord effecting all permanent improvements; for, if he were compelled to pay his tenants for their improvements he would begin, in preference, to make the improvements himself. Now this equitable arrangement, which is by some called "tenant-right," is perfectly fair and just; it

would not only benefit the tenant, but it would vastly increase in value the estate of the landlord. The phrase "tenant-right," however, I do not like adopting, for I have shown you in a former letter that it is quite indistinct in its application. Payment for improvements which benefit the landlord's estate, and which he ought to make, is one thing, but payment for "good will," "the right of possession," and half a dozen other groundless claims, which go under the name of "tenant-right," is another thing altogether. The one is equitable and fair, the other is a robbery and injurious to everybody. In all cases, however, the landlord ought to pay this, and not the incoming tenant. The incoming tenant has little enough capital without being impoverished by such a purchase. We then come to the real difficulty,—the landlords are too poor to pay. Generally, their estates are either entailed, and burdened with jointures and settlements, or they are deeply mortgaged. In the first case,—if the owner spends his income in improvements, he benefits his eldest son's estate at the expense of his younger children. But his eldest son is provided for by the estate being entailed on him, whilst his younger children are but poorly provided for. He will not, therefore, take from them to benefit his eldest son. The remedy for this would be to enable the present possessor to charge the estate with two-thirds of the permanent improvements. It would benefit all parties; for the son who would get the benefit of all the improvements would only have to pay two-thirds of their cost; the present possessor would be benefited to the full extent of the improvements, and the tenantry would get employment. In the latter case, where estates are deeply mortgaged, it usually happens that the mortgagee's interest not being paid, he applies to the Court of Chancery for the appointment of a receiver of the rents: and in this very common case the receiver pays the interest of the mortgage debt, and hands over a yearly stipend to the landlord. This stipend is

generally so small that the landlord can barely live on it. The management of his estate is taken from him. His farms are let by proposal to the highest bidder; he can grant no allowance for improvements—he is quite powerless. The whole system is hollow. The nominal owner of a large estate has no control over it, and most inadequate funds to keep up his station. The real owner is the mortgagee—some cheese and bacon factor, perhaps, whose mites have changed into sovereigns in some dark shop in a thoroughfare; but he is not responsible, for the Court of Chancery manages the estate for him and shields him. So long as he gets his interest he cares not. Would it not be wise to stop this hollow and unreal state of things? If an application be made to the Court by a mortgagee, because his interest is not paid, would it not be far wiser to compel a sale of the estate, or a portion of it, to pay off the mortgagee, rather than to appoint a receiver of rents? The balance or portion of the estate left would make the nominal owner a real owner of that portion, release him from his embarrassments, and increase his income, though it lessened the extent of his domains. It would, too, make him the master of his own property. Those who purchased would be men of capital able to buy, and they too would be real, and not nominal owners of their estates. In all these cases there would be the ability to make improvements, which every part of Ireland needs.* The improvements, if made, would give employment, increase the comforts

* "But, indeed, most of our gentry are observed to be more fond of making new purchases than of improving their old estates—to double the value by planting and making drains and inclosures and hedge-rows, with all the arts of good husbandry, though this last and best sort of purchasing can be accomplished by slow degrees and small sums, the expenses of trees and ditches being very trivial, and the work done by low wages to one's own poor cottagers and tenants, to the great advancement of the rent, which often costs but four or five years' purchase, and no danger from a bad title."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 15.

of the people, and quell disturbance; they would certainly increase the rents and revenues of the landlords, for the tenants would be well able to pay better rents out of the increased produce, and the increased produce would be wealth and capital added to Ireland and to the United Kingdom.

These are the practical objects which should engage the attention of Irish "patriots," and which do engage the attention of those who seek the good of Ireland, and there are many such among her sons. But the agitator's object is the reverse of all this: it is to occupy men's minds about foolish theories and impossible objects; to lead them from industrious pursuits into political discussions, and to swell demonstrations; to excite their discontent at the poverty which the neglect of industry causes; to rouse their animosity against England by lies; to drive capital away from Ireland, to create and increase anarchy, and by that anarchy to live. This is the "pay of their patriotism." Irishmen, is not this true? Do you not feel that it is true? What good did you ever get by leaving your farms to talk politics, to meddle with elections and swell demonstrations? Have not these things ruined many of you? Have they not made you all poorer? Are you one jot nearer the accomplishment of your dreams than you ever were? Is it not a fact that you *pay* to be deceived; and are you not deceived? Try these "patriots;" cease your *pay*, and they will soon cease to deceive you. But be wise in time; be guided by the past. Try industry; keep your money; and you will find that one day's industry and minding your business will pay you better than yelling for a month at a demonstration, at the exciting fabrications of "*the Fabricator*."

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LETTER XXXIII.

KILKENNY AND THE CONDITION OF ITS PEOPLE; ITS
MINES AND CAPABILITIES.

The Huntsmen of Kilkenny—Description of the Town of Kilkenny—Its Trade—Its unfinished Canal and Railway—Irish Jobbing—Appearance of the County—Outrages, and consequent stopping of the working of the Slieveardah Coal-mine—The Mines and Marble of Kilkenny—The Irish Press, and Native Hospitality—Classified return of Depositors in the Wexford Savings Bank—Evidence of the state of the County and of the condition of the People—The benefits that flow from encouraging Landlords, and the mischiefs of Agitation.

KILKENNY, December 8.

THE town of Kilkenny has been termed the Melton Mowbray of Ireland. It is the metropolis of a great hunting county. The passion of the Irish gentry for fox-hunting is proverbial. It is, however, chiefly exhibited on the eastern part of the island, where every gentleman hunts as a matter of course, and very often—almost as a matter of course—keeps a small pack of his own. At Kilkenny, however, hunting is a *business*, prosecuted with the greatest ardour; it is the only thing that *holidays* don't affect here, for holiday or no holiday the hounds "throw off," though the people are forbidden to labour. To-day happens to be one of those holidays, and the only thing working is the chapel bell next door, which, to the great discomfiture of literary labour, has been incessantly working away since eight o'clock this

morning. It certainly impresses those who may have to work more with the head than on the saddle, with the full force of Othello's exclamation—"Silence that dreadful bell!" However, notwithstanding the holiday, this morning 200 scarlet-coats met the hounds near this town. I am informed that from 200 to 500 hunters belonging to strangers are stabled in Kilkenny, their owners regularly turning out in the very best hunting style. A great many of them are extremely fine-looking fellows. The effect of this spirit is to diffuse money among the farmers and in the neighbourhood; and by keeping gentlemen in the country, and inducing them to spend their incomes at home, it no doubt does much good. There are, however, mischiefs accompanying it; for many of them live "faster" than their pockets can afford: this leads to embarrassments, and disables them from improving their estates; it also makes some of them needy men, and needy men cannot be liberal landlords. Generally, however, the landlords of Kilkenny are fair landlords, and by no means, as a body, deserve to be blamed for the faults of a few of their number. This will be apparent from the evidence which I shall lay before you.

The town of Kilkenny itself is a very ancient town, picturesquely situated on the banks of a fine river—the Nore. Formerly an Irish Parliament sat in the town, and the statutes of Kilkenny are very celebrated. A considerable English population settled here, and the town was formerly divided into two, called "the Irish" and "the English" towns, the latter of which still retains its name. Like most old towns it is irregularly built, and many of the streets, which are of considerable extent, are narrow and crooked. The population is about 24,000. There are the usual public buildings, and a handsome Roman Catholic cathedral is in process of erection, built of the native black marble, which when unpolished has a beautiful light gray

colour. The chief object of remark, however, is the magnificent castle of the Marquis of Ormonde, which gives a style and picturesque effect to that part of the town which it adjoins which cannot be surpassed.

The trade of the town consists in the manufacture of excellent blankets and friezes, and in an immense market for flour and provisions. The number of pigs killed is enormous, and a great quantity of butter is also sold here. But for that unhappy spirit of jobbing and blundering, and neglect, which prevails very generally in Ireland, Kilkenny would probably have been one of the finest inland towns in the country. The river which runs through the town is a tidal river to Innistogie, about twenty English miles below the town, and navigable by vessels of large tonnage from Waterford harbour. The Irish Parliament many years ago determined to join Kilkenny with the tidal part of the river there by means of a canal, and to open the navigation from Waterford harbour to Kilkenny; and for that object granted 100,000*l.* of the public money, which was estimated to be amply sufficient. Instead of beginning this work from the tidal part of the river upwards, and opening the country as they proceeded, to this water communication, they began at Kilkenny downwards, and of course the canal could be of no use at all until completely finished. The trustees and undertakers completed about eight miles of this canal—that is, nearly half way—when, by the most notorious jobbing and cheating, the 100,000*l.*, which was estimated to be sufficient for the whole work, was spent; no more money was forthcoming, the people were unable to complete the work, and from that day to this, this eight miles of canal, on which 100,000*l.* have been sunk and wasted, has not been of the slightest use beyond forming a handsome walk for the citizens along its banks. About eight years ago a railroad bill for making a railroad between Kilkenny and Dublin was passed through Parliament at great expense. The

depositors, of course, suffered ; the solicitors and agents who worked the bill through Parliament got paid, and then—the result may be anticipated—they took no more trouble in the matter, neglected their opportunity, and let the time for making the railway elapse without doing anything ; and they are now endeavouring to obtain another Act of Parliament at great expense, authorising the making of a portion of the old line only, as far as Carlow, which they had full authority before to carry through Carlow and on to Dublin. Thus do they manage things here in Ireland. And now they are getting up competing lines of railway where they neglected one before, with the object, of course, like “ the Kilkenny cats,” of eating each other up. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the town is rapidly improving ; and the new corporation, to their credit, have done much to forward that improvement. The people here are an intelligent, mixed, and fine race, and somewhat notorious for practical jokes and ready wit.

With regard to the general features of the county, though inferior to Wexford in point of cultivation, and in the comfort of the houses of the peasantry, yet it is vastly superior to the west of Ireland. The peasants’ houses are not all whitewashed, and have not thick trim-looking thatches as in Wexford, but they are tolerably clean and comfortable, and you see evidences of comfort inside them. The land of the county generally is drained by three fine rivers, the Nore, the Barrow, and the Suir, which have the effect of draining nearly the whole county ; so that, except in the northernmost extreme of it, a bog is not to be found. The water-power of these rivers turns a great number of flour-mills, and their banks are studded with gentlemen’s seats.

There have been occasional outrages in the county, which appear at seasons to burst out like an epidemic, and then to subside. One of those periodical fits of violence seems again to be spreading. Last week a poor bailiff, named Costello,

who had shortly before distrained some cattle at Tullasbullan, near Freshford, was shot dead in his cottage whilst eating his supper with a light on the table before him, some villain having taken deliberate aim at him through his own window.*

The effect of these periodical visitations of violence is most lamentable to the people themselves. Usually they take their rise from the mischievous agitation which is got up for political and less exceptionable purposes. At present there is little doubt but the party-fight about the potatoes, and the advice given to the people not to pay their rents—an advice exactly suited to their notions of right and wrong—have had much to do with the spreading violence.

A month ago I sent you an account from Tipperary (amongst other things) of the shooting of the overseer of the coal-mines, at Slieveardah, simply because he was an honest man and did his duty. Those coal-mines are close to the borders of Tipperary and Kilkenny, and about ten miles from this town. Since then several threatening notices have been sent to other parties working and directing the mines. The consequence is, the company working these mines have

* Formerly Irish outrages were distinguished by shocking cruelty rather than by murder. Under whatever form, however, Ireland seems to have acquired a prescriptive right to commit outrages, which there, are but the comment of a day, but which, if committed in this country repeatedly, would soon rouse the whole nation to demand a remedy of some kind to put an end to them. Arthur Young, in his *Travels* (vol. i. p. 82), speaks of one of the *usual* Whiteboy punishments being to take people out of their beds, carry them naked in winter on horseback for some distance, and bury them up to their chin in a hole filled with briars, not forgetting to cut off one of their ears.

In the debate on the Whiteboy Act in 1786, Lord Luttrell related the following anecdote, which there was every reason to believe was true:—

“A friend of mine, a few days since, after riding through Urlingford early in the morning, overtook beyond that town a person who proved to be a clergyman, riding seemingly in pain, with his head muffled to a monstrous size, and bound over with a napkin. My friend addressed him, being a very compassionate man, and inquired what was the matter? ‘Ah, sir!’ said he, ‘did you see, as you rode through that town, two ears and a cheek nailed to a post?’ ‘I did,’ said my friend. ‘They were mine,’ the clergyman replied.”

posted a circular, announcing their intention to cease working them on the 10th of this month; and the reason they assign for this step is, "because they are unwilling to expose the lives of their faithful officers." The effect of this will be, at this season, when employment is of such value, to throw 250 men immediately out of work. This is one of the benefits of agitation. The men will have brought on themselves the distress they will suffer; but they have only been acted on by the mischievous advice, the agitation, and the pernicious counsel of leaders whom they follow.

There are also coal-mines in Kilkenny, which are extensively worked. The coal is anthracite, and scarcely fit for domestic purposes. These mines, however, are very inefficiently worked, without sufficient capital and machinery. One of them, at a place called Clough, was given up some time since as worked out. A north of Ireland engineer, named Aber, happened to see it, and took it at a nominal rent. By expending sufficient capital to erect proper machinery and steam-power, he realised 22,000*l.* out of this supposed "exhausted mine." At the present moment there is a coal-mine at Bornafaher. Those who are now managing it are just scratching away at the upper vein of culm. It is producing scarcely anything, and there is not enterprise enough to erect proper machinery to enable shafts to be sunk into the veins of coal below. An English engineer saw it the other day, and was so convinced that there is fine coal below, from the geological strata, that he offered to work the mine under a lease by an English company, and to give the owner half the produce as rent or royalty. The offer was not accepted, but is considered of. I have heard of some dozen of such offers in Ireland, to work coal-mines, copper-mines, slate-quarries, and marble-quarries, by English companies, being almost always refused. An Irish proprietor, "poor as a church mouse," who has marble in a mountain, or copper in his crags, which he ~~can~~ **will**

realise, is satisfied to live in debt, with the reflection that though he has no pence in his pocket, yet he has marble in his mountain, or coal under his domain. He dreams of it as a mine of wealth which he possesses ; and though he cannot realise it, yet he will let nobody else try, unless they will take all the expense, and all the trouble, and find all the knowledge and all the skill, and give him *all the profit*. As people are not usually such fools, though disposed to be liberal, the marble, and the copper, and the coal remain ungot, and the Irish proprietor continues, without a pound in his pocket to spare, the fancied owner of a mine of wealth.

There are also extensive iron-mines and lead-mines unworked in the county. Some iron has been made at Castlecomer, from iron-ore there raised, which was smelted with the native coal. A remarkably fine fire-clay is also obtained at the "seat" of the coal veins ; and quantities of the black marble of Kilkenny are exported to America, for building and ornamental purposes.

In this county, therefore, as elsewhere in Ireland, nature has been lavish of her gifts, which require simply enterprise and industry to enable the people to profit by them. But these are *social* qualities, depending on the people themselves ; and it does not suit political agitators, and those who live by raising discontent against the Government, to point them out. You will hear such men talk much about "misgovernment," and "repeal," and inflame the peasantry about their "bone and sinew ;" but you will not hear them say a word about what enterprise, and putting their "bone and sinew" to some industrious use, can effect for them, without the interference of Government at all. To be sure not ; because this would be giving sound and useful advice, and would not pay the advisers, and Irish *patriots* always work for *pay*. It is for giving such advice, I presume—for striving to urge the poor people to exert themselves to better their condition, to shame bad landlords into acting fairly,

and to encourage good ones to persevere by praising them—that I have been held up to universal abuse by all the press of all parties in Ireland. I was a “fellow,” a “scoundrel,” an “atrocious vagabond,” whom it was safe for all parties to abuse as soon as it was discovered that I wrote for no party. Of course, this was great encouragement to proceed; and had not the good and sensible men of all parties (*whom the press of Ireland does not represent*) everywhere received me with the most courteous hospitality, and hundreds of times thanked me and you for the good you were doing to Ireland by this inquiry, and thus encouraged me and urged me to persevere, I would long since have thrown up your commission in disgust, and have left the thankless office of striving to benefit Ireland, and not to rob her, to those who were Quixotic enough to like the task. But, though the newspapers abuse me and you for your generous and disinterested service to Ireland, I am glad of this opportunity of being able to exculpate the men of Ireland, of all parties, from the peer to the peasant, from the seeming ingratitude. A stranger amongst them, often without introductions, in every town in which I have yet been, from the highest to the lowest, courteous hospitalities and attentions have been heaped upon me. To the gentlemen of the Irish press, therefore, I say, “Pray, gentlemen, proceed as heretofore; it is a great evidence of your discrimination and good taste, and necessarily tends to make your testimony on all other matters implicitly to be relied on.”

I have already said that the general aspect of the country shows a degree of improvement and comfort not observable in the west of Ireland; and though not so marked as in Wexford, still there are evidences of comfort and prospering industry among the farmers generally. I have had politely furnished to me the following classified return (called for by the Government in 1841) of the depositors in the Wexford Savings Bank, which is, of course, an unerring indication of the relative prosperity of each class:—

Number of depositors in the Wexford Savings'-bank on the 20th of November, 1841, with the amount of deposits, classified according to their business and profession."

	£	s.	d.
660 Farmers	24,908	2	0
342 Servants	7,295	18	9
68 Seafaring men	3,506	18	8
142 Persons not in any trade or business	8,028	11	6
14 Clergymen	519	2	6
21 Teachers	1,243	16	0
56 Labourers	746	7	0
162 Persons in business	8,461	13	0
142 Minors	4,182	16	8
102 Working Tradesmen	3,678	18	4
5 Doctors	202	14	0
26 Constabulary	731	11	2
2 Military	162	3	0
8 Friendly Societies	298	3	0
7 Charitable Societies	910	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£64,876	15	2

The amount of deposits, up to the 20th of November this year, for the past year is less, being only 46,000*l.*; but I am informed that the proportion of agricultural deposits is the same. This return, then, shows that the farmers contribute more than one-third of the whole amount of the deposits in Wexford, and lodge in the bank three times as much as any other class of men whatever. This certainly is no indication of poverty. I cannot get a similar return for Kilkenny, but I am informed that the same general results are applicable to Kilkenny.

To what, it may be asked, are the better cultivation, and more decent and comfortable houses of the peasantry, and other indications of prosperity in Kilkenny to be attributed? It is to the fact, that the landlords generally act fairly by their tenants, and the tenants generally are more industrious than in the west of Ireland. They have a better chance of success, which their greater industry leads them to benefit

by; and their greater industry realizes for them greater comforts and prosperity. The best landlord can but give his tenants opportunities of improvement; if they will not avail themselves of those opportunities the fault is in the tenants. There are some landlords in the west of Ireland, who do more than this—who urge on their tenants to improve, and their reward is usually unpopularity and danger. I shall, however, give you evidence of the condition of the tenantry here:—

“The state of agriculture in the county of Kilkenny is improving,” says Mr. Phelan, farmer and agent.—(Lord Devon’s Commission, Part III. p. 353).

“The middlemen are gradually being cast off.”—(*Ibid.* 354).

“The landlord allows for permanent improvements made, such as building the houses, the landlord gives timber and slates; and for draining and for liming, he pays 3*d.* a perch for draining; and they are allowed also for liming, on Lord Ormonde’s estate. If we had our proprietors all Lord Ormondes, we should have the country very prosperous. There are several other proprietors who make allowances.”—(*Ibid.* 355.)*

“We are happily circumstanced in the county of Kilkenny,” says Mr. Smithwick, miller, brewer, maltster, farmer, &c., of Kilkenny; “there are men here whose word is as good as their lease or their bond, and the tenants feel confidence in them.”

Further on he says,—

“I could instance many cases where the small farmers have amassed sums that would surprise you from their industry.” . . . “Under all circumstances, the Kilkenny people are extremely well conducted.”

Mr. Cornelius Maxwell, of Kilkenny, stationer, printer, proprietor of the *Kilkenny Journal*, and agent, says (*ibid.* 395),—

“I think that much of the improvement that is now discernible in the state of the country, has in a great measure sprung from the sober and industrious habits of the people.”

“One of the best things would be to let us alone; we are getting on

* In Kilkenny, this nobleman is universally well spoken of as a resident and good landlord.

amazingly well. The country, in my view, is thriving fast," says Mr. Reade, of Rosenara." (*Ibid.* p. 375.)

"The feeling shown towards the tenantry on the Ormonde estate," says Mr. Maxwell (*ibid.* p. 399), "is a credit to the country."

"There is one estate that has so improved during the last three years that I scarcely know it now; and that is Counsellor Cahill's; and I attribute it entirely to his attention to his tenants," says Mr. Richard Cormick, farmer, (*ibid.* p. 391). . . . "He purchased it, and found it in a wretched worn-out state; and by the encouragement he gave his tenants, and the improvements he made himself, it is so altered I scarcely know it to be the same property."

I have been informed, on good authority, that he laid out 900*l.* in lending lime and guano to his tenants, and paying for draining, the whole of which has been paid back to him; and this outlay has considerably increased his rental a year, it has raised the value of the property, and made the tenants comfortable. There were 1500*l.* arrears on the estate when he bought it, and now there is not 30*l.* arrear of rent due, and the rents are well paid. The former owner was struggling with embarrassments, and could do nothing for his tenants—hence the difference. Personal attention, and aiding and encouraging the tenants, have made to prosper a wretched property and tenantry. As an instance alike of the ignorance and good feeling of the tenantry, the soil being a stiff clay, this gentleman wished to have some of his wheat-fields harrowed in the spring after he had bought the property, and to teach his tenants, asked a tenant to do it. One of his tenants harrowed one ridge and then stopped and refused to do any more, thinking his landlord mad. He was obliged to get his own man to do it, and the tenants gathered round to see the strange novelty, crying "Come, boys, and look at the counsellor tearing up his whate." After some time when they saw it improved and growing luxuriantly, they shook their heads, and said, "The counsellor was right after all;" and now every man in the whole country harrows his wheat in the spring. At first none would use

guano. They saw the benefit of it, and now they come begging to buy.

We see, then, that attention to their duties by the landlords, and industry by the tenants, insure prosperity and comfort.

What, then, does this evidence—what do these facts relating to the county of Kilkenny—teach us? First, that embarrassed proprietors make wretched estates.

Facilitate then the transfer of property from such hands; for property stagnates in the hands of people who cannot improve it.

Secondly, that encouraging landlords, attentive to the duties of their position, and industrious tenants, make “a happily circumstanced county”—in fact, insure general prosperity and good feeling. And, lastly, that agitation insures outrage, and outrage throws men out of employment. Political agitation indisposes landlords to grant leases; and the want of leases freezes the industry of the tenants. Surely how popular agitators ought to be! In time, however—for Irishmen require time to see a truth—agitators will be estimated in Ireland at their true worth, as the ruin of the country and the insurers of misery to the people.

LETTER XXXIV.

ON THE PAYMENT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY
BY THE STATE, ON THE GROUND OF PRINCIPLE.

On the Payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy by the State—The *right* of the Roman Catholics to perfect Equality, and therefore their right, as well as Protestants, to have their Clergy paid by the State—The Reasons why a Clergy paid by the State is desirable—Such a Measure may be advocated or opposed on the grounds of Expediency and of Principle—Its opposition, on the ground of Principle; first, by the Roman Catholic Clergy; secondly, by the Protestant Body—Instances where they both acquiesce in this Payment—Advocated on Principle.

KILKENNY, December 12.*

THERE is no question of more grave importance, or, in my belief, more closely allied to the future welfare and peace and harmony of Ireland, or with its continued agitation and discontent, than the manner in which the Roman Catholic clergy, as a body, shall continue to derive their emoluments. It is a question, the discussion of which I approach with some degree of timidity, for I cannot but be aware of the strong and diverse feelings by which it is hemmed in on every side. On the part of the Roman Catholic clergy as a body, every syllable that I write on such a question will be viewed with suspicion, probably with animosity by some of them. On the part of a vast number of well-disposed people

* This Letter has not before been published.

in England, it is probable that the view I may take will be met with the intense opposition of religious zeal.

The object of this inquiry, however, is, on a calm, dispassionate view, to ascertain what is most calculated, according to all human experience and probability, to allay the distractions which mar the prosperity of this unhappy country, to lead its people to the contemplation of the benefits of domestic industry, and to put down agitation, disturbances, and outrages, which frighten capital from its shores, and increase the poverty and the discontent of the people.

I enter on the task, I trust, in the spirit of justice. To the Roman Catholic clergy I say, though differing from you in Christian tenets, I respect those which you conscientiously hold, and believe that they will obtain for you that everlasting reward, which (in common with those of the Protestant faith) we all seek, as Christians. To my fellow Protestants in England, accustomed to view the Roman Catholic faith with dislike—taught to think of it with abhorrence, I say do you not, in the matter of your religious faith, claim a right to think for yourselves? In that respect is not your Catholic fellow-subject on a footing of *perfect equality* with you? He chooses to worship God as a Roman Catholic; you as a Protestant. The free and equal right of each in this matter is undisputed. After a barbarous exclusion, revolting to every enlightened mind, the Roman Catholic is admitted to an equality of civil privileges with you. Born in the same country, often of the same blood, called upon equally with you to bear every burden of the State—at your side in war, in your councils in peace—contributing equally with you to the general stock, and capital, and character, and defence of the nation, his labour, his talents, and his valour—in what is it, on any principle of reason or common sense, that you can deny to him the right to have with you a *perfect equality*?

I trust that the Roman Catholic clergy will not quarrel.

with an inquiry entered on in this spirit, and that they will bear with the detail that it may be necessary to enter into ; and, though they may not all agree in the conclusion to which I shall arrive, yet that they will look at this inquiry as a calm discussion, prompted by no religious or political feeling, but by a conviction that if it shall lead others to form the same opinion, and tend to that opinion's being eventually acted upon, it will have a most beneficial effect upon the country, and add to their *status* and respect as a body.

On the ground of the *right* of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects to *perfect equality* in all things, against which there is no rational argument, I appeal to the zealous Protestants of England—to their sense of fairness, and justice, and propriety—to their good sense, and ask them,—“ As you think it beneficial that your Church should be endowed, that your clergy should be placed above want, independent of those whom they have to teach, removed from all pretext of selfish agitation of the people, on whom otherwise they would have to depend, and that they should have every motive to go calmly on in the sober inculcation of religion, and to discountenance all agitation and all disturbance, do not from a blind and mistaken zeal oppose the conclusion to which I shall arrive, but concede that to your Roman Catholic fellow-subjects to which they have a right—*perfect equality* with you : grant them for their clergy that privilege which you think so valuable and necessary for your own, and with fairness and justice and consistency be ready to accede to *the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy by the State.*”

There are two grounds on which such a measure may be advocated or opposed ; *first*, on the ground of *principle* ; and, *secondly*, on the ground of *expediency*.

It may be advocated on *principle* ; and it may be opposed on principle, and on different grounds, by both the Roman Catholic clergy and by the Protestant clergy and laity.

The subject is one of extensive inquiry, and I propose in my present letter confining myself to its discussion on the ground of *principle*—*first*, as opposed by the Roman Catholic clergy themselves; *secondly*, as opposed by the Protestants of the United Kingdom. The further discussion of its *expediency* will form the subject of a future letter.

It is opposed by the Roman Catholic clergy on the ostensible ground that they would, by accepting a State provision, lose influence with the people; and also on the ground that they will bear no interference with the ecclesiastical preferments in their Church by the State, which, they aver, a State provision would lead to.

But in almost every other country where different religious tenets prevail—nay in our own, they do accept a State provision, and every proper influence over the people is retained by them; and in several countries the Governments of those countries and the Pope have arranged respecting the bestowing of ecclesiastical preferments.

In Bavaria, the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic communions are declared to be on an equality with respect to all rights; and the Roman Catholic bishops are paid by the state.*

In France the state supports the Roman Catholic Church by a grant of 33,000,000*f.*; and the State nominates to ecclesiastical preferments, and the nominees are canonically instituted by the Pope, unless some special ground for objection is adduced by his Holiness.†

In Saxony the salaries of the Catholic clergy, and all the expenses incidental to the services of the Catholic Church, are paid out of the King's privy purse.‡

In Prussia the appointment of Catholic bishops is regulated by a Bull, called "De Salute Animarum," granted in

* "Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland," p. 234.

† *Ibid.* p. 238.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 281.

1821, by which the King is possessed of the virtual, though not of the nominal, power of appointment, a brief of Pius VII. obliging the Chapter, which has the right of election, to elect "*personam Regi gratam*." The Crown pays the Catholic dignitaries, and in the Trans-Rhenane provinces it pays a salary to the clergy.*

In Holland the Catholic clergy are paid by the Government without any arrangement about preferments.†

In all these cases there is an absence of those frightful animosities and religious divisions which Ireland alone, of all the regions of the earth, exhibits in enormous perfection.‡

In Upper and Lower Canada the Roman Catholic bishops, and a number of the clergy, are paid by the State, and by votes of money from England. The Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec receives 1,000*l.* a year, as does also the Roman Catholic bishop of Montreal, and thirty Roman Catholic priests receive 50*l.* a year each from the State.

In the Mauritius the Roman Catholic clergy receive 2,500*l.* from the State.

In Newfoundland, in British Guiana, in Jamaica, in Trinidad, in St. Lucia, in Gibraltar, in Malta, in the Ionian Islands, in Australia, in Van Diemen's Land, in the East Indies, the Roman Catholic clergy accept pay from the English Government. On the score of *principle*, then, on their part, as affecting their Church, or their relations with the people, there can consistently be no objection. Nay, as chaplains of the gaols, military hospitals, and poor-houses, they receive pay from the Government in this country.

If the evidence of Mr. O'Connell be worth anything on *any* subject, in his evidence before the House of Commons, Feb. 25, 1825, speaking on this subject, he says,—

"I think concession, coupled with raising the qualification, and a *provision for the clergy*, would make the mind of Ireland sound, and would

* *Ibid.* p. 244.

† *Ibid.* p. 248.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 254.

enable the Government, by measures of general detail, to give to Ireland the benefit of the natural advantages she possesses."

In his evidence before the Lords' Committee, on the 11th of March, 1825, he says,—

"I have not the *least doubt* upon my mind that the Catholic clergy would be quite ready to receive State provision as accompanying emancipation.

"If there were an equalization of rights and provision made for the Catholic clergy, do you think that one of the consequences would be, persons better connected—gentlemen, going into the Catholic priesthood?—I am sure it would be one of the consequences; it is natural it should be so, for at present, with I believe very strong dispositions to bestow charity, and abundant opportunities, if they had the means of bestowing it, they are living themselves upon a kind of charity, obtained from very poor persons—a situation extremely painful, and to which the sons of gentlemen will of course very reluctantly, and only from superior enthusiasm—I will call it—submit."

We have it then in evidence that a State provision is not incompatible (where there are different sects of religionists in a country) with the office of a Catholic priesthood, nor can it be presumed to impair their efficiency; and we have it in evidence that "a provision for the Romish clergy would make the mind of Ireland sound," and that it would increase the respectability of their body. On this subject the late Rev. Sidney Smith in his *Posthumous Fragments* has justly said,—

"The objection to a State provision does not really come from the clergy, but from agitators and Repealers. These men see the immense advantages of carrying the clergy with them in their agitation, and of giving the sanction of religion to political hatred. They know that the clergy, moving in the same direction with the people, have an immense influence over them; and they are, very wisely, afraid not only of losing their co-operating power, but of seeing it, by a State provision, arrayed against them. I am fully convinced that a State payment to the Catholic clergy, by leaving to that laborious and useful body of men the exercise of their *free judgment*, would be the severest blow that Irish agitation could receive."

Further on he says,—

“ It is commonly said, if the Roman Catholic priests are paid by the State, they will lose their influence over their flocks—not their *fair* influence—not that influence which a wise and good man would wish to see in all religions—not the dependence of humble ignorance upon prudence—only fellowship in faction and fraternity in rebellion. All that will be lost.”

And this, I do not believe that the bulk of the Roman Catholic clergy wish to retain.

Again, with regard to its pecuniary benefits to the peasantry, the Mr. O'Connell before alluded to is asked, in his evidence before the House of Commons, March 4, 1825,—

“ Would it be felt by the peasantry in Ireland as a relief to *them* if the provisions for their priests were provided from some other funds?—I am sure it would; a very considerable relief.”*

On no *principle*, then, can I see that the Roman Catholic clergy could refuse to accept a State provision if provided for them; nor do I believe that the bulk of them would or *could* refuse it long. The Irish peasant would soon begin to grumble at the payment of fees when he knew that the priest might get them, if he chose, at the bank; and the degrading scenes of begging and exaction to which the priests are now compelled often to resort would be so distasteful to most of them if a legitimate means of escape from them were afforded

* “ And first, then, our people are impoverished by the great sums, which are paid by them, more punctually than their rents, to the maintenance of so many priests, friars, monasteries, &c., bishops and archbishops. The money spent this way is computed so high, and those who live on it are so numerous, that it is a tax sufficient in itself to keep many families in ease and plenty. And, indeed, if we consider that at least three-fourths of our people pay subsidies of this kind, we may easily conceive how those *torrenti de pecuniæ* (torrents of money) are raised, which, as Cardinal Palavicini, in his History of the Council of Trent, (1, 4, c. 5), says, ‘ are so necessary to support the state and grandeur of the spiritual monarchy of Rome.’ ”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 69.

to them, that they would rarely long refuse to accept the State endowment.*

It is not requisite to devote much space to the consideration of the grounds of opposition to such a payment on the part of the Protestant laity on *principle*. When already they assent to the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy by the State in our colonies in every quarter of the globe, and in our gaols and military hospitals and poor-houses at home, all objection to such a payment, on *principle* on their part, is knocked from under them. Nay, when we pay the "chaplains of Juggernaut," and furnish its chariot,† the less we say about objecting to pay the priests on principle the better.

But why do I *advocate* the payment of the priests on *principle*? Because I advocate the payment of the Protestant clergy in England on principle, as the spiritual leaders and teachers of the majority of the people; and because it is the duty of the Government, as the head and *father* of the country, to take care that the majority of the people are not brought up as heathens but as Christians; and in order to insure that, they must pay for Christian teaching. And I advocate it because (in the words of the late Rev. Sydney Smith, with which I cannot do better than conclude this portion of the inquiry),—

"I am thoroughly convinced a State payment to the Catholic clergy would remove a thousand causes of hatred between the priest and his

* Pilgrimages and penances, confessions, absolutions, pardons, dispensations, indulgences, do also cost our good Catholics abundance of their money, as well as a good deal of their time, which equally contribute to keep them low-spirited and indigent, superstitious and idle."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 70.*

† The late Rev. Sydney Smith, in one of his pamphlets on this subject, surmises that the chariot of Juggernaut is built in Long Acre.

flock, and would be as favourable to the increase of his *useful authority*, as it would be fatal to his *factionous influence over the people*."

In my next letter I will endeavour to consider how far the payment of the priesthood may be advocated, or opposed, on the ground of *expediency*.

LETTER XXXV.

ON THE PAYMENT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY
BY THE STATE, ON THE GROUNDS OF POLICY AND
EXPEDIENCY.

The Payment of the Priesthood continued—How far such a Measure is desirable, on the grounds of Policy and Expediency, for the interests of Religion, for the interests of the People, and the welfare of Society, and as calculated to tend to the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and consequently to the prosperity and strength of the Empire.

KENMARE, KERRY, December 14.*

OF the propriety of the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy by the State, for the benefit alike of that clergy, of the people, and of the country, I am perfectly convinced from all I have heard and seen; and in my last letter I endeavoured to show, that on the ground of *principle* it cannot be opposed.

In my present letter I shall strive to prove how far such a measure is desirable, on the grounds of policy and *expediency*.

I shall endeavour to show, first, that it is expedient that the priesthood should be paid by the State, for the *interests of religion*.

Secondly, that such a measure is expedient for the interests of the people, and for the welfare of society.

* This also is an original Letter, which has not before been published.

And, lastly, that such a provision for the priesthood is expedient, as calculated to tend to the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and consequently to the prosperity and strength of the empire.

Again, on entering on this discussion, I sincerely hope that my motives will not be mistaken,—that the Roman Catholic clergy will not suppose me to treat with intentional disrespect the tenets and doctrines which they teach. I trust too that the Protestants of England will look on this as a question to be determined by calm reason and judgment, and not by prejudice. I am quite aware that the feeling among many zealous and good Protestants in England, and Presbyterians in Scotland, with regard to Roman Catholics, cannot be said to be much caricatured by the Rev. Sydney Smith, in his celebrated “Peter Plymley’s Letters,” when he says,—

“In England I solemnly believe, blue and red baboons to be more popular than Catholics and Presbyterians—they are more understood, and there is a greater disposition to do something for them.

“When a country squire hears of an ape, his first feeling is to give it nuts and apples. When he hears of a dissenter (or Catholic), his immediate impulse is to commit it to the county jail—to shave its head—to alter its customary food, and to have it privately whipped.*

These prejudices, however, are, I hope, rapidly passing away, and the Dissenters and Roman Catholics are beginning to be viewed on those terms of *perfect equality*, which is their unquestionable birthright.

In commencing the discussion of the first point, I confess with pain, that that which ought to be the strongest argument in favour of a State-paid clergy,—the example set by the clergy of the Protestant Established Church, appears, from many unhappy instances, to be its weakest.

In reality, however, it is not so. It pains every good

* Plymley’s Letters, p. 73.

Protestant to hear of clergymen treating the cure of souls as a sinecure. But that is an abuse which ought to be remedied. It is disgraceful to hear of dignitaries in the Church, at Cork, and Limerick, and elsewhere, receiving thousands a year as *labourers* in Christ's vineyard, who render no labour for their hire.

The Protestant of Limerick continues to hold the Protestant faith not because his bishop looks after his teaching, but *in spite of* his neglect. But these faults are not to be attributed to the payment of the clergy by the State, but to a *laz supervision*, which does not immediately degrade vice, and supersede incapacity and neglect. The arguments in favour of a clergy paid by the State are untouched by such examples as these.

Paley, in his "Moral Philosophy" (Vol. ii. p. 302), well puts the general question,—

"With what sincerity," says he, "with what dignity can a preacher dispense the truths of Christianity whose thoughts are perpetually solicited to the reflection how he may increase his subscription? Moreover, a little experience of the disposition of the common people will, in every country, inform us that it is one thing to edify them in Christian knowledge, and another to gratify their taste for vehement impassioned oratory, and that he, not only whose success, but whose subsistence, depends on collecting and pleasing a crowd must resort to other arts than the argument and communication of sober, profitable instruction. For a preacher to be thus at the mercy of his audience—to be obliged to adapt his doctrine to the pleasure of a capricious multitude—to live in constant bondage to tyrannical and insolent directors—are circumstances rarely submitted to without a sacrifice of principle and a depravation of character."

Can it be for the interests of religion that to every reflecting mind it should put on the phasis of a trade? Is it wise that the thinking portion of the people should perpetually see men baptized and made Christians for 5*s.*, confessed and absolved for 2*s.* 6*d.*, joined in the holy bonds of matrimony for (say) 1*l.*, salvation insured by extreme unction for 10*s.*,

their bodies consigned to consecrated ground, and their souls prayed out of purgatory for 2*l.* or 3*l.* more—in short, that the spectacle should be an every-day one of a man's whole Christian "*job*," being "done" for 5*l.* or 10*l.* if he can afford no more. God forbid that I should be one to jeer at religion: but religion is one thing, and the way in which its offices are paid for is another. I am convinced that this *trading* in the holy offices of religion has disgusted many a reflecting mind, and made it careless of all religion—has, in fact, been most injurious to the *interests of religion*. Presuming this view to be correct, and I know no answer to it, is it not, then, wiser to wipe out this blot, and to keep the pure truths of religion free, in their inculcation, from the suspicion even of an interested teaching? Priests and clergymen are but men; and, is it not to be feared, if they are left dependent upon payments to be made to them for the performance of certain offices of religion, that ceremonies and contrivances will be resorted to for the obtaining of such *payments*, which may tend to the obscurement of the truth and to the injury of the *interests of religion*? Nay, has not this been the result in Ireland? For what is the object of the "station" held on Lough Derg island, in Donegal, or on the top of the hill, Croagh Patrick, in Mayo? The sublime truths of religion are beyond the grasp of the greatest intellect: their study is a feeble attempt of a finite being to comprehend infinity. Yet the study purifies and ennobles—makes a man conscious of the living soul within him—conscious of the undying intellect which distinguishes him from the brute. How melancholy, then, is the spectacle at Lough Derg, to any reflecting mind, to see men sink this intellect, and in place of the ennobling contemplation of the Deity, and "communing with their own hearts," repenting of past sins, and humbly hoping for strength to walk in future after His laws, resorting to the degrading exhibition of walking barefoot round a stone-cross on a pathway of

sharp flints!* “The sacrifices of God,” we are taught, “are a broken spirit and a contrite heart,”† and not cut feet and bleeding knees. Can any unprejudiced mind think that the *interests of religion* are forwarded by such exhibitions as these? But are the priests to be blamed? They are men; you make them depend on fees from the people for the performance of religious offices; this contrivance brings 20,000 pilgrims annually to the station, the fees are paid, and the priests can live.

The Rev. Sydney Smith, in his “*Posthumous Fragments*,” thus describes the exaction of fees by the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland:—

“The mode of exacting dues in Ireland is quite arbitrary and capricious—uniformity is out of the question—everything depends on the disposition and temper of the clergyman. There are salutary regulations put forth in each diocese respecting Church dues and Church discipline, and put forth by episcopal and synodical authority—specific sums are laid down for mass, marriage, and the administration of the eucharist—these authorized payments are moderate enough, but every priest in spite of these rules makes the most he can of his ministry, and the strangest discrepancy prevails among men in the same diocese, in the demands made upon the people. The priest and his flock are continually coming into collision in pecuniary matters. Twice a year, the holy man collects confession money under the denomination of Christmas and Easter offerings. He selects in every neighbourhood one or two houses in which he holds stations of confession—very disagreeable scenes take place when additional money is demanded, or when additional time for payment is craved. The first thing done when there is a question of marrying a couple is to make a bargain about the marriage-money. The wary minister watches the palpitations—puts on a shilling for every sigh, and two-pence for every tear, and maddens the impetuosity of the young lovers up to one pound sterling. The remuneration prescribed by the diocesan statutes is never thought of for a moment. The priest makes as hard a bargain as he can * * * *. Every one present at the marriage is to contribute. In the same manner gossip money is collected at baptisms.”

The reverend gentleman then goes on,—

* See note, *ante*, p. 82.

† Psalm li. 9.

"But the most painful scenes takes place at extreme unction—a ceremony to which the common people in Ireland attach the utmost importance. 'Pay me before-hand—this is not enough—I insist upon more—I know you can afford it—I insist upon a larger fee.' And all this before the dying man who feels he has not an hour to live, and believes that salvation depends upon the timely application of this sacred grease."*

Though I do not much admire the tone in which this quotation is written, and something must be allowed in it for "the making of points," still, as a general description, it is accurate—painfully accurate.

On a question, however, on which much strong feeling prevails, and anxious to wound no religious prejudice, I think it enough on this head to say that the more the subject is examined into, the more *inexpedient* it appears for the *interests of religion* that the clergy should be dependent on the people. Every argument which applies in favour of paying the Protestant clergy, applies in favour of paying the Roman Catholic priesthood. They are the teachers of the great bulk of the Irish people; and, so far as the State is concerned, it permits some six million people who are not Protestants to go untaught in matters of religion altogether. They may teach themselves—provide and pay their own teachers, be the teachers Jew, Mahomedan, or Vishnu; the State cares not, for it pays *no Christian teacher* to instruct them. The argument that there are the Protestant churches for them is futile. There are the Roman Catholic chapels for the Protestants, but what Protestant ever enters them? Here are the people who will not become Protestants, whom 300 years of preaching has not made Protestants,—do you the State take care as far as you can to have them made Christians? Not a bit of it; they may themselves pay teachers to teach them what they like; you, a Christian State, have no hand in teaching them Christianity.

We will, however, now turn to the second point, that it is

* Sydney Smith's Posthumous Fragments, p. 22.

expedient for the interests of the people, and for the welfare of society, that the priesthood should be paid.

If there is any evil more prominent than another in the social condition of Ireland, it is the improvident and early marriages which are contracted. It leads to perpetual beggary and wretchedness. A lad is no sooner sixteen or seventeen years of age than he marries some girl of fifteen or sixteen. Of course he cannot have made any provision for a family—he is scarcely yet a member of society. But he has a family growing up about him before he is a man. He must live, and without other employment or knowledge how to live, his father is compelled to subdivide his farm with him. In England and Scotland, most young men of that age are “beginning life,” as it is called, entering upon a business, trade, or profession, in order to learn it, and afterwards to make their livelihood out of it. When the livelihood is secured in all fair expectation, then the young man thinks of marrying. In Ireland a man never learns a trade; the rudest peasant expects at once as much for his untutored services as the best artizan. He does not seek to learn a trade. He is, therefore, not sought for as an artizan in any trade. At the mines in Cork, picking dross out of the ore is an employment for women. Those who know their business are very expert at it. Those who do not, if put to the work, will pick out as much ore as dross, and waste more than their labour is worth. Yet such is the habit of *never learning to do anything* among the peasantry, that, though three weeks will teach a girl this work, under the superintendence of others, during which time all her work has to be gone over by another, they will not labour, or rather learn to labour for three weeks unless they are paid at once full wages, though for the first three weeks their untaught labour is a positive loss to their employers. This feeling, no doubt, is caused, in a great measure, by the pressure of immediate necessity, and from the utter absence of all habit

of going to learn any trade. But the chief cause of both these evils is the early marriages. Before a lad has learned any trade at all he marries. He must then live and keep his wife, and a potato patch is the only prospect he has. This is one of the worst evils, and leads to many of those other evils which beset Ireland. We shall soon see what induces early marriages. It is the custom in Ireland, at marriages, for a collection to be made and given as a present to the priest. This is a matter of emulation among the people present; and the extent to which the feeling is carried may be judged of from the fact, that at the marriage of a 10 acre tenant's son, who has not a shilling himself, 20*l.* will often be collected for the priest. A Killarney car-driver told me he married at sixteen, and some 2*l.* were collected for the priest, neither he nor his wife having a shilling before hand. A waiter at the hotel at Kilkenny, where I staid, I was told, had a collection of 18*l.* made at his wedding, for the priest; and I have heard of instances among respectable farmers of much more extravagant sums being given. Now is it human nature to suppose that any priest depending for his livelihood on fees—the marriage fee amongst others, will not promote marriages? I have heard of many instances of their doing so. But don't blame the priests; blame the system. The priests must live; they live by fees, for the State gives them nothing, and the best fee they get is at a wedding. Depend upon it that, as long as the priests are thus paid, early marriages, with all their attendant evils and mischiefs and miseries, will continue.

On this subject, however, I will quote one or two instances, to bear out this statement of the fact of early marriages, and their evils, which I take at random, from the evidence given before Lord Devon's Commission.

Mr. J. Hickson, of Kenmare (Land Commission Report, Part II. p. 912), says,—

“ If any remedy could be applied to prevent early marriages of paupers it would be of great benefit.”

Mr. Kerry Supple (Poor Law Guardian of Ballyhorgan, Kerry, Vol. II. p. 843), says,—

“The early and improvident marriages of the people so long as they exist must keep up a state of poverty.

“Are you prepared to suggest a remedy for that? Some say that there is a revenue arising to the Roman Catholic clergymen, which is a strong inducement to them not to put any check on it, and there are many points connected with it. My own opinion is, that as long as a boy of sixteen will marry a girl of fourteen, without 1*s.* 0*d.* in their pockets and throw themselves upon the world, it is very hard to benefit the people of Ireland.

“Do you think the clergy could check the feeling you describe to be so strong? Yes. I think they could in a great measure if they would take the trouble. They would be acting against themselves. Their revenue arises from it. But if a clergyman talked rationally to a boy of sixteen or eighteen ‘You are going to do what is very imprudent. You ought not to do it. You will be a beggar, and in the poor-house.’ It would have as much effect as the other sermons he preaches.”

Mr. J. Hurly, Tralee, in his evidence (Land Commissioners’ Report, Part II. p. 852), says,—

“One of the evils that arises here is the early marriages of the population. The moment a man gets a son grown of seventeen or eighteen, he gets him married, and gives him a part of the land.”

The mere money in fees which the poor people pay is a trifling mischief to them, compared with the lasting misery they bring upon themselves by these imprudent marriages. The payment of these fees, however, impoverishes them. There are “gossipings” at baptisms, and “cantings” at funerals—that is, making the funeral procession go between two men at each side of it, holding a hat; the money collected is ostensibly spent in masses, to get the soul of the departed out of purgatory; and he who gives most has the honour of being named as the payer for the masses. It may easily be supposed, that the poor men, excited by grief for a departed friend, and taught that he is in purgatory till the priest prays him out, will give as liberally as they

can, to insure his escape from bad company. But is not much of this to be traced to leaving the priest to live by such contrivances? Let Exeter Hall bigots cease foaming at the mouth about the "damnable doctrines" of priestcraft. *Pay the priests*—enable them to live without resorting to such practices, and they will fall into desuetude. The priest will then only think of teaching Christianity, and not of getting fees.

But, lastly, it is expedient to pay the priesthood, as calculated to tend to *the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and consequently, to the prosperity and strength of the empire.*

"We consider," says Sydney Smith, "the Irish clergy as factious and as encouraging the bad anti-British spirit of the people. How can it be otherwise? They live by the people. They have nothing to live upon but the voluntary oblations of the people; and they must fall into the same spirit as the people, or they must starve to death. No marriage—no mortuary masses—no unctions to the priest, who preached against O'Connell—give the clergy a maintenance separate from the will of the people, and you will then enable them to oppose the folly and madness of the people." (*Posthumous Fragments*.)*

These are words of common sense and wisdom. With the people, the priesthood are all-powerful; against them, they are powerless. They therefore are compelled to go with them. The people are led and influenced by reckless enthusiasts, or worse—by sordid demagogues. "When had *common sense* much influence with the poor dear Irish?" asks Peter Plymley. But *uncommon nonsense* has a great influence with them, and over them. They like it so well they will *pay* for it; and as long as they *pay* for it, they

* "At present, the Roman Catholic clergyman is entirely dependent on voluntary contributions, which frequently forces him to succumb to the times, and prevents his being an independent man; and often he is governed by his parishioners when he gets credit for leading them, perhaps in his heart anxious to avoid all political excitement, but finding his very existence depend upon going with the popular stream."—*A Few Words on Irish Measures*, by S. W. Blackall, D.L.

will hear plenty of it. Well, whatever be the nonsense which influences them the priest must follow, for he lives by them; if he opposes them, he starves.

Bishop Stock, in a narrative of what passed at Killala in the summer of 1798, gives the following reasons why, in every popular commotion in Ireland, some Catholic priest will probably be concerned.

"The almost total dependence of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence, is the cause, according to my best judgment, why, upon every popular commotion, many priests of that communion have been, (and until measures of better policy are adopted always will be,) found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that the change of masters may render it heavier. The priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach to perish."*

The able author of "The Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland," says,—

"The great majority of them (the priests,) are hot Repealers; it is they who work all the machinery of Repeal. The great meeting at Clontarf—the last of the monster meetings—was convened upon a requisition signed by twenty-five priests, and not by one layman. It may be very shocking and very wrong that men who ought to be devoted to their religious duties should be thus deeply engaged in agitation of the most mischievous character; but when the class from which they spring, and their miserably defective education are considered, our wonder that they are what we see them gives way to the much greater wonder that we have gone on so long, permitting such a system to flourish in rank luxuriance, and though fully alive to all its practical consequences, have never made the smallest attempt to cure the evils it engenders."†

Without, however, trespassing further on the reader's patience, I think it must be apparent, that it is not wise and *expedient* for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, and

* Quoted in Flowden, vol. iii. p. 716.

† Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland, p. 334.

consequently for the prosperity and strength of the empire, that the clergy of three-fourths of the people of Ireland should thus be left dependent on the people. On every principle of reason and justice, the Roman Catholics, whether priesthood or people, have a *right* to a perfect equality with Protestants. I should feel ashamed of the Protestant faith, which I hold, if it feared a perfect equality: I believe perfect equality will most effectually show its strength.

"No power in Europe," says Sydney Smith, "but yourselves, has ever thought for these hundred years past of asking whether a bayonet is Catholic, or Presbyterian, or Lutheran, but whether it is sharp and well tempered."*

Equally indefensible on any ground of reason, is it to ask before the State pays a priest, or before it gives a civil office to a layman—"are you a Protestant or a Catholic?" That with which the State has to do is simply to ask, "Do you teach the people Christianity, and make them good subjects; are you a good citizen, and fit for the office you seek?" Look at the example in England, and in Scotland, of the effects of an unpaid clergy. Though a great number among the very powerful body of dissenters in England are moderate men, is it not a fact that, as a body, they are what may be termed the *aggressive or movement party*? Are not the most violent democrats and chartists almost always dissenters, often led on, too, by the dissenting minister? In Scotland, what people were so quiet so long as there were none but paid "moderate" ministers among them? The minister's wife took tea with the factor's wife. The heritor's praise was on their lips;—the Government stipend came regularly on every quarter-day, or was secure independently of the people;—and the minister preached to poor paupers, living on 2*d.* a week, "patience, meekness,

* Sydney Smith's "Peter Plymley's Letters," p. 9.

longsuffering, respect to constituted authorities, and future rewards," and from Aberdeen to Inverness, from Inverness to John o' Groat's, not a soldier, or a policeman, or a constable (except by name), was ever seen or known of. The question of the right to present to livings, created a division in the Scottish Kirk. Six hundred ministers left it, and enrolled themselves as a voluntary Church, dependent upon the people, under the title of the "Free Kirk of Scotland." The factor disapproved of this, and went to the "moderate" Church; the newly created "Free" minister's wife no longer took tea at his house; bitter words passed; the heritors refused sites for new churches; the people were roused and excited, and fought with soldiers, sent to quell them at Ross. The heritors were retaliated upon by being made to keep their paupers decently, on the applications got up by Free Ministers, to the Court of Session; and ranklings, and heart burnings, and recriminations now prevail, where once was profound quiet, and suppression of evil. Why is this? Because when a worthy, but unfortunately placed minister has to stir up the people for his dinner, or, in order to pay his rent, *it stirs up strife*. With these examples before us, is it not patent what should be done to quieten strife in Ireland? Simply *pay the priests*.* It is better to do that,—better to pay three thousand priests, and have an united and peaceful country—strong as one man, as Scotland was, than to be obliged to pay a standing army of twenty-five thousand soldiers, and ten thousand armed police, to awe a discontented and unquiet people, and put down outrage. *Pay the priests*, and Ireland will be a crutch

* "It would be very proper to abolish all payment of any dues, offerings, or fees from the poor Papists to their priests, and to settle salaries for them, payable by the Government (as the Protestant ministers in Holland), whose interests and inclinations would thus be closely tied to those of the State, and consequently they might be managed like cannons, whose mouths are still pointed just as they please who fill their bellies."—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, by Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 80.

to the empire; at present it is a broken arm. I believe the strongest argument against such a measure is the practical one—"where is the money to come from?" We must remember, however, that keeping in view proper gradations of pay, the priests are single men, and, as such, 100*l.* or 150*l.* a year, will provide them in Ireland with every comfort which single men can desire, and some of the luxuries of life. Compared with the benefits which, on almost all hands amongst thinking men in Ireland, it is conceded, would accrue from the payment of the priesthood by the State, the cost of their maintenance is not worthy of being considered, were it much greater in amount than the sum which would be found sufficient.

However, the time is not yet arrived, when such a measure will find favour: and the chief obstacles which stand in its way will be found amongst the blindly zealous Protestants of England.

LETTER XXXVI.

REVISIT DERRYNANE.—CONDITION OF MR. O'CONNELL'S
TENANTRY.

Revisit Derrynane, accompanied by one of the Reporters of The Times—Restatement of previous Account of this Place—Relation of the Newspaper abuse, and of the Falsehoods circulated on account of it—Account of our Visit, and minute Description of Mr. O'Connell's Tenantry—The Glass-windows of Derrynane Beg—Mr. O'Connell as a Middleman—Cahiriveen—The Liberator's illustrious Pedigree—The Reporter's Description.

KILLARNEY, KERRY, December 20.

IT will be remembered that when in Kerry, a month ago, I sent you (amongst other things) an account of the condition of the tenantry on Mr. Daniel O'Connell's estate. I was influenced to do so because that gentleman has perpetually, by himself and by those under his influence, held himself forth as the very pattern of good landlords, and in that character has not spared the most lavish abuse of the landlords of Ireland as a class. It was popular to abuse landlords; and, therefore, right or wrong, he abused them for the sake of the popularity. I am not going to defend the landlords of Ireland. I have not hesitated to mark out for approval those who deserved it, as I have exposed the evils flowing from the misconduct of bad landlords. For these reasons I sought out Mr. Daniel O'Connell's property. Had I found its management deserving of praise, and the

condition of his tenantry cleanly, comfortable, and such as befits the condition of human beings, I would as unhesitatingly have praised him, as I did not shrink from exposing him as a boasting impostor when I found his tenants living in a state of squalid wretchedness and filth, neglected and degraded to the lowest pitch of brutalised existence. I described to you Mr. O'Connell as a middleman "for two-thirds of his property, living on a profit-rent derived from small tenants." And thus I described his general character as a landlord, and the condition of his tenantry (I quote from my former letter):—

"His general character as a landlord or middleman is, that any tenant who applies to him may have leave to erect a cabin where he pleases. He permits subdivision to any extent. This wins a certain degree of popularity; but the land under lease by him is in consequence in the most frightful state of over-population. . . . In this condition they are left in a *total state of neglect*. They have no agricultural schools, no encouragement, none to lead or guide them; and the poor creatures are left to subdivide their land, and to multiply, and to blunder on, until, in the words of Mr. Keane Mahony, 'their principal feature is distress.' "

I then proceeded to describe Derrynane Beg, which he sublets as a middleman:—

"The distress of the people was horrible. There is not a pane of glass in the parish, nor a window of any kind in half the cottages.* Some have got a hole in the wall for light, with a board to stop it up. In not one in a dozen is there a chair to sit upon, or anything whatever in the cottages beyond an iron pot and a rude bedstead, with some straw on it, and not always that. In many of them the smoke is coming out of the doorway, for they have no chimney. . . . Unaided and unguided, the

* Mr. O'Connell got over this fact in a speech made in Conciliation Hall, in contradiction of my previous letter, in a manner very characteristic. After reading the paragraph, he burst out with—"The scoundrel! if he had as many pains in his bowels——" A ready roar of laughter interrupted him, and he passed on to another subject. This was certainly very ingenious, and admirably adapted for an Irish audience, with whom it passed for argument and contradictory proof. Any other audience would at once have seen that it was an admission of a most discreditable fact, concealed under a joke.

poor creatures are in the lowest degree of poverty I have yet seen, and this within sight of Derrynane-house." "In future it will be remembered that amongst the most neglectful landlords who are a curse to Ireland, Daniel O'Connell ranks first—that on the estate of Daniel O'Connell are to be found the most wretched tenants that are to be seen in all Ireland. If a middleman is execrated as an useless drone who squeezes the very life's blood out of his miserable tenants, the name of Daniel O'Connell will not be forgotten. Though not the worst among middlemen, he lives by the system."

I have quoted my former statement, in order that it may be compared with the evidence below. For making this statement, every syllable of which, I repeat advisedly, is literally true, I have been assailed with a perfect storm of invective and abuse. Scarcely a newspaper in the country, such is their cringing to the popularity of this man—such their utter ignorance of the subject—has hesitated to brand me as a "*liar*" for having written this. Letters of all kinds contradicting me have been freely admitted into their columns—letters which the evidence below will show to you were wholly false. My very car-driver was examined; and his statement of what he imagined I did during a whole day at Waterville, in the very midst of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry, who were within a mile from me on all sides of that town, was at once credited as a fact, though this very driver was the whole day seven miles off, in the kitchen of a gentleman's house where I was staying, and not with me.

For obtaining such evidence from this man Mr. O'Connell sent a letter of thanks to a Cork newspaper, and in it honours me with the epithet of "the unhappy wretch." He will now have good reason to thank his Cork friend, for it was this step taken by the Cork newspaper and the industrious propagation of the carman's statement, or invented statement, that mainly determined me to return again to Derrynane.

The *Dublin Evening Post* inserted a letter from an apothecary named Fitzgerald, living at Carrick-on-Suir, in which he says, "of his own knowledge" "there are excellent

roads," "new and comfortable houses," "and valuable and thriving plantations," on Mr. O'Connell's estate. On the authority of this letter I was again branded as "a liar." You will see from the evidence below, that, as descriptive of Mr. O'Connell's estate, the letter is a falsehood.

Another person, named "Edward Carroll," dates a letter from Clifden, Galway, which the editor of the *Dublin Evening Packet*, in a most obliging "spirit of fair-play" inserts, and vouches for the character and respectability of the gentleman. In his letter Mr. "Edward Carroll, of Clifden, Galway," says,—

"I found, in the month of May, mangold-wurzel and Swedish turnips of such a quality, and in such a state of preservation, as would do credit to my practical friends, Kelly, at Portrane; M'Cormick, at Lord Charlemont's; or Skilling, at the National Model-farm.

Further on he says,—

"I found on the land a species of cultivation that would do credit to a London market-gardener—all encouraged by Mr. Maurice O'Connell."

On the strength of this letter, vouched for by the *Dublin Evening Packet*, every Conservative paper joined in the yell against me as a "liar." You will find from the evidence below, on the admission of Mr. Maurice O'Connell himself, that there *never were* either turnips or mangold-wurzel grown on his father's estate—that, in fact, every syllable of the letter is a falsehood.

Thus met and contradicted in a plain statement of facts, what was I to do? I did that which every man who felt convinced that he had stated nothing but the simple truth would do. I offered to appoint six gentlemen to meet six of Mr. O'Connell's friends, and to go over the estate and abide by their decision. In England, that land of fair-play and justice, would this challenge have been shrunk from if I were the "liar" Mr. O'Connell and his backers and his cringing, popularity-hunting opponents denounced me to

be? But in Ireland, the *tactique* of my accusers was to shrink from the proof, and reiterate the accusation. I wrote to a number of gentlemen in different parts of Ireland, and eight or nine immediately assented to be my umpires, ready to meet the friends of Mr. O'Connell. The letters of those gentlemen I have forwarded to you, that with you at least there might be no question of my sincerity. Mr. O'Connell shrank from the challenge, never alluded to it, but reiterated accusations against me of "liar." I again wrote to my friends, and asked them if they would assent to go with me, and walk over Mr. O'Connell's estate, though he declined to meet me? Some of my friends thought this would give the inquiry a partisan complexion, and declined to do this; others of them assented. As, however, there was a disinclination amongst them generally to be placed in the position of partisans, I thought it unfair to press them to accompany me alone. I was determined, however, that the cunning of the cowardly impostor should not avail him. I therefore wrote to you, requesting you to send down any gentleman you might select from your establishment, and I would accompany him back into Kerry and he should see for himself, and take a note of what he saw in the presence of Mr. O'Connell, or his friends, if they chose to accompany us. I feel greatly obliged to you for acceding to my request; and the notes of that gentleman thus taken he sends to you, along with this letter.

Before we arrived at Derrynane it was known there that we were coming—our every movement was watched. We spent three days in walking over the estate; and, in order that there might not be the suspicion even of party spirit, we went into the cottages on every estate we passed. Your reporter will describe to you the comparative comfort of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry with that of the tenants of other landlords beside them. The first day we were accompanied by Mr. Atkins, a gentleman of the neighbourhood (to whom I

feel deeply indebted for the bold and manly way in which he accompanied us), and by Mr. O'Sullivan, the agent of Mr. Hartop, who went with us over a portion of Mr. O'Connell's lands, held as a middleman under Mr. Hartop, and who certainly left no point untried to say a good word for Mr. O'Connell. It was indeed farcical, after coming out of a wretched cabin and scrambling ankle deep through the dunghill before it, coughing from the effects of the peat smoke inside, dense enough to blind one, on uttering a mingled expression of pity and disgust at the squalor, and filth, and wretchedness within it, to hear him speak of some scarcely passable lane, half a mile off—"Oh! but the Liberator has done much for this place. Didn't he, Pat Sullivan, give 6s. a perch for making that road towards it?" To which Pat's ready and expected reply of course followed—"To be sure he did, yer honour."

The second day we were accompanied from Valentia by Mr. O'Connell's own steward, named Connell, throughout the whole of our inspection. In many cases the poor people durst not speak out before him. Naturally enough, he did all he could to praise his master. Nothing, however, could stand against cottage after cottage of squalor and misery; and the poor fellow at last gave up the attempt, and professed to know nothing of the existence of a number of tenants on an estate called Tarman's, close to Waterville, which is Mr. O'Connell's fee-simple property, though he is the collector of the rents. Long before night we had given up "picking" our way, and we waded ankle deep through water and mud and filth down a lane to this township of Tarman's, and entered some cottages there, the horrid misery and filth of which I never saw equalled on any other property in the United Kingdom. Your reporter's notes will give you a description of this estate.

The third day we were accompanied by Mr. Maurice O'Connell himself, and with him inspected his father's

estates, from Waterville to Derrynane Beg. At one town-land (Ardcara), the wretchedness of which on my former visit had struck me, at my request we stopped and entered the cottages. This town-land Mr. O'Connell holds on a lease for his own life under Mr. Bland, and sublets it as a middleman. The condition of the huts was perfectly horrible. In one of them, into which we all entered, in the presence of Mr. Maurice O'Connell, I requested your reporter to note down that a broken iron pot was the only furniture of any description in it. The cottage was full of stifling peat smoke, and a woman, clad in rags, with four or five half-naked children about her, was squatted on the mud-floor near some smouldering turf. The excuse here was, that she was a pauper, and paid no rent. Mr. Bland, of course, will get the odium of her condition, and have to remove her eventually at his own cost when this middleman's lease expires.* We entered six or seven cottages here all nearly the same; in some there was a turf-basket or two, in some a table. This constituted the only difference among them. I remarked, too, that Mr. Maurice O'Connell's huntsman, who was with us, always entered the cottages before us, and spoke three or four words of Irish in an under tone. The effect of this introduction was that it was very rarely that any tenant would speak anything but Irish, and, of course, our questions were asked through him as interpreter.

We drove on to Derrynane Beg. We entered it by a bridle path for horses. Down this path a mountain stream

* It is stated that this woman was a beggar-woman, to whom the cottage was given for shelter. It may be so. Her condition, however, was only worse in degree, and that a very slight one, than that of her neighbours around her. She had the same sort of cottage, of turf fire, and of food; but she was a bench and a coarsely-made wooden bedstead worse off in the articles of furniture. There were cottages close besides this, occupied by tenants in every respect equally miserable. Not, however, even to *seem* unfair, and at the sacrifice of much space, I have given Mr. O'Connell's defence and reply to this letter in the Appendix, No. 13.

was running ankle deep, and by this *road* we made our way, jumping from stone to stone, and sometimes compelled to wade to the much-reputed Derrynane Beg. The cottages are built in clusters of two and three together—a dung-heap always beside each, over which we had generally to scramble to get into the door. We entered several of these cabins, some inhabited by tenants, and others by labourers. In their general description the cabins are thatched with potato tops, with flat stones and sods piled on the thatches to mend them and keep them down; the doorways are narrow and about four feet and a half high; the windows of such cottages as had them are about eight inches by ten, without glass, and stopped up by boards; many are without any hole for a window at all; a cow, or a pig, was usually inside, and half a dozen children; the cottages inside were almost invariably quite dark and filled with smoke, which found its way out of the doorways; and our inspection was carried on by means of lighted splints of bog timber, lighted at the turf-fire on the mud-floor, the dull red glare of which through the thick smoke on half-naked children, pigs, cows, filth, and mud, was such a picture as I cannot draw. This is the condition of the tenantry of Derrynane Beg, whom Mr. Maurice O'Connell describes as “comfortably off,” and to see whom this gentleman had the astounding effrontery that very morning to invite your reporter, as an “act of justice,” because I had “caricatured” them in my former letter about this place.*

* This letter was received by Mr. Russell (the gentleman sent down by *The Times*) on the third day after our arrival, and when we were fifteen miles nearer Killarney than at Derrynane Beg. We had already been twice close to Derrynane Beg with friends of Mr. O'Connell; and it is not improbable that it was surmised we should not return a third time, and go a long way out of our road back again to do so. If we did not accept the invitation of the letter on this ground, then the letter would do admirably to use against us in Conciliation Hall afterwards. I believed this to be the drift and meaning of the letter immediately, as its contents were preposterously untrue, and such as no man could have seriously

I have been all over England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and I declare to you solemnly, that in no part of the United Kingdom is such neglected wretchedness—such filth, such squalor, such misery of every kind—to be seen, as I saw that day on Mr. O'Connell's estate, in the presence of Mr. Maurice O'Connell.

Of the latter gentleman I do not wish to say one discourteous word. He met me as a gentleman. He parted with me as such.

Repeatedly I asked in Derrynane Beg, where are the much-vaunted glass windows? With the exception of Derrynane-house, and the steward's house, and one new cottage, which is slate-roofed and building with sashes for glass windows, I repeat my former statement, that there is not a single pane of glass in the whole of Derrynane. The tenants live in dark holes—not lighted houses. Mr. O'Connell said that which was false, and knew it, when he gave a sneering denial to this statement: not a tenant on his Derrynane estate has a glass window, or anything but a hole with a board in it to let in the light and wind when the board is down.

Mr. O'Connell gave a sneering denial to the statement that he is a middleman. When he did so he stated that which was false, and knew it. Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Hartop's agent, gave me the following list of town-lands, which he rents under Mr. Hartop, and sublets to small tenants at a profit-rent:—Ightercoa, Ballybrack, Shannacknuch, Coomnaborna, Ballycarnahan, Gortnarmakanee, and Tureens. For these town-lands, which are densely peopled by small tenants and paupers, he pays Mr. Hartop 256*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year rent, and derives a *profit-rent* from them of about 400*l.*

written had he anticipated they would be put to the test. I immediately determined—and Mr. Russell concurred with me—on the propriety of literally accepting its invitation; with what result Mr. Russell's report will show."

a year—that is, he charges his small tenants as a middleman three times as much rent for the land as it is let for to himself. He also holds the town-lands of Ferraneera, Derrynane, and Cournatloucane, under Lord Cork ; Cahirciveen, and other town-lands, under the Dublin College ; and Ardcarra, under Mr. Bland ; all of which he sublets as a middleman, and derives a profit-rent from them. His fee-simple property is said to be about 1,200*l.* a year ; and his profit-rent from lands which he rents and sublets as a middleman is said to be about 2,000*l.* a year ; making a total income of about 3,200*l.* a year. I heard Mr. Maurice O'Connell state to your reporter that his father's income was 3,400*l.* a year.

And, now, having gone over Mr. O'Connell's estate for three days, accompanied by his son and his servants, with laborious minuteness, I ask, is there a single iota of my former statement about his tenantry which is not in every particular confirmed ? And yet, for making this statement I have been branded by almost every newspaper in Ireland as (to quote their phraseology) a “ liar.”

I need hardly tell you that I left Derrynane with a feeling of indignation and disgust that I should thus be compelled to prove a patent truth, and that the falsehoods and unblushing assertions of an impudent impostor should have been trumpeted forth in his praise by a hireling or a cringing, popularity-hunting press. That that press will have the honesty to do me justice I do not hope ; and I declare to you such is the opinion I have formed of the greater part of it, and such is the estimation in which it is generally held, that I am alike careless of its praise or its abuse. If Mr. O'Connell is not yet satisfied, I am willing again to go back, and prove to any six gentlemen whatever, whom he may himself select, provided only that they are gentlemen and men of honour, that every assertion I have made about his property is strictly true, and that he, as a necessary consequence, is the most

impudent impostor and unblushing *fabricator* that the world ever saw.

It remains now only for me to do an act of justice—to thank the gentlemen who offered to accompany me. Though I have not required their services, I am grateful to them for standing by me as a stranger and alone, when to do so was certain exposure to all the vile abuse of an unprincipled press.

I feel bound also to say, that though Cahirciveen is dirty enough, and has old hat-mended windows enough,* I have seen worse towns in Ireland.† The innkeeper at Cahirciveen, too, ought not to suffer for having received me. On

* Whilst in this neighbourhood, on my second visit, we slept at the very comfortable hotel at Valentia, which island is the property of the Knight of Kerry. Hearing that we were there, the Knight of Kerry offered to us the hospitalities of an Irish gentleman. I was highly amused by a story told us, in the presence of a large dinner party, by Mrs. Fitzgerald, the first night we were at Valentia, and before we had been to Cahirciveen. The wind having broken a pane of glass in the drawing-room, she sent to Cahirciveen for the glazier to mend it, and, as she was giving him directions, asked a very common question in the country,—what news there was in Cahirciveen? “Oh, great news,” said the man;—“*The Times*’ Commissioner has come again with another gentleman, and we expect them to visit the town to-morrow, and we have had the street swept for half a mile out of the town. It is a bad job for me coming here to-day, for I expect orders to mend a lot of the broken windows. It would be a good thing for us if we had a *Times*’ Commissioner once a month among us.” Next day, when we visited Cahirciveen, we ascertained that the streets had been swept as the man said; Mr. Primrose, Mr. O’Connell’s agent there, telling us it was only the usual contract sweeping. The town certainly looked both cleaner and more trim than on my first visit; and in several things which I observed, and in which I could not be mistaken, there had evidently been a preparation for us.

† This is the fact, though it does not say much for Cahirciveen. The Census Commissioners of 1841 will best explain its condition, for they have especially noticed “the barony of Iveragh, in the county of Kerry,” in which is the parish of Cahirciveen and the O’Connell property. “The inhabitants of this barony,” they say, “are living in a very low state as to household accommodation.” To show this, they have classified the houses into four classes. “In the lowest or fourth class, are comprised all mud-cabins (or cabins built of stones and mud, where stones are more plentiful than mud), having only one room; in the third, a better description of cottage, still built of mud, but varying from two to four rooms, and windows; in the second, a good farm-house, or in towns, a house in a small street, having from five to nine rooms, and windows; and in the first, all

my visiting him this time he had certainly made his house look clean and comfortable. There is but one hotel in the town. Formerly there were two—one kept by a cousin of Mr. O'Connell, of the excellence of whose house Mr. O'Connell quoted an opinion of some *Sportsman*, to prove that I “lied” about the inn. This O'Connell, the innkeeper, in consequence of the illness of his wife, has declined receiving travellers for the last twelve months. This Mr. O'Connell *knew*, and when he quoted the *Sportsman* in opposition to my account of another inn, he knew that he was stating a falsehood. Subsequently Mr. O'Connell said there were two inns, and I chose “the cheap and nasty” one. When Mr. O'Connell stated this, he *knew* that there was but one inn, and that he was stating a falsehood.

I have heard much about Mr. O'Connell's father, Morgan Connell, who kept a huckster's shop in Cahirciveen, and of

houses of a better description than the preceding classes.” On turning to page 198 of the Census, we find the statistics of the houses of the barony of Iveragh, Cahir parish :—

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSES.

	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Fourth Class.	Total.
Rural portion	4	22	194	634	854
Cahirciveen town	16	132	38	29	215

So that it appears there are 215 houses in Cahirciveen, only 16 of which are first-class or good houses; 132 of them are of the character “of houses in a small street, with five to nine rooms;” whilst the remainder of the houses, 67 in number, are in the third and fourth classes—i. e., mud or undressed stone and mud built cabins, with two rooms and one room, the latter *without windows*. But what a spectacle does the “rural portion” of Cahirciveen parish present, nearly the whole of which is Mr. O'Connell's property, and the *boasted* portion of it! Out of 854 houses, 634 are mud and stone built cabins of one room and *no windows*, and 194 have only two rooms *and windows*; whilst out of 854 houses, there are but 26 in the first and second class of houses—that is, good farm-houses! Unblushing effrontery can do much; but it cannot surpass making a barefaced boast of a district of country which the Census Commissioners show to be in this condition.

his pedigree and assumption of the "O" before his name.* I have heard anecdotes of his craven cowardice, and of his disgusting profligacy. I enclose you proofs of all this to do with them as you please. I shall decline entering on those subjects, lest it be thought that I am actuated by personal spite against him. I have dealt with him and spoken of him as a public man, and as a public man I cannot conceive any human being more despicable. I have now done with this man; and, with a feeling of disgust at his impudent lying, I simply refer you to your reporter's account of his visit to Derrynane, which he encloses with my letter.

KILLARNEY, December 19.

Having, in compliance with your instructions, visited the property of Mr. D. O'Connell, M.P., for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of his tenantry, in reference to which much dispute has arisen between you and that gentleman, owing to the remarks of your Commissioner, I shall now proceed to state plainly and briefly the results of that visit. In doing so, I may be permitted to say, that the observations I am about to make are mere statements of fact, as plain as the sun in noon-day. I shall not pretend to say that Mr. O'Connell is a good or a bad landlord—whether your Commissioner is right or wrong; but describing things as I found them—as they are visible to every eye—I shall leave the public to judge the points at issue, and content myself with assuring you that no person, consistently with the truth, can deny one iota of the statements I am about to make. On Monday night, in company with your Commissioner, I arrived at Waterville, a small village in Ballynaskelligs Bay, not far distant from Derrynane Abbey, and close to some lands held by Mr.

* I have given in the Appendix Mr. O'Connell's answer in Conciliation Hall to this letter, if eight newspaper columns of name-calling and abuse can be called answer. In it, he denies the huckster's shop story, or rather evades it. I have therefore copied the account of his illustrious pedigree, as it appeared in *The Times* in 1839, which I find tallies exactly with the statement which I heard whilst in Kerry. It will be found, *post*, Appendix

O'Connell. The following morning, Mr. O'Sullivan, agent to Mr. Hartop (an extensive landed proprietor in this county, under whom Mr. O'Connell rents several large farms), happened to call in at our hotel, and I gladly availed myself of his local knowledge to visit those farms in his company. I may premise here that Mr. O'Sullivan is a warm partizan of Mr. O'Connell, and that, on every occasion of my visiting any property of the honourable gentleman's I was attended by one or other of his personal friends or adherents, in whose presence I took every note, and made every observation I shall have to lay before you. In company with your Commissioner, a neighbouring gentleman, named Atkins, and Mr. O'Sullivan, I proceeded to Igthercoa, which lies a short distance from Waterville, and is held on lease from Mr. Hartop by Mr. O'Connell. The approach to it is by a half-finished road, commenced by the latter gentleman, which winds up a hill-side divided into ragged fields by bank-fences and walls. At either side are scattered cottages, the property of Mr. O'Connell, or of Captain O'Connell, his relative. As a general remark, it may be said that the Irish peasant builds his cabin in a hollow, and having in a sort of way paved the ground about it, in a short time procures a pond of mud around his dwelling, which the rains of winter often raise so high as to flood the earthen floor within. This is particularly true of the cabins at Igthercoa, many of which are sunk four or five feet below the level of the road. In general they are much dilapidated, and give one the impression of dirty cow-houses; whilst the land around them is in a very bad state of cultivation. The statements made to us by the tenants (who are, for the most part, ill-clothed and ragged) were made through one of themselves, who acted as our interpreter.

The first house we entered was that of P. Sullivan. It was nearly destitute of furniture, except a table, settle, and iron pot, and exhibited an appearance of great neglect and dirt. The owner made several complaints of his condition, which I shall not trouble you with, as he came forward on the Thursday following, before Mr. M. O'Connell, and declared that he had misinformed us.

James Sullivan, his neighbour and relative, had a similar dwelling. There were no windows in either. The floors were of mud, and the interior filled with smoke and children. The widow Sullivan, who rents the grass of eight cows (that being the manner in which land is let in this district), has a very good cottage, clean and well furnished.

A short way from it was a wretched hovel, covered with rotten thatch, kept down by stones, through every chink of which the smoke was issuing. It stood in a pool of mud. The door was so low and narrow

that it required some dexterity to effect one's entrance. When inside, the light from a few sods of turf in one corner just sufficed to show the naked walls—a heap of potatoes—an iron pot—a bed of stones covered with straw, and the proprietress of all these—Mrs. Crahan—she was, we were told, a poor widow paying no rent. “How, then, did she live?” Was the inquiry. “Oh! she had a small holding of land the neighbours gave her.” “Where had she got that heap of potatoes?” “She had begged them about.” Of course the cabin was full of children. The dwellings of J. Boyle, the holder of seven cows' grass; of Michael Lynch, labourer, who paid no rent, we were told; of P. Kelly, D. Shaw, D. Doyle, and T. Grahah, exhibited similar scenes, with the exception of the first-named tenants. Whenever we came across any tenement more than usually wretched, we were sure to be informed that the occupant was rent free. In every one of them were from four to eight children—whose we could not well ascertain. The walls were of loose stones through which the wind came as it listed—the smoke found its exit through holes in the roofs—there were no windows. In the cabin of Donnelly, surrounded by turf smoke, and in utter darkness, lay a sick woman. Her bed was at one end of the cabin, half-divided from the other portion of it by a partition. Close to it was a space in the wall, originally intended for a window-frame, but now partially closed with some rough boards, through every crevice of which blew the blasts of winter. We are told that she had been ailing for a long, long time. Spectacles of varying distress and neglect were more or less visible, in all of those dwellings. Sometimes a little butter, yarn, frieze, or a small quantity of very fine wheat (a shameful proof of what the land could produce, if properly cultivated), evinced some degree of industry and care on behalf of the occupants. The exceptions to those remarks were to be found in the cottages of the widow and of Michael Sullivan (as I before observed), and of Frank Rowan, a retired coast-guard man, hale and hearty, though seventy-seven years of age, who showed, in the cleanliness and comfort of his dwelling, that the training of his early life had not been lost on him. Those cottages had been recently built, were roofed with slates, whitewashed, and looked trim and neat in spite of the heaps of manure around them. There were no mangold-wurzel, nor turnip fields visible; few windows, and much misery. Such was the farm of Ightercoa. At the other side of the hill lay some land of Mr. Hartop's, under the care of Mr. O'Sullivan, the cottages on which seemed clean, commodious, and well kept, whilst the cultivation of the land seemed in general much better. The most disgraceful of all the cabins I entered this day, were three hovels

on the road side, belonging to Captain O'Connell, who holds them as sub-lessee from Mr. D. O'Connell, in the town-land of Ballybrack. They were mere piles of loose stones, surrounded by mud and filth, ill-thatched, no ventilation, no windows, and teeming with men, women, and children, who were barely discernible in the darkness and smoke. We could not ascertain any particulars of the condition of those people. Having continued our inspection till dusk, we returned to Waterville, and thence proceeded to Valentia, a distance of about ten miles.

At Valentia, owing to the energy and kindness of the Knight of Kerry, and Mrs. Fitzgerald, there is so much comfort, cleanliness, and industry, that it is scarcely possible to believe one is in Ireland at all—far less in the most western portion of it. The extensive slate-quarries give ample employment to every able-bodied man on the island. Well-built, and roomy cottages are springing up on every side. Mrs. Fitzgerald employs a number of women in the manufacture of linen table-cloths, napkins, flannel, &c.; and has succeeded in procuring the establishment of a national school, which is attended daily by nearly 300 children. The flax is grown, scutched, spun, woven, and finished in its various forms on the island. Mangold-wurzel and green crops have been successfully grown by the Knight, and are coming into favour with the farmers.

On Wednesday morning, Mr. John Connell, a collector and book-keeper to Mr. M. O'Connell, M.P., waited on me at the Valentia Hotel, with a letter from that gentleman, in which he demanded, "as an act of justice to his father," the adoption of the very course I was about to take—namely, making a personal inspection of the property at and near Derrynane; at the same time offering me every facility to arrive at the truth, and denouncing your Commissioner's previous statements respecting that property as a caricature. Availing ourselves of the local knowledge and information necessarily possessed by Mr. Connell, and of the proffer of his services, we proceeded *en route* to Derrynane, with the intention of examining into the condition of the tenantry under the honourable member for Cork on the various farms held by him along the road.

The country in this district consists of rugged hills, more or less rocky, surrounding extensive tracts of land, which at present, from the want of the most trifling attention to drainage, produce nothing but turf, but might, by a little outlay of time, labour, and capital, be made to bear the finest green crops. The hill-sides, being drained of their surface water by their natural declination, are generally selected for the habita-

tions of the peasantry, [though infinitely less fertile than the valleys and plains beneath. The land is divided into straggling fields, scratched into "lazy-beds" for potatoes. The cottages are generally huddled together in irregular clusters of from five to ten or fifteen.

Immediately at the sea-shore of the main-land, opposite Valentia Island, lies the town-land of Rynard, containing about fifty families, held by Mr. O'Connell, under Trinity College, on the usual renewable lease.

Although the great majority of the houses on this property are in a wretched condition—without windows or chimneys, ill-thatched and filthy, surrounded by cess-pools and semi-liquid manure—it is to be observed, that signs of improvement are visible, in the erection of several substantial stone-cottages with slate roofs, &c., by the tenants, who are furnished, according to the usual custom, with lime, slates, and wood, by the landlord. The system of agriculture, as shown by the condition of the fields, seems very bad, although the sea-shore, lying close to the farm, offers great advantages in affording the best manure for the improvement of the land.

Oughermung, which is college property, contains about thirty-six houses. The cottages of D. Sullivan and D. Currane were the first we entered—a feat requiring no ordinary circumspection and agility by reason of the mounds of mud and manure surrounding them. They were poor, comfortless places, nearly dark inside (as boards blocked up the holes in the walls intended by the builder as sites for windows), with a rough deal table, a settle, an iron pot, some few earthen vessels, potato heap, &c., as furniture. Yet Daniel Sullivan was a snug farmer, renting six cows' grass, and having the same number of children, who were lying promiscuously along the mud floor of their cottage.

Currane was not near so well off. He paid 2*l.* a year for the grass of one cow. His cabin was tumbling to decay; around it was a stagnant pool of mud; inside, in addition to the articles already enumerated, was an ass, sharing the comforts of the cottage with his master, and propped on a heap of rough stones, covered with a rugged counterpane of unknown colour, was a heap of straw and a drugget,—that master's bed.

A little apart from these was the house of T. Sullivan, junior, who, with his twelve children, a sick cow, and two pigs, suffering under some grievous malady, occupied the same room. For a dirty cabin, and the grass of four cows and a horse, he paid, he said, 11*l.* a year to Mr. O'Connell. In answer to our inquiries as to his condition, he replied that the food of himself and family all the year round was potatoes and buttermilk. "Were the potatoes good?" "Troth they were not, bad

as could be;" and he proved the assertion by cutting open a number of them taken at random from the heap, and showing us the extent of the disease. "Had he plenty of potatoes?" "Indeed, he had not." "Of milk?" "Never, nor half enough. Never had enough for either dinner, nor breakfast. All his children were as badly off as himself, not half enough of potatoes, and often nothing to drink with them, as he could only afford the milk of one stripper for his family. He had no fish, and very little of anything." This was the substance of his story, translated to us by an interpreter, Mr. Connell, and yet he was "a large holder," though his bed was of straw, his cabin falling to pieces, and the mud outside percolating to the interior, where it was trodden into a filthy adhesive earthy glue by the feet and hoofs of the semi-naked children, pigs, fowl, and cattle.

Leaving this scene of wretchedness, we proceeded along the main road, until the appearance of two respectable-looking, well-mounted farmers, induced us to stop the carriage, and enter into conversation with them. Their description of the general condition of the peasantry showed that the statements of Tom Sullivan were but too applicable to his class. "The people," they said, "are very, very, badly off, sir! The potatoes failing them. The rents are dear, and food is scarce and bad." "I," said one of them, "pay 25*l.* a year for the grass of seven cows, and can get nothing but potatoes and milk all the year round." Here Mr. Connell interposed, and asked, in a tone of great surprise, "Do you mean, to say, Corny, that you never eat beef or bacon?" "Ah, sure you know yourself, John Connell, that I can't kill a cow or a pig for myself—that all goes to the rent." In continuation, our informant, who seemed an intelligent small farmer, stated "that five pratics, and a drop of sour milk" (that is, of sour buttermilk), were the staple diet of his class, "of the best of them," and that all their cows, pigs, extra produce, butter, &c., went to pay their rents. These men were tenants of Mr. J. O'Connell.

Kilcoman was the next townland which we inspected. It contains about fourteen houses and ninety inhabitants. The first cottage we visited was that of M. Kelly, who rented the grass of one cow, for which he paid 50*s.* a year. His dwelling was very miserable, and the unusual circumstance of its possessing a glass window served but to reveal the dirt and squalor inside more completely. A settle, an old dresser, and an iron pot constituted the furniture. Off the general room was an apartment in which I was told there was a bed. As I stooped to examine into its condition, my foot went plash into some water, and on looking down I perceived that the bedstead was literally propped on stones, around which was collected a filthy pool.

M. Kelly, whose cottage was in a state of great dirt and poverty, had had the grass of four cows, but had given that of two to his daughter on her marriage. He and his seven children slept on heaps of straw in the same place as his cows, which were placidly chewing the cud in the centre of the room at the time we entered it. We then paid a visit to his daughter's cottage. The room—the only room it contained—was about eight feet square, and dark as pitch. The thatch was rotting; the cess-pool up to the threshold of the doorway, which it required some effort to get through. At one end was a feeble fire, round which was seated the usual group of women, old and young, and children of all ages and sizes, barely distinguishable through the smoke which filled it to suffocation. Up and down was placed the furniture, viz.,—a bed, the condition of which could not be ascertained, a coarse deal table, an iron pot, some turf baskets—*et præterea nihil*. The proprietress of all these was a young woman eighteen years of age. She seemed at least twenty-eight. Her story was but too common. At fourteen she married a man of thirty. Her father divided his land with her. She was now the mother of four children, with the prospect of having many more, and there, in smoke, filth, rage, and utter poverty, she lived, and would live to the end of her days, rearing up a squalid progeny to live as their father and mother had lived before them.

Pat Kelly's was the next cottage we visited, and there, with few modifications, was visible the scene already witnessed throughout our inspection. He paid 7*l.* 19*s.* for four cows' grass. His cottage contained one room, which, at the time we were there, gave shelter to a horse and some of his cows. These were admitted to be fair samples of the remaining houses in this townland. Beyond this lies the property of Mr. Spottiswood and Mr. Fitzgerald, which presented painful evidence of neglect and mismanagement. Close to the very road-side on the former gentleman's estate were habitations, swarming with human beings, cut out of the bog in which they stood—the roof being composed of the top sods placed on a framework of sticks. One could scarcely credit the fact that even savages could live there, but as the carriage passed along the road, innumerable heads and faces peered out of the holes intended as doorways and surveyed the strangers with a shy curiosity, or, emboldened by hunger, the owners rushed out in pursuit of us, screaming in chorus and in English, "Pray give us a halfpenny." From one house, on Mr. Fitzgerald's property, six children nearly naked, the rags fluttering around them like the streamers of a scarecrow, pursued us for a considerable distance, shouting and begging, "Please, one halfpenny," as loudly as they could.

The aspect of the adjacent farm of Nurrigh, belonging to the Marquis of Lansdowne, was very different. Here, with few exceptions, well slated houses, shining with whitewash, met the eye—the fields looked well cultivated, the hedges and potato and cabbage gardens neat and trim, and the exceptions seemed in general rather attributable to the carelessness of the tenant than to the neglect of the landlord. We entered the house of Dan Sullivan; it was roomy, clean outside with whitewash, and tolerably neat within; well filled with the ordinary furniture of the Kerry peasant,—wooden seats and tables, a dresser, feather bed, &c. A large pot of potatoes was boiling over the fire, and the farmer's daughter had just removed another containing boiled cabbages for the cows; and yet this man had but two cows' grass, for which he paid 4*l.* 16*s.* a year. This was a fair sample of his lordship's tenantry on this land, some being better, and some, but very few, being worse.

We then proceeded to Tarmons, a farm held in fee simple by Mr. O'Connell, containing (according to the census of 1841) sixty-one houses, and a population of 319 persons.

The first house we entered on this estate was that of a smith, named Murphy. It was newly built of stone and well slated, but inside it did not look nearly so neat or comfortable as that of Dan Sullivan, though Murphy, in addition to the profits of his labour as a smith, had the grass of five cows, at a rent of 6*l.* Still it was comparatively good, and unusually well furnished. It was, however, surrounded by mud and heaps of manure. A little higher up on the same road was a hovel of the most miserable description. It was built of loose stones, without mortar or cement, and thatched with half-decayed potato stalks and rushes. In the front was an opening, about 3½ feet high by 2½ broad, intended as a doorway, and partially blocked up by a slab of slate to keep the children in and the pigs out. Inside, the darkness was so great that it required a considerable time for the eye to discern anything distinctly, and then appeared the naked walls—a heap of stones covered with an old mat, a bed by night, a seat by day, some old turf-baskets, an iron pot, some cocks and hens, a woman crouching over a few sods of turf, and three children sprawling on the heather which was laid on the mud floor to soak up the wet. This woman was the wife of T. Galasan, who was "away." She paid 25*s.* a year for her cottage, to a man named Keatinge, and 40*s.* a year for conacre, which was her only means of support. At first Mr. Connell said that this was a poor widow who paid no rent, and was allowed to remain there for charity sake; but on the truth coming out (for the woman spoke English), he was forced to declare that he did not know the fact, and most certainly was not aware that she paid rent.

Keatinge, on being sent for and interrogated by Mr. Connell, admitted that four or five years ago his rent had been reduced by Mr. O'Connell from 7*l.* 5*s.* to 5*l.*, on the express condition that he did not sublet his holding, or exact rent from those poor creatures who, to the number of three, had become his under-tenants. Yet Mr. O'Connell's man of business was not aware that this agreement had been annually broken for five years, nor did he know that these persons were in existence at all.

The condition of Keatinge's other tenants, J. Keatinge and T. Keatinge (his brother), was deplorable in the extreme. The hovel of the former was of the very worst class—dark as night, decayed and damp, destitute of any article of comfort or decency, with a roof of rotten potato stalks, surrounded with mud and filth. That of his brother, with whom he divided his holding, was nearly as bad; but the state of their landlord himself—this middleman *in petto*—was not much better. With all his expedients to procure money, he and his household were ill clad, his dwelling miserable and dirty, shared in common with his cows, whilst, as he himself said, his feeding was poor and scarce—potatoes and milk, and seldom as much of either as he wanted.

But Lynch's dwelling was as bad as the worst we had inspected, and his condition equally miserable with those of his fellow-sufferers. Having thus gone over several houses in this fee-simple property of Mr. O'Connell, and having been informed by his collector that they were a fair sample of the rest of them, owing to the lateness of the hour, we were compelled to suspend our labours and return to Valentia.

Starting at an early hour the following morning I arrived at Cahirciveen at 10 o'clock; I shall leave to your commissioner the description of its aspect by daylight. Whilst sitting in the hotel Mr. Trant, a magistrate of the county, entering the room, informed me that Thomas Sullivan, of Oaghernung (whose house I visited on the preceding day, and whose testimony I have already given), was outside, and wished to make evidence on oath that he had quite misinformed me as to his condition—in other words, that he was desirous of swearing that he had been telling me lies. Sullivan was called in, and as it appeared that he was quite ready to take an *affidavit*, I took from Mr. Trant, who acted as interpreter, the following explanation of Sullivan's previous statement:—He imagined that I and your Commissioner were coming from Government to inquire into the state of the potato crop, and he therefore exaggerated the badness of its condition and the poverty of his own as much as possible. He now wished to say that he was not nearly so badly off as he had stated; that he had plenty of potatoes and milk; that he had a bed-tick, which was in the loft

when we inspected his cottage; and that his rent was only 10*l.* 10*s.*, instead of 11*l.*, and, having said all this, Sullivan returned homewards with a walk of some seven or eight miles before him quite satisfied that he had done his duty in proving himself a misrepresenter of facts.

At 2 o'clock I arrived at Waterville, the property of Mr. Butler, who has made considerable exertions to improve the condition of his property, though there are some wretched hovels on part of his land. Here Mr. M. O'Connell, M.P., was awaiting my arrival, and in company with him and your Commissioner I proceeded in his carriage to visit that portion of his father's property in the more immediate neighbourhood of Derrynane Abbey. Before we left Waterville Mr. O'Connell, addressing two or three persons in the crowd which were about his carriage, asked them several questions, the result of which was the persons addressed declared that Mr. O'Connell was a good easy landlord, and had reduced their rents in the lands of Baslikaun and Inchies.

Having heard these statements we went on to Ardara, a farm held under Mr. C. Bland by Mr. O'Connell for his life. It is covered with clusters of the most miserable-looking hovels. A lane, or boreen, more like the bed of a watercourse than the thoroughfare to a considerable hamlet, led up to these squalid wigwams. Accompanied by Mr. O'Connell and an interpreter, Patrick Galavan, one of that gentleman's attendants, we entered the first we came to, after a great struggle with the mud. It was composed of loose stones covered in with bad straw thatch, and graced with the usual heap of dung before the door. Inside it was quite dark; the smoke, filling the interior, curled out of the doorway or the chinks in the walls. There were no windows, and the chimney was stopped up. Sweeny, the occupant, had 5*l.* a year for his holding. Opposite this cabin was the residence of a poor ragged creature named Maurice O'Connell. It was considerably worse than that described above. He had, he said, been ejected from another farm, and had purchased his present dwelling from its former occupant for 32*s.*, but had paid no rent since.

Mary Wade, who was, we were told, a stray beggar, we found living in a sort of outhouse, in utter darkness and indescribable wretchedness. A few sods of turf were smouldering on the mud floor, and filling the hovel with smoke; beside them lay a sick child on some straw, and around them were two or three more. The sole furniture was a broken iron pot, which I was requested by your Commissioner to note down in Mr. O'Connell's presence.

Next came J. Donoghue's cabin. It was scarcely clean enough for an

English pigstye. He, his wife, and four children slept on a heap of straw. Mr. O'Connell seemed surprised at the existence of himself or his cottage, and asked his wife where she came from. "From her own village, Ardara," she said. He then inquired how long she had been there? She replied for nine years. We asked her how she and her family lived. "Very, very badly," she said. "Her husband had a little score-ground (con-acre), but they had not half enough of potatoes to eat, and nothing else. Mr. O'Connell only took 1s. a year from them." The only seat in the house was a heap of stones, and a chest sufficed for their table.

The next tenant, named Donnelly, was, if possible, in a more deplorable condition, and seemed equally unknown to Mr. O'Connell, though he had lived in his present hut for four years. There was no window in it—no chair; some sticks in the corner, an iron pot, and a bed of straw, were all the furniture I could see. At first he could not say whether he paid any rent or not, but at last he remembered that he paid 1*l.* a year for the grass of one cow. The doorway, which was surrounded by mud, was about three feet high by two feet broad. Close to this were two hovels, quite as miserable, which with several others that we entered were held by the same class of tenants. Further description would be tedious and useless; they were all alike.

On our way from this terrible place we observed a mound perched over a mud heap by the road side. It was covered with potato stalks; in the side was a hole, through which I in vain endeavoured to enter. Inside was a wretched old woman—"the widow Mulcahy." The only furniture I could observe was a vessel and a heap of straw spread on stones; but Paddy Galavan asserted that there was a bed inside. Mr. O'Connell could not say whether she was a tenant of his or not; but a bystander (one of his tenants,) said, her "cottage" and that side of the road belonged to Mr. Butler.

Lohur, the next farm, was a series of wretched lots, quite as bad or even worse than the last. In reference to some observation made by me, Mr. O'Connell observed that he had never looked at the furniture of his tenants before, and in the course of our visit further remarked, that some of them he had seen for the first time that day.

On this farm we visited the dwellings of Widow Macarthy, Mary Sullivan, J. Teehan, &c., who were all in a state bordering on pauperism, though rent payers.

The tenantry of Kilmacloughan were just as badly off; their cabins, built of loose stones, cemented with mud, badly thatched, without windows, and swarming with men, women, and children. Leaving this

portion of the property, we proceeded towards the Abbey. The road skirted the brow of a lofty chain of hills, beneath which was visible a broad plain running down to the sea, and covered with an amazing number of cabins. This was the town-land of Farrenahow, the property of Mr. O'Connell, which was, we were told, in just the same condition as the lands we had inspected, as indeed, was evident enough from the exterior of the cabins. At length we arrived at Derrynane Beg, which is at a short distance from the residence of Mr. O'Connell. The cabins are situated along the margin of a boreen (which was a foot deep in mud and water the day we had the pleasure of treading it), along the declivity of a steep hill, running from the high road down to the sea. They are sixty-two in number, and are certainly the worst, taking them all in all, I have seen. There is one cottage in the course of erection which exhibits a roof of slate. The rest are built of mud and stones, very small and low, wedged together in trenches of filth and liquid nastiness—badly thatched, and for the most part without chimneys. In not one of them did I see a pane of glass, or any substitute for a window but a hole stopped up with boards. The largest tenant on this farm was Pat Brennan, who held the grass of three cows, for which he paid 7*l.* a year. His cabin was filled with smoke, and, as it was too dark to see, a splinter of bog-fir, which is used here for candles, was lighted, and enabled us to discern that it was miserable to a degree, and that two of the cows aforesaid were joint occupants of it with himself and children. Being anxious to see the family bed, I had a tough encounter with the cows to get through to the further end of the cabin, and fear I should have failed but for the assistance of Paddy Galavan, who pulled them by the tails as I shoved, and so enabled me to effect my entrance. Mr. O'Connell assured me that the greater portion of the persons on this farm paid their rents in labour, and that a sum exceeding the rental of that property was sometimes paid over to them. Certainly they were most miserable, yet the "boreen" which passes by their dwellings leads by a short cut to the Abbey at the other side of the same hill.

Having been requested to refer to your Commissioner's statement respecting the condition of the tenantry on Derrynane Beg, I can safely say that it is quite correct, as a description not only of their condition, but generally of all the property I have visited here, with the exception of the farm at Rynard, and Lord Lansdowne's estate. There are no glass windows, and the people seem to be in much distress. There is no man-gold-wurzel grown there. As Mr. M. O'Connell said, "they are not come to that yet." There are no green crops visible; there are no agricultural schools, nor instructors. With the exception of the free school

at the Abbey, and one at Cahirciveen, I could not discover that there were any means of educating the children on the estates of Mr. O'Connell that I visited. The only plantations I saw were the trees around Derrynane. The people in general seem quite ignorant of the merest rudiments of agriculture; draining is quite neglected, and subsoiling a thing unknown. The cattle I saw were of a very bad description.

To use the words of Lord Devon's report, the agricultural labourer on Mr. O'Connell's estate is "badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid,"—and the only food of his tenantry is the potato. Their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather; a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury, and nearly in all their pig and manure-heap constitute their only property. I now close this narrative with the most perfect confidence that not one statement I have made can be disproved, and that no impartial or intelligent witness can on similar careful inspection hesitate for an instant to concur in every observation I have thought it my duty to make, and to confirm in the fullest manner the truth of the description given by your commissioner, for which he has been so violently assailed.

LETTER XXXVII.

MR. O'CONNELL, HIS DEFENCE AND HIS ILLUSTRIOUS
PEDIGREE.—THE WORKING OF THE NEW POOR LAW
IN IRELAND.

The Irish Newspapers and Mr. O'Connell—The Mrs. Gamp of the Irish Press—Mr. O'Connell, and his Speech in Defence of himself in Conciliation Hall—The glass Windows of Derrynane Beg—Mr. O'Connell and his illustrious Pedigree—The New Poor Law in Ireland—Review of its Provisions, and Observations as to its applicability to Ireland—Absence of any Law of Settlement, and means of putting a stop to Begging in Ireland—The Beggars of Ireland—The Dietary of the Work-houses—Effect of Potato Diet—Repugnance to Cleanliness amongst the People—Advantage of the Union Work-houses in forcing this habit upon those who enter them—Unpopularity of the Poor Law.

DUBLIN, January 1, 1846.

THE Dublin newspapers are quite full of the history of the recent deserved exposure of "the great middleman" O'Connell. The ardent admirers and supporters of that gentleman are very naturally in a great flutter thereat. So long as invective, abuse, perversion of facts, and mis-statements could deceive the Irish people, these weapons were not wanting, but it has completely doubled their flank to exhibit the god of their idolatry in his true colours as a "great middleman," and landlord over a wretched and neglected tenantry.

One of the newspapers, whose feathers seem rather surprisingly ruffled at Mr. O'Connell's exposure, is called the

Dublin Evening Packet. This newspaper is the Mrs. Gamp of the Irish press. Like Mrs. Gamp of Shoe-lane, she esteems herself to be the Government organ. The Irish Mrs. Gamp is in a very great "fix." As the Government organ, Mrs. Gamp of the Irish press feels bound to condemn Mr. O'Connell; as a thick and thin supporter of landlords and middlemen, both individually and as a class, Mrs. Gamp feels bound to support a landlord and middleman, and therefore to support Mr. O'Connell under his recent tribulation, as a kind of "waning-moon." Mrs. Gamp is highly desirous of popularity; there is nothing of which she stands so much in need. To defend O'Connell is popular—in Conciliation-hall, *ergo* it is desirable for her to defend O'Connell. The majority of reasons is therefore for Mrs. Gamp to defend O'Connell, which she does to the best of her ability, and is determined, in that respect, not to be out-done by the Repeal journals. In undertaking the task the Irish Mrs. Gamp puts on great dignity—terms you "an infamous journal," and says she is sure that, "personally I am beneath her notice." Altogether, as the railway-share footman of Berkeley-square remarked of her original, she is a most "emusing print," and her perusal very much "emused" me. I do not, however, imagine that you will be greatly troubled at the workings of her wrathful spirit, and for my own part "personally," I should under all circumstances, beg to decline her "notice." She, however, forms a most appropriate "bob-tail" to the "tag-rag" of Conciliation-hall.

In no less a flutter is the impostor O'Connell himself. In a speech, remarkable only for its great length (for it occupies eight columns of the *Freeman's Journal*)* he flounders away

* This speech will be found—

"Like a wounded snake,
Dragging its slow length along"—

in the Appendix, *post*, No. 13.

and attempts in vain to weaken the force of facts which are incontrovertible, and the disgrace of which will stick to him as long as he continues to be the curse of Ireland, and to mar her prosperity with his sordid agitation. In one of the state prosecutions, during the Chancellorship of Lord Thurlow, it is said that Lord Thurlow was extremely impatient to learn the progress of the trial. When informed that the Attorney-General was still addressing the jury, and had been speaking for eight hours, he gave vent to his mortification at the failure which his acuteness foresaw, and exclaimed, in no very choice terms, "There can be very little treason, then, if it takes the Attorney-General eight hours to convince the jury of it." It may be very fairly assumed that any case is a bad one which requires a practised lawyer and debater to take eight columns of a newspaper to mystify and defend it.

I shall not, however, wade through his speech, and weaken the force of the exposure he has deservedly drawn upon himself. That exposure remains unanswered, and is unanswerable. He, however, complains that one of your Parliamentary reporters should be sent down to accompany me on my re-investigation of the condition of his miserable tenantry. He had the option of twelve Irish gentlemen, if he chose to meet them, and because your reporter, as every man must have done who stated the truth, corroborated the description I gave of his tenantry, he says, "We stand together like the quack doctor and his son. The quack doctor and his son are on the stage together. The child cried out, 'Good people my father is the finest physician in the world.' The father says, 'The child speaks truth.' 'My father (said the son) cures all manner of diseases.' The father again says, 'The child speaks truth.'" Mr. O'Connell is not the first man who has been detected in the position of the Roman soldier on march, who—

"Sees the wallet of the man before,
But marks not that which loads himself behind."

For never was there a truer description of himself as the quack with his son Maurice, "heel-tapping" him (as he terms it), than this example, only the instance is reversed, for the father boasts of his virtues as a landlord, and the son "heel-taps" him. Thus—(I quote from the *Freeman's* report of his speech)—"I stand here the first person who introduced improvements at the landlord's expense in a great district of this country." The audience "heel-tap" him with "hear, hear," and his son Maurice writes, "My father speaks truth." He proceeds—"I stand here the person who was principally instrumental in changing the order of things in that district to such a state as this—that whereas there were but two cars when I commenced my improvements, there are now 1,200 to 1,500 cars." Again the audience "heel-tap" him with "hear, hear," and his son Maurice writes, "My father speaks truth." He goes on, "I stand here the person who first introduced the system of landlords paying for the improvements of houses." The audience gives him another "heel-tapping;" and his own son, Maurice, writes, "My father speaks truth." He improves in modesty as he proceeds and goes on—"I stand here also the refuge—I am not flattering myself too much when I say so—of the poor and distressed, because when men are driven by other landlords from their property they find a refuge on mine, wherever I can give it to them at the time." Another "heel-tapping" from his well-informed audience, and Maurice writes, "My father speaks truth." This is the style of the speech and of the authority on which it rests. Its modesty is peculiar—its truth is O'Connellite—the public may very safely believe as much or as little of it as they please. What the father protests, the son avers—what Daniel says, Maurice swears—but beyond their interested assertions there is no evidence. Mr. O'Connell complains that your reporter did not state all he was told by his son and steward and one or two tenants. I think your reporter acted wisely and properly in not doing

so. In the first place, the statements of Mr. Maurice O'Connell or his clerk, unless backed by the evidence of facts, were worth nothing; secondly, what a poor Irish tenant may say about his landlord to a stranger, in that landlord's presence, and in the presence of the rent collector, is not worth much, unless backed by the evidence of facts. In all cases the facts showed great misery and neglect, and filthiness and want of encouragement and instruction; and, thirdly, the very morning Mr. Maurice O'Connell accompanied us, two tenants came to your reporter to deny the truth of their previous statements to him, and one of them offered to make an affidavit that what he had told him the day before was false. Under these circumstances every one must concede that his only proper course was to believe his own eyesight and nothing else; what he saw was misery in every phase, and he simply described the facts as he saw them.

Mr. O'Connell complains that we picked out the wretched cottages, and passed by the good ones. This is untrue. But, according to him, there are no wretched cottages; and if there are not, how could we pick them out? The truth is, that on each townland of his that we saw, eighteen or nineteen out of every twenty cottages are most wretched; the one or two decent cottages on a townland were always picked out for us, and we invariably entered them, and your reporter has faithfully described them. Mr. O'Connell says, he will "make me a compliment of the glass windows," which in his peculiar phraseology is acknowledging the fact to be as I stated it—that his "comfortable cottages" have got *no* windows. I think I may fairly "thank him for nothing" here.*

* In another part of his speech, Mr. O'Connell alludes to my statement, that his father kept a huckster's shop in Cahirciveen. This he does not deny, but says his father died ten years before Cahirciveen was built as a town, and then says,—“See what a truth-telling gentleman we have to deal with!”¹ This is

¹ See Appendix, No. 13, *post*.

I have, however, said more than enough about this impostor. The whole fabric of deception on which his reputation rests is so hollow and absurd, that when exposed he becomes

precisely a similar evasion to the one about the panes of glass in Derrynane Beg—wishing “I had as many pains in my bowels.” The wish, if realised, could not do me much harm; but it is just possible that, as he afterwards “made me a compliment of the glass windows,” so he will make me a compliment of the Huckster’s shop. As he may perhaps desire particulars, I will give him a few.² Where Cahirciveen now stands, Mr. O’Connell’s father, Morgan Connell, kept a huckster’s shop, and dealt in butter, lard, cow-hides, and groceries, and was a licensed dealer in tea, coffee, pepper, tobacco, snuffs, &c. It was also a store-shop for such vessels as called at Valentia harbour. Report speaks of him as having done “a good stroke of work” as a *free-trader in tobacco*, and as profiting considerably by the goods of those who had the misfortune to be wrecked on the coast. When, by these means, he had scraped together a little money, he began to take land as a *middleman*, to let out to small tenants at a profit-rent. It was in these days of humble money-grubbing that Mr. O’Connell was sent—then plain Daniel Connell—to St. Omer, in France, to be educated as a parish priest. Two years of the youth of Daniel Connell were thus spent. On his return, his uncle Maurice (who also was a middleman at Derrynane) had scraped some money together by rather notorious *free-trading*. His mode of conducting business—and a very profitable mode of business it is said to have been—was to pack *free-trade* tobacco in butter firkins, and having buttered up each end, to send them as butter to Cork, where they were disposed of to discreet purchasers. By this means he amassed money, and young Daniel was led to aspire higher than the then humble vocation of a parish priest, and he entered himself for the bar. As Daniel Connell, his name stands on the books of the Law Courts in Dublin. His uncle Maurice, at this period, started “a brace of ugly beagles,” dressed himself in dirty leathers and buttered brown tops, wore a hunting-cap, and became a *Magnus Apollo* in the district. He looked down on his brother Morgan, and assumed the “O” before his name. It was not in young Daniel’s nature to resist copying this piece of humbug—that being the stock in trade, backed by undeniable ability, on which he sought to build his future success. He accordingly assumed the “O;” and an anecdote is told of a witty barrister who went by the name of Jerry Keller, refusing in Court to call him O’Connell, and persisting in calling him Mr. Connell. Daniel’s wrath was excited thereat, and, in an angry tone, he said,—“My name is O’Connell, sir.” “O;” said Jerry Keller;—“yes, I remember ‘O’ in prosody is ‘*datur ambiguis*.’”³ Now this, if Mr. O’Connell desire it, is

² See Letters, extracted from *The Times*, on this subject, *post*, Appendix, No. 14.

³ See Appendix, No. 14, *post*, where evidently the same anecdote is differently related.

more an object of ridicule and contempt than of serious notice.

I have abstained hitherto from all allusion to the working of the New Poor Law in Ireland, anxious to hear as many opinions regarding it as possible, and not too hastily to form a judgment of the operation of a law which is yet in its infancy. I need hardly say that it is impossible for any one to have travelled through the whole country, as I have done, without frequently hearing its merits discussed.

Until the passing of the Irish New Poor Law Act (the 1st and 2nd Victoria, c. 56) Ireland was without any system of poor laws. Her paupers, her aged and her helpless, depended upon the charity of their neighbours, or led a vagrant life wandering about the country soliciting alms, which, partly from the good feeling of the people (based very much, no doubt, on the conviction that it was a duty to give charity to those who appeared destitute, and were without legal provision), and partly from a superstitious dread of the curse of the poor, were rarely refused. The soliciting of alms had, however, long become a trade of sturdy beggars, and was an intolerable nuisance.

At the passing of the New Poor Law Act many gentlemen in Ireland held, and still hold, the opinion, that the support

capable of being substantiated by very good evidence. I should not have named this matter but for his absurd boasting. His son Maurice speaks of his "grand-uncle Count O'Connell," in a letter read by Mr O'Connell in his speech. Perhaps Mr. O'Connell has learned wisdom by this time, and sees that the more you stir a puddle the worse it becomes, and "will make me a compliment" of "the huckster's shop" and the "O," as he did of the glass windows of Derrynane Beg. As, however, he is fond of giving names and taking titles, he cannot take to himself a more appropriate one than "Derrynane Beg," for the reputation of that interesting locality will stick to him for the rest of his days. The "grand-uncle," too, ought not to be forgotten, and his title may, with much propriety, descend upon his very harmless grand-nephew, who will really grace the title of "Count Maurice O'Connell!" Only think what an effect the announcement will have in Conciliation Hall,— "Count Maurice O'Connell will take the chair!"

of the destitute should be left to the strong tie of attachment of kindred, which is said to be a marked trait of the Irish character. However generally this feeling may prevail amongst the Irish people, as indeed it does amongst every people, still it is certain that the feeling could not, in *all cases*, be relied on ; and if it could not, we have the picture presented of a nation providing no legal relief for its destitute members, but suffering them to starve in the midst of its community. Now, it is a moral certainty that no one will starve so long as food can be procured by *any* means, and that if it cannot be procured by fair means, theft and violence will be resorted to to obtain it. But the nation, by its laws, punishes theft and violence. Without some legal provision, therefore, for the destitute, society commits an injustice in first leaving a destitute person no alternative but to steal to support life, and then in punishing him for stealing. It is manifest, therefore, on every principle of justice and sound policy that *some* poor law is necessary ; and the question only remains, if the *particular poor law*, which has been given to Ireland, is applicable to the prejudices and wants of the people.

On this question I intend to lay before you an impartial review of facts as they exist ; and I think they will prove that mixed with much good in principle, the law is unjust and harsh ; in practice, it is for the most part unsuitable to the wants and habits of the people, and is a dead letter ; and that among all classes it is most unpopular.

But first as to its injustice and harshness.

The principle of the law is to compel every man in the community, able to support himself, to contribute towards the support of those few in the community who may become destitute and unable to support themselves. So far the principle is good. It is in fact neither more nor less than a compulsory and universal benefit society. The difficulty of levying these compulsory contributions, or *poor-rates*, from

the lowest class of tenants, has led to a slight modification of this machinery; and now, by the 6th and 7th Victoria, chap. 92, the *lessors* of property of less value than 4*l.* in the country, and 8*l.* in municipal boroughs, are rated instead of the *occupiers*. This, however, does not alter the principle of the law, for the rent of the occupier is almost invariably proportionately increased, to cover the amount of poor-rates which have been paid by the lessor on his behalf.

Now it is manifestly unjust to compel a man by law to contribute to a great benefit society, or, in other words, to a union workhouse to aid in supporting the destitute poor of that union, unless, as in every other benefit society, you give him an equal and equivalent *right by law* to be supported by that union, should he himself become destitute. But the law gives no such equal right. It says—"I will compel you to contribute towards the relief of others, but I will give you no right to claim relief should you unfortunately require it."

The following is the 41st section of the Act (1 and 2 Victoria, c. 56), from which this will be seen to be the law.

"41. And be it enacted, that when the Commissioners shall have declared any workhouse of any union to be fit for the reception of destitute poor, and not before, it shall be lawful for the guardians *at their discretion*, but subject in all cases to the orders of the Commissioners to take order *for relieving and setting to work therein*; in the first place such destitute poor persons as by reason of old age, infirmity, or defect may be unable to support themselves, and destitute children; and, in the next place, such other persons as *the said guardians shall deem to be destitute poor* and unable to support themselves by their own industry, or by other lawful means: provided always, that in any case where there may not be sufficient accommodation for the relief of all the persons applying for relief, whom the guardians shall deem to be destitute poor, the guardians shall relieve *such of the said persons as may be resident in the union BEFORE or in preference to those who may not be so resident.*"

Therefore a destitute pauper who may have been made to pay rates to support others for a dozen years has no legal claim to relief; but he is to be relieved or not according to "the

discretion" of the guardians; and this discretion allowed to the guardians is defined in the notes of the authorized edition of the Act, to be "a legal discretion; that is, the exercise of a reasonable discretion, consistent with the giving of effect to the purposes of the Act."

And the paupers must be relieved *within* the workhouse, and should they not be "old and infirm," then only *after* all the old and infirm are relieved *within* the workhouse. So that if the workhouse be full, none but the "old and infirm" can be relieved, even though "deemed destitute;" and should they be "old and infirm," as well as be "deemed destitute," and the workhouse be full, then, if they do not reside in the union (or even if they should), they shall be left to starve. Now, is this really just? or is it wise or politic, looking at the primary reason for the establishment of a Poor Law—namely, that the State ought not to allow any man to starve or compel him to resort to the alternative of stealing to support life, and then punish him for stealing?

But not only is this the principle of the law, but with an excess of cruelty it has decided that should the guardians abuse the "*discretion*" which is vested in them, and refuse to "deem" an utterly destitute man "to be destitute;" or should they in carrying out the law, because the workhouse was full, refuse to relieve a person whom they had "deemed to be destitute," he not being old and infirm; or should they, as compelled by the Act, because the workhouse was full, refuse to relieve a person both "old and infirm," and whom they had "deemed to be destitute," then in any one of these possible and very probable cases the person so unjustly dealt by, or so crowded out of the workhouse, shall have no remedy and no appeal, but shall be left to starve or to steal. For by the 3rd clause of the Act (1 and 2 Victoria, c. 56) it is provided,

(After placing the relief of the poor under the direction and control of the Poor Law Commissioners) as follows:—"Provided always that

nothing in this act contained shall be construed as *enabling the Commissioners, or any of them, to interfere in any individual case for the purpose of ordering relief.*"

Surely no one can call this a humane law, or anything but an unjust and a harsh law. I will, however, show you that cases may and do arise, in which these harsh and unjust principles of the law are brought into operation. The Belfast Union workhouse is capable of containing 1000 persons.* On the 27th day of last December (1845) there were remaining in the workhouse 936 persons. Trade is now brisk, the winter is mild, and work can be obtained. In fact I was informed that there is not an able-bodied man in Belfast, who chooses to work, but can obtain work. Yet, under such circumstances, and in a large town like Belfast, the fact of sixty-four more persons becoming destitute would stop the possibility of giving further relief to any other persons, for none can be relieved *by law* except *within* the workhouse, and the Poor Law Commissioners *by law* cannot interfere "for the purpose of ordering relief." Should, therefore, a hard winter arise, or a reverse in trade take place, to throw people out of work, as soon as the workhouse is full, there is an end to legal relief, and the destitute *must* starve or steal. But that is a possible case; I will give you instances of cases which have repeatedly occurred.

In a case of sudden or urgent necessity there is no power of giving relief, till the guardians, "in their discretion," have "deemed the party destitute," and then only if there be room for him in the workhouse.† In any case of sickness, accident, or bodily or mental infirmity, if the party cannot be removed *into the workhouse*, the guardians have no power to give relief. In the union of Newtownards, near

* I have been informed, subsequently to the writing of this letter, that since it was built, it has been enlarged so as to enable it to contain twelve hundred.

† By a recent order of the Poor Law Commissioners, I am informed the master may of himself admit any pauper whose case he shall deem urgent, subject to the approval of the Board at their next meeting—that is, if the house be not full.

Belfast, not long ago, a woman, with a sucking child, caught a malignant fever. The woman was sent to the hospital, her infant child had then no one to take care of it or support it; and it is a fact that the child was sent into the hospital to be suckled by the fevered mother, because there was no power under the New Poor Law to support it out of doors, or in the workhouse, without its mother.*

The great fault of the Poor Law is its want of adaptability to circumstances. One unvarying rule is followed for town and country, and that law which may be very fairly fitted for the one is wholly unfitted for the other. Thus in towns it is seen that, though great harshness and cruelty may arise under it, yet the people go into the workhouses: it is an operative law. But in the country the reverse is the fact. The people will not go into the workhouses, and the law is inoperative and a dead letter for purposes of relief, though not for the purposes of taxation. Thus at the union workhouse at Dunfanaghy, in Donegal, a country district, I was informed the workhouse cost 5000*l.*, for which sum interest at 5 per cent. was paid, or 250*l.* a year; the expenses of salaries, management, collecting rate, house expenses, and so forth, amounted to nearly 250*l.* a year more. To meet this expenditure the property of the union district, estimated at 10,000*l.*, is rated at 1*s.* in the pound, realizing 500*l.* a year. At the time that I was at Dunfanaghy—now about three months ago, there was just *one* pauper in the union workhouse, who thus cost 500*l.* a year to support him. This must not be attributed to the absence of destitution, for a poorer town than Dunfanaghy is not often met with, but to the positive repugnance and refusal of the people to go into the workhouse. Their friends and neighbours pay the rates, and support them also by charity at home. There being no

* In this respect, however, the guardians, to their honour, generally break the law, and, in such cases, in practice will support the child separate from the mother.

law of settlement in Ireland, there can be no vagrant act; beggars cannot, therefore, either be driven away or apprehended; and they swarm in every part of Ireland. The moment a coach or car stops to take up passengers or change horses in any street or road in any part of Ireland, it is surrounded by women, children, and old men, thrusting their hands into the windows of the coaches, begging and almost demanding charity. This habit is both degrading and demoralising; and, what is most painful to an English ear, the name of the Deity is perpetually on their lips, and is used with a thoughtlessness and indifferent habitual carelessness which excites disgust. Amid the confusion of looking after your luggage, and paying the porter and the coachman, you are beset on all sides with cries of "God Almighty bless yer honour—pity the poor;" "Give a copper to a poor woman, for the love of God," and so on. If you ask them, "Why don't you go to the workhouse?" they tell you they are starved in the house, and won't go into it. As to this matter, I ascertained at the union workhouse at Ballyshannon, Donegal, whilst there, that the diet of the paupers is $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of oatmeal for breakfast, and 1 gill of milk; and, for dinner, $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of potatoes. At Belfast, amongst a more mixed race, the diet is obliged to be made better. In the union workhouse there, the diet is, four days in the week, for breakfast, six ounces of meal and two-thirds of a pint of buttermilk; dinner, 2 lb. of potatoes and one pint and a half of soup; supper, 4 ounces of oatmeal and two-thirds of a pint of buttermilk. This diet is slightly varied on the other days in the week, by giving 3 lbs. of potatoes to dinner and two-thirds of a pint of buttermilk instead of soup. At Newtownards Union, near Belfast, the dietary is precisely the same. In amount of food this would seem sufficient, but its quality must be taken into consideration. The Irish peasant, fed on potatoes, has a craving for a large quantity of food. Nature must have a certain amount of nourishment in order

to support the functions of life. Potatoes contain very little nourishment; to obtain, therefore, the requisite amount of nourishment from them as food, a large quantity must be taken. By continually living on this large quantity of poor food the stomach of the Irish peasant becomes enlarged, and craves for the quantity. It is a physiological fact, which dissection has established, that a potato-fed peasant has a stomach of nearly twice the ordinary size. The evidence taken before the Poor Law Commissioners, previously to the establishment of the new Poor Law in Ireland, proves that 10 lbs., 12 lbs., and even 14 lbs. weight of potatoes are usually consumed by an Irish peasant each day.* Living on bread and beef, no London coal-whipper, working and sweating like a horse all day, and from morning till night going at a jog trot on a plank with two hundredweight of coals on his back, ever consumes, or can consume, more than 4 lbs. or 5 lbs. weight of food per day. When the Irish pauper is first admitted into the union workhouse, and has breakfasted on half a pound of oatmeal made into "thickens," until his stomach has accommodated itself to that better diet, he is only half satisfied—he wants stuffing out with quantity.

The chief objection, however, of the paupers against going into the workhouse, or remaining in it is, that they are compelled to wash themselves and keep themselves clean. When a three months' coating of dirt has been removed from their limbs, they go shivering about as if they had lost half their clothing, and no doubt do feel cold from the want of their accustomed covering. They are also forbidden to smoke, which is the greatest hardship to them.

The union workhouses themselves are all built on one plan, and are generally clean and orderly inside. They are precisely similar to the union workhouses in England, and

* *See* *ante*, p. 75.

further description is unnecessary. The greatest benefit which can result from them, and I think it is one of their chief values, is, that they must tend to instil habits of order and cleanliness amongst the lowest class of the Irish poor. And never did neglected creatures, living their whole lives amidst filth and dirt and untidyness, more require teaching and showing the blessings of order and cleanliness.

This advantage, however, is not incompatible with a system of local government, capable of adaptability to the circumstances of each locality. I do not, however, think that such local government should be without some general supervision, and control, and power of appeal. The habit of *jobbing* is so inveterate in the Irish character, that without some such supervision the greatest abuses would very soon be perpetrated.

As the law, however, now is, it is unvarying in its application—it adapts itself to no circumstances of town or country. It is at one time cruel and unjust to the poor; at another unfair and unjust on the rate-payer; and I am fully warranted in saying that amongst *all classes* it is most unpopular, and in many respects I think justly so; and what is a greater evil, it fails in its object.

LETTER XXXVIII.

BELFAST; ITS INDUSTRY AND ENTERPRISE, AND ITS
CONSEQUENT PROSPERITY AND WEALTH.

Travelling in Ireland—Bianconi's Cars—Has the Character of the People of the North anything to do with their Prosperity?—Is Labour the source of all Wealth?—If the People of the North can thrive under existing Laws and Institutions, it is not the Laws and Institutions which make the People of the rest of Ireland poor—Comparison between Down and Kerry—The comparative Prosperity and Education of the East and West of Ireland shown—The Linen Trade of Belfast—Flax Spinning—The Employment which the Flax Mills give—The growth of Flax—Its profit as a Crop—Improvement in its Manufacture—Its profitable Cultivation in Mayo—The Manufactures of Belfast—The Shipping of Belfast—The Tonnage, Exports, and Imports—Advance in Prosperity since the Union with England—Belfast prospered unaided—The Banks of Belfast—Its Institutions—Condition of the People—Their Wages—The Landlords—Tendency of Tenantry to subdivide their Holdings—The soul of Ireland—Belfast a better barometer than Conciliation Hall—Newry.

BELFAST, January 4.

AFTER the rapidity with which you are whirled about in England, from one end of the island to the other, nothing can be more tedious than travelling in Ireland. That tediousness, too, is augmented by the fact that, except on the great lines of road, there are few public conveyances. Off the great lines of road, coaches are unknown, and the cars of Bianconi are the only public vehicles: between many places you do not even find these. The journey, for instance, from Limerick to Belfast, has to be performed by

travelling over two sides of a triangle—first to Dublin, then to Belfast. Attempt a direct line, and you have an awful outside-car journey before you, for in the counties of Tipperary, Westmeath, and Cavan, you will find no other vehicles. Even by the roads and means of travelling in Ireland something may be learned of the character of the people. There were no roads between many places of importance, and no public conveyances, and no efforts were made to obtain either till Mr. Anderson, a resident Scotch gentleman, projected roads and mail coaches for Ireland. His great efforts for the public good were rewarded by the Government by the title of Baronet being given to his son, the present Sir James Anderson. His attempt, however, to force on the people a degree of civilisation for which they were not prepared, to give them good roads and public vehicles, ended in the loss of his own fortune, and the services of Mr. Anderson are forgotten. His was not that “patriotism” which is paid for by the people of Ireland. The next man who attempted to supply an evident want was Mr. Bianconi, a clever Italian. By slowly proceeding step by step, and by providing a cheap, though most comfortable conveyance, but adapted to the wants and habits of the people, this gentleman has realised a large fortune, and is really one of the greatest benefactors the country possesses. To his individual energy and industry Ireland owes, in very many parts of the country, her sole means of inter-communication. But is it not strange, that in this common matter Ireland could not help herself, but should be indebted to foreigners?

My present letter is addressed to you from a town which I have long intended to visit, for many reasons connected with my inquiry.

In my earlier letters I endeavoured first to find out the character of the Irish people before I ventured to write about what measures were required to ameliorate and

advance their condition. I hazarded an unpopular opinion, that the mixed inhabitants, chiefly of Scotch and English descent, in the northern and eastern counties of Ireland, partook so much of the energy and industrious spirit of their fatherland, that they needed but to be left alone to achieve their own prosperity. But that the inhabitants of the great bulk of Ireland, of the midland counties, of the south, and of the west—those of pure Irish extraction, had so much of listless apathy, of indolent indifference, of enduring contentment with any deprivations in their constitution, that in order to improve them it was necessary to urge them on, shame them on, lead them on, instruct, and, if necessary, compel them to exert themselves for their own advancement.

In almost the first letter that I wrote I endeavoured to elucidate the political economist's doctrine, that "labour is the source of all wealth," and to apply that doctrine to Ireland.

I have arrived at length in the very heart of the Scotch and English population of Ireland; we will see if it be true that they can and do prosper, if left to achieve their own advancement by the simple force of their own energy, industry, and enterprise.

We will examine, too, if "labour is the source of all wealth." If we find that the industry of the people of the north has realised wealth and capital, and that that capital has again promoted employment, fostered that industry which created it, and led to general prosperity, then do we arrive at the unerring conclusion that the perpetual whine about the "want of capital," which is continually heard in the south and west, as an answer for the neglect of every undertaking, is but, in other words, an acknowledgment of the "want of industry."

As the same laws and constitutions govern, and generally the same opportunities are open to the whole of Ireland, we

shall, too, come to this farther unerring conclusion, that if the people of the north can prosper, live in comfort, and realise the capital which enables them to rival England in the markets of the world, whilst the people of the south and west are without prosperity, without comfort, and without capital, it is a delusion to tell the country that it is a want of a change in the law and constitution, and the want of opportunity which bows it down; and those who thus deceive the people of Ireland ought rather to be execrated as the worst enemies that Ireland can have, than be held up to public admiration.

I shall, however, deal in hard facts, and leave them to make their way among sensible Irishmen.

I came here direct from Kerry in the extreme west of Ireland. In Kerry, on the estates of one of the "patriots" (so called) of Ireland, and indeed, generally, all over the county, I saw wretched hovels, barefooted women, naked unemployed children, and men too lazy, too ignorant, too apathetic, and content with discomfort, to either cultivate their land properly or make themselves dwellings better than cow-houses. There, not a tree, nor a hedge, nor a turnip-field is to be seen; and the signs of industry are overwhelmed by the evidences of laziness and neglect. Here, in the county of Down, under the same laws in the same country, without a single advantage in climate, soil, or opportunity, the houses are well built, clean, and replete with every comfort; the women are well clothed; every boy and girl is employed and earning money, and every man is fully and profitably occupied. In Kerry, vast undrained bogs are the chief feature—as productiveless as they are unpicturesque.* In Down, nearly every portion of the land seems cultivated; the fields are generally green from

* See Appendix No. 17, showing the amount of unimproved pasture and bog lands in the several counties.

thorough draining,* and divided by trim blackthorn hedges, with often trees in the hedge-rows.† The aspect of the country, in fact, is here precisely that of England. Let us examine whether it was "patriotic" talk, or *persevering work* which earned these advantages for the county of Down. First, however, it will be as well to prove that this contrast exists. The proof will show that the poverty and ignorance of the west is not owing to over-population.

In the Report of the Census Commissioners of Ireland, for the year 1841, will be found four shaded plates, which at a glance indicate the comparative density of population in different parts of Ireland, the comparative amount of house accommodation for the population, the comparative amount of education, and the comparative amount of

* Lieut. Col. W. Blacker, of Carrick, Armagh, is asked by the Land Commissioners. Part I. p. 457.

"50. With respect to improvements to draining and land, have you any system with reference to that? No; *the people drain because they find it an improvement to their ground, and it pays itself; they find it so. Generally speaking, would as soon think of paying a man for his coat or his shoes, or for any thing else, seeing that it is for his own advantage he is doing every thing.*

"Supposing the man to have a lease? Yes."

"Therefore, *the people here without aid drain, because they have sense enough to see that it is for their own advantage, and industry enough to do it. But in the south and west, the cry is 'who should we drain for? We get no encouragement.'*" See *ante*, first letter, dated from Limerick.

Mr. Wiggins, land surveyor, thus speaks of draining at King William's Town, on the borders of Kerry, before the Land Commissioners. He is asked,—“Did you find the tenants sensible of the advantages of these drains, (some open drains which had been made for them, and for *three-fourths* of the labour of which they had been paid,) and disposed to imitate them? They expressed themselves very sensible of the benefits of the drains; but had not continued or increased them, nor even kept them open, nor did they spread the earth dug out. We saw that they got more bog hay after those drains than before; but they have taken very little pains.

"How do you account for their doing so little? The extreme backwardness of the people in farming; for they are not apt to make any improvement *except what they are allowed for*. I think upon another lease, they might be induced to do something for themselves." (Evidence, Part II. p. 30.)

† See Appendix, No. 18, showing the relative amounts of cultivated and uncultivated surface in each county.

property in live stock. By the first plate, "the darkest shade indicates the most dense population." The counties of Armagh, Monaghan, and Down are by far the darkest on the map; Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and Kerry by far the lightest. In the evidence of Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., before Lord Devon's Commission (Part I. p. 197),* will be found a statistical table, showing that the counties of Armagh and Down have the smallest farms, and the greatest number of them, in proportion to the amount of arable-land, of any county, and far exceed, in these respects, Galway, Cork, Mayo, Tipperary, and Meath. If over-population, therefore, is a cause of distress, Armagh, Monaghan, and Down, ought to exhibit the greatest misery—Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and Kerry the most comfort. The reverse is the fact. By the second plate, "the darkest shade indicates the worst house accommodation." The brightest county in the whole map is the county of Down; after it rank Dublin, Kilkenny, Wexford, Armagh, and Monaghan. The darkest county in the whole map is the county of Kerry—and Derrynane is the darkest spot in it; after it ranks, in bad house accommodation, Clare, part of Cork, Galway, Mayo and Donegal.† By the third plate, "the darkest shade indicates the worst state of education." The brightest counties on the map are Antrim, Londonderry, Down, Tyrone, Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, Carlow—in fact, the north and east coast of Ireland. The darkest counties in the map are Mayo and Kerry—and the darkest spot in Kerry is Derrynane; after these, in deficient education, come Galway, Waterford, and the west of Donegal, Sligo, Clare, and Cork. By the fourth map, "the darkest shade indicates the greatest abundance of live stock." The darkest counties in the map are Meath,

* See Appendix, No. 19.

† See Appendix, No. 20, giving the returns from which this map was drawn.

Wexford, and Kildare; next comes Down in equable darkness—which in this case is the type of equable wealth. The lightest counties, that is to say the poorest, are Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and Kerry—and the lightest spot in Kerry is Derrynane.* These are public documents, and the proof is conclusive.

The ancient staple trade of Ireland was the linen trade, and under it the north of Ireland long prospered. The people of Belfast say, and truly, "we owe our prosperity to the linen trade." But if we ask further, "to what do they owe the linen trade?" the only answer is to their industry, enterprise, and ingenuity; for the linen trade was as free to Cork or Limerick, or Galway, or Sligo, or Donegal, as to Belfast and the north of Ireland.

Formerly the flax was hand-spun and woven. The Messrs. Marshall, of Leeds, and other English houses, by the invention of spinning machinery, and by great enterprise, drove the competition of the Irish spinners out of the market, and the flax trade for a long time languished and deteriorated in Ireland. At length the Messrs. Mulholland, of Belfast, and Messrs. Murland, of Castlewellan, erected flax-spinning mills, and were enabled to rival and compete with the English spinners successfully, and the linen trade in Ireland rapidly sprung up again to prosperity. In 1821, Messrs. Mulholland's was the only flax-spinning mill in Belfast. No sooner was it seen to prosper than, by the enterprise of the people, mills were erected on every side, and there are now in Belfast twenty-eight flax and tow-spinning mills, and several new ones building; and there are in Ireland sixty-two flax and tow-spinning mills, all of which, with the exception of seven, are in the north-east counties of Ulster.

The mere term "flax-spinning mill," however, conveys

* See Appendix, No. 21, giving the returns on which this map was founded.

but a very inadequate idea of what it really is, and of the employment which it gives. One of Mr. Mulholland's mills, which I visited, cost 75,000*l.* There are in it 16,000 spindles manufacturing into yarn about 700 tons of flax per annum, worth about 40,000*l.* and when manufactured worth about 70,000*l.* In the process of manufacture, to feed the steam-engine 3,000 tons of coals are annually consumed, and about 800 people are employed. The spinning mills in Belfast vary in size from 3,000 to 19,000 spindles. Every 1,000 spindles give employment in spinning and dressing flax to about fifty people. I was politely shown over the mill of Mr. Charters, which contains 8,400 spindles, and gives employment to about 650 people altogether. This mill consumes forty tons of coal a week, and works up about 600 tons of flax a year. I saw boys and girls, from the age of thirteen upwards, employed in it, as well as men and women. Boys of thirteen, called "machine-boys," earn from 2*s.* to 4*s.* per week; girls of the same age, called "doffers and piecers," from 3*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a week. The girls of about eighteen, who are "spinners" and "winders," earn from 5*s.* to 6*s.* a week. The "heckling" men earn 18*s.* a week. For the workpeople of Mr. Charters exceedingly comfortable cottages are provided. Compared with their less fortunate countrymen in the west they live in luxury.

For a moment let us view the vast amount of employment given and created by the proprietors of one of these mills. Each spindle costs 3*l.* 8*s.* It is made of turned wood and beautifully finished iron, moving in a frame of most ingenious machinery, and moved by a steam-engine of great power. You have woodmen, sawyers, and ship-owners employed to obtain the wood. You have coal miners, iron-miners, and foundrymen employed to obtain the iron and the coal. You have machine-makers, turners, and engineers employed in making the spindles and machinery. You have bricklayers, glaziers, plumbers, builders, stonemasons, slate quarrymen,

carpenters, and architects employed in building the mills, and all this before, and entirely exclusive of, the people employed by the machinery when set going. These are the fruits of enterprise and industry ; and the men who move all this machinery, give all this vast employment, and create all this wealth, are many of them, I am informed, the architects of their own fortunes, and have been tumbled into the world without a shilling to back them. Compared with these men, is it not an antithesis of sublime absurdity to hold up such men as the Tom Steels, the Brodericks, and the Brownes for public admiration as “ patriots !”

The whole of these factories contain about 270,000 spindles, which have cost in buildings and machinery about 1,250,000*l.*, and they give employment to about 15,000 persons. They consume about 120,000 tons of coals per annum, and spin about 18,000 tons of flax yearly, in value nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling. Much of this flax (as much as the farmers of Ireland will grow) is cultivated in Ireland ; and thus a source of great wealth and employment is opened to Ireland. The spinners, however, cannot get flax enough in Ireland, and are obliged to purchase large quantities of foreign flax.*

As an agricultural crop, the flax crop is one of the most

* The waste stuff of the flax-mills is worked up by three coarse mills into yarn for sacking and bale cloth, and by two manufactories of patent felt for roofing, the latter being principally shipped to England and Scotland.

To supply the linen trade with the materials used in bleaching, there are four chemical works which manufacture sulphuric and muriatic acids, bleaching powder, &c. They import the sulphur principally from Sicily, but consume also a large quantity of pyrites from the county of Wicklow, which was first introduced in the sulphuric acid manufacture during the embargo laid on by the Sicilian Government,—a striking instance of the mineral wealth of Ireland which lies unworked until attention is called to it by some fortuitous circumstance.

There are six iron-foundries—some of them very extensive—in which are made steam-engines, iron vessels, and all the different descriptions of machinery required in a large and growing manufacturing town. Machinery for scutching flax has been exported to Egypt, Germany, France, and other foreign countries.

In connection with the products of the soil, there are several starch and potato farina manufactories ; in the latter, three thousand tons of wheat are annually

profitable that can be grown. For a long period, however, its cultivation and manufacture were of the rudest description in Ireland ; and though the most luxuriant crops of flax were everywhere grown, the flax was spoiled in its preparation for manufacturing purposes.

To remedy this a society was established in Belfast, called the Flax Improvement Society, which was extensively supported, and which at its own cost sent out young men to Belgium to learn to steep and properly dress the flax and save the reed. These young men have been sent to various parts of Ireland to instruct the people, and now through their instrumentality flax of the finest fibre has been made, out of which cambrics of beautiful texture have been fabricated, and in this article the cambric manufacturers of the north of Ireland now rival the French, from flax of their own growth. Through the exertions of this society, and the active energy of its secretary, Mr. James M'Adam, junior, the crop of Ireland has been increased from 25,000 tons, which was the amount of produce in 1841, to 40,000 tons, which were grown in 1844. This quantity of flax was worth nearly 2,000,000*l.* sterling, nearly one-half of which was exported to England and Scotland, to the spinners there ; and a considerable quantity to France and America.

As a profitable crop for the agriculturist, flax ranks in the first class. Mr. M'Carten, a member of the Belfast Flax Society, at a meeting of the Society held last month, gave an instance on his own farm of an acre and a half of land, cultivated with flax, having left him a profit of 42*l.* 10*s.* I had the advantage of meeting here Sir Richard O'Donnell, of the county of Mayo, a gentleman who deserves every praise for starting out of the apathy which seems to envelope his

consumed. There are very extensive steam flour-mills, and some oatmeal-mills. The distillery is the largest in Ireland, and there are several ale and porter breweries.

unfortunate county; and of whom, when in Mayo, I heard much, as an improving landlord, anxious to do everything that could forward the interests of his tenantry. He induced several of his tenantry near Newport in Mayo, to cultivate flax last year, and procured the instruction for them of one of the Belfast Flax Society's men. Having grown the flax, however, they came to him, and said,—“Now you induced us to grow it, what are we to do with it?” To help them over this difficulty, he himself bought it from them at the Belfast market price. He informed me that one of his tenants in Mayo, whom he had thus induced to grow flax, grew eighty stone of flax upon an English acre of land, for which he paid his tenants 6*s.* a stone, or 24*l.* The land which grew this flax is not any better than the common run of land in that neighbourhood. Another tenant raised 104 stone of flax to the acre (Irish), for which Sir Richard O'Donnell paid him 6*s.* a stone, or 31*l.* 4*s.* The rent of the land was 1*l.* 5*s.* A labourer would dig it for 10*s.*; the tenant, however, dug it himself, and afterwards reaped and cleaned the flax by his own family. They manure there with sea-weed, which the tenants get for nothing but the trouble. Deducting, however, the cost of seed, labour and every expense, the profit, to this tenant on this one acre of flax was at least about 25*l.** This

* “The raising of flax is a more vital article than the very bread we have been speaking of, and is to the last degree necessary to our subsistence, as the great source from which, by due industry, we may hope for safety and ease, and perhaps in time for plenty and prosperity. It is our chief staple commodity, and so beneficial that (besides the large encouragements given by the Linen Board), in the common methods of working it up, we reckon an acre of flax will produce 30*l.* and employ six hands completely; and if we suppose it spun and wove in the finest hollands, cambrics, and laces, its value improves to an immense degree. It has also this great advantage, that we can never run too much into it, it being certain, that if we could export to the value of a million a year more than we do, we should never want a market for it in Great Britain alone; to which, by crossing the Channel in a few hours, we import it custom free, when all other nations pay considerable duty, after a tedious navigation. It has made so prodigious a progress among us within these thirty years, that we now, from a trifle, make near

man, on being paid for his flax crop by his landlord, upon whom he heaped blessings, emigrated to America; in fact, immediately strove to rise from the degraded condition of a Mayo

500,000*l.* per annum clear by it, and if it goes on, will provide tolerably for all our poor, and turn the burthen of a large family to a blessing to the parents, by the help and assistance their women and children will afford them. It will therefore be our interest to push this business as far as we can carry it with all expedition; for, flourishing as it is, we all know that it and our prosperity every year depends on the caprice of the seas and winds, and the good will of foreigners and rivals too, who, we find by fatal experience, often send us decayed seed. As this makes our condition extremely precarious, and our paying 30,000*l.* for seed and undressed flax, makes it still more necessary for us to put ourselves out of so uneasy a state of dependence, we ought at least to endeavour to supply ourselves at home with seed and flax enough for our own consumption. It has been computed, that about three thousand acres more would fully supply these two articles; and when once that is accomplished, and that vast drain to foreigners cut off, we may consider how we can best extend this manufacture into the west and southern parts of Ireland, where it is thought there are at least one hundred thousand idle hands, chiefly women and children, who may be employed in it to our and their great advantage. About sixteen thousand acres more would answer the great end, and make us a most happy people—a people flourishing by our own industry and the friendship of Great Britain; and if once Munster and Connaught set their hands to this desirable work, and would employ their rich lands, not only in the hemp, but in raising flax and flax-seed for the north, and by degrees would work up our coarser linens, where less skill and experience is necessary, we need not doubt to see it accomplished. Nay, in time we may hope to furnish linseed to the oil-mills in England, if we do not set up enough of our own; for as it is known that, at the lowest valuation, an acre of flax will, with the seed, give ten pounds clear of all charges, and will the same season give a crop of clover too, it is very likely that most people will in time cheerfully fall into it, especially in those parts that lie near to the sea or navigable rivers, who can easily export their flax or seed to Dublin or other markets. The truth is, the prosperity of Ireland depends so much on the general spreading of our linen business, that if every person were obliged by law to sow an acre of flax for every hundred or hundred and fifty acres of arable land he held; and, to go yet farther, if every person who sowed ten acres was allowed five shillings per acre from his landlord, and to pay no tithe for them, I do not see but it would prove of vast service to this kingdom without injuring our clergy.”—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society, p. 115.*

“In the cultivation of flax, we ought to make use only of our richest, strongest, mellowest loams, and those inclining to clays preferably to all others. We ought to manure, fallow, and labour our grounds for flax with equal care as we do for wheat, if we desire a fine crop.

“We should sow our seed early in April, rather than then thick, and on flat

peasant. This is an instance of what a good landlord may accomplish. You will hear of no efforts of this kind to instruct and improve, and better the condition of the peasantry at

ridges, from twenty to sixty feet broad, and with or without trenches, as the ground is moist or dry, and should change both our seed and soil as often as we can.

"We should choose the shortest, plumpest, thickest, oiliest, heaviest seed, of a bright brown colour, and that which sinks soonest in water, or blazes or crackles in the fire, is the best. We should never pluck it till it is full ripe, and the seed almost shedding, and then not to stack the flax, but ripple and water it without delay. As to the directions of sowing clover some days after the flax-seed as we do after oats, or as to rolling the ground when dry, weeding it carefully, and separating the coarse and fine flax in the pulling and watering it, and several others of the like nature, I choose to omit them, and refer the reader to those curious and useful tracts where they are more fully set forth."—*Ibid.* p. 116.

"At the time the flax is taken out of the steep, all the rivulets in the country are strongly impregnated with the contents of the flax holes; and those through whose lands such rivulets pass, would do well to turn the stream, where it can be done, over their after grass, or use it in watering their cabbages, turnips, &c., the advantages of which would soon be perceivable. The richness of flax-water is fully shown by the growth and colour of the grass where flax has been spread to dry. I have seen a most luxuriant crop of oats upon land, irrigated with flax-water, although a *second crop*, which shows that, if this manure was preserved, one of the greatest objections to the growth of flax would be removed. All scientific men agree, that the best manure to apply to land is that which contains the ingredients which the crop has taken from the soil; flax-water, therefore, ought to be applied to flax-ground, and every particle of liquid should be preserved as being part of the substance derived from the soil. If the principle here alluded to is correct, how completely does it prove the propriety of the above directions for the management of the manure-heap; for the farm-yard manure is derived from the hay, straw, grain, and green crop used by the stock, all which have been derived from the soil, and therefore the liquid portion, as well as that which the sun and wind extract, ought to be taken care of as much as any other portion whatever—and indeed more so, being by much the most valuable part of the manure."—*Essay on the Improvement of Small Farms*, by William Blacker, Esq. p. 60.

"The great complaint made against the extensive cultivation of flax is, that it leaves nothing behind in the way of straw for manure; but I am well convinced, if the practice was adopted of watering the flax-ground with the water in which the crop had been steeped, it would enable the land to give any other crop in succession, or would secure a most abundant crop of clover (which should always be sowed with it), and a luxuriant crop of wheat afterwards. This practice being pursued, it might be grown to a very considerable extent without injury to the soil, should any change of circumstances

q."—*Ibid.* p. 72.

Derrynane. Yet such is Irish "patriotism," that Sir Richard O'Donnell, and many like him, labour for their countrymen like true patriots, unregarded and unnoticed, whilst the Derrynane man without one iota of desert, with a tenantry living neglected like savages, is bepraised *usque ad nauseam* as "the saviour of his country."

Belfast is the chief export market for the linens and cambrics manufactured in Ireland. This trade, though declining some years back, is now in a prosperous state, and from the improvements in the growth of flax, in the machinery for spinning yarn, and in the different processes of the manufacture of the fibre into cloth, a piece of linen of any description can now be laid down by the Irish manufacturer to compete with any other in the world, in both cheapness and quality. The manufacture of cambric for handkerchiefs is carried on to a great extent in the neighbourhood of Waringstown and Lurgan, within 17 miles of Belfast. This manufacture of cambric is principally for the home market, and the coarser qualities have superseded French goods; and I am assured that it is a fact that fully three-fourths of the cambrics sold in England as French goods, are the produce of the Irish loom. Damasks for table-cloths, napkins, &c., have also been brought to great perfection, and have nearly supplanted this description of German goods. I had the opportunity of seeing some very beautiful specimens of these at the establishment of Mr. Andrews, of Ardoyne.

I was politely shown through the warehouses of Messrs. John Curell and Sons, and of Messrs. Sadler, Fenton, and Co., in the White Linen-hall. Every description of linen manufacture was shown to me, made up for export to the markets of Mexico, Peru, China, the West Indies, the East Indies, Italy, &c., as well as for home consumption. This is what Ireland has good reason to be proud of.* By her

* "Every one knows who has thought at all on the subject, that our exported

enterprise, her ingenuity, and her industry, here were the evidences of employment for her sons, paid for by every country. But to whom is the credit due for all this? To the much-reviled Saxons who people the north, who create this trade. The Saxons can well afford to be reviled by the "patriots" of Conciliation-hall.

In 1835, about 3,000,000*l.* worth of linen and flax were exported from Belfast; and the value of these exports has since much increased. The chief exports are linen, yarn, flax, tow, and provisions.*

There are also ten cotton-spinning factories in Belfast and its neighbourhood. The yarn spun is partly shipped to the Manchester and Glasgow manufactories, and partly woven by handlooms or powerlooms in the neighbourhood. The women employed in these mills earn from 3*s.* to 6*s.* per week.

manufactures, bring vastly more profit to us, and are infinitely more advantageous to the kingdom, than our beef, tallow, hides, wool, corn, &c.; and as those of our linen are the great stay and support of this island, whoever wishes, or at least deserves to be supported in it, must, even for his own sake and to help his tenants, do his utmost to spread and increase them." — *Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland, by the late Dr. Madden, of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 18.

* The provision trade is a very important branch of the trade of Belfast, there being ten or fifteen large establishments for curing beef and pork, and the value of these articles exported to England and Scotland was, in 1835, 906,587*l.*; now it is fully 1,200,000*l.* The bones, sinews, &c., produced in these and the slaughter-houses, are economised for the useful purposes of being converted into bone-dust and glue.

The great quantities of limestone-rock which occur under the basaltic formation of this part of Ulster, furnish a valuable manure for the neighbourhood, and for export to the sister countries, and a railway from the Cave-hill brings about 300,000 tons annually to the quays for shipment. Gypsum or sulphate of lime is also found, and there is a steam-mill for converting it into the plaster of Paris, so extensively used for ceilings of houses and for manure. There are three manufactories of tiles; and as the clay is peculiarly good for making bricks, an immense quantity of the latter are used for building. There are also two large glass-houses at full work.

Rope-works, manufactories of canvas, oil-mills, and paint-mills, are all required for the supply of the numerous shipping.

The port of Belfast has also a very extensive shipping interest, and the trade of the port is rapidly rising into great importance. *Industry*, we see, creates capital for anything; it is in fact the germ of wealth. There is both a very large coasting and foreign trade; in the latter department, Belfast exceeds any of the other Irish ports. In 1844, the number of vessels and their registered tonnage that cleared out of the three principal Irish ports for foreign countries, exclusive of British colonies, were, Belfast 73, tonnage 18,844; Dublin 82, tonnage 12,792; Cork 30, tonnage 5,245.

The coasting trade has also steadily increased, as will be seen from the following table :—

	INWARDS.		OUTWARDS.	
	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.
1842	3,671	345,035	1,396	189,800
1843	3,757	363,137	1,547	220,421
1844	4,385	434,999	1,725	264,220

Many Belfast vessels are also employed in the carrying trade of England. The comparative increase of the shipping interest of Belfast, as compared with the chief Irish ports, from 1797 (three years before the Union), and since to 1842, is shown by the following table :—

	1797 to 1799.	1824 to 1826.	1833 to 1835.	1840 to 1842.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Belfast . . .	13,062	48,511	81,322	149,809
Dublin . . .	33,485	54,821	70,405	84,742
Cork	13,424	17,101	56,751	101,349
Waterford .	8,929	12,362	34,345	60,346

It will therefore be seen that Belfast has increased the most rapidly, in its shipping, of any Irish port, and that it has now the greatest amount of tonnage of any Irish port.*

* The following return shows the comparative exports from Belfast and Dublin for the year ending the 1st of August 1845 :—

It may be an instructive lesson, too, for violent Repealers to look at its tonnage before the Union—that “blight to the prosperity of Ireland” (!) and what it is now. It will be seen that the increase in the shipping trade of the four principal ports of Ireland, in a period of forty-seven years, and almost entirely since the Union, has been—from Belfast, 136,747 tons; Cork, 87,925 tons; Dublin, 61,257 tons; Waterford, 51,417 tons.* In the year 1844 there entered the port of

	From Belfast.	From Dublin.
Pork, tierces	7,906	257
Pork, barrels	11,430	—
Bacon, bales	29,419	1,564
Butter, firkins	41,658	1,187
Butter, crocks	41,760	—
Lard, cwts	27,381	1,027
Beef, tierces	1,958	3,317
Hams, hogsheads	4,820	—
Wheat, barrels	24,672	5,733
Oats, barrels	35,362	36,990
Barley, barrels	3,335	485
Linen, boxes	44,778	—
Flour, sacks	13,529	7,400
Hay, bales	20,076	—
Pigs	3,690	—
Cows	7,222	—
Whiskey, puncheons	3,734	447
Potatoes, cwts	69,635	—
Oatmeal, sacks	—	9,050
Porter, hogsheads	—	26,247
Porter, barrels	—	10,922
Porter, half barrels	—	78,678

* Another remarkable evidence of the increase of civilisation and prosperity in Ireland, since its union with this country, is its increase in post-towns, post-office communication, and improved means of travelling.

The number of post-towns in Ireland in the year 1742 was	113
“ “ “ 1765	121
“ “ “ 1776	141
“ “ “ 1778	193
“ “ “ 1799	253
“ “ “ 1801	274

There are at present (1846) 800 post-offices. In 1776 the average was 4½ to each county; it is now 25. Since the Union, the increase on the whole country exceeds 500.

Belfast 3,655 vessels, measuring 445,537 tons (nearly equal to Liverpool in 1812), being an excess over the previous year of 1843 of 285 vessels, and 82,499 tons, say nearly 83,000

The following is a return of the number of post-offices in the several counties of Ireland in 1776 :—

Louth 2	Brought forward 66
Meath 5	Antrim 9
Westmeath 3	Down 12
Dublin 2	Derry 4
King's county 5	Donegal 3
Queen's county 2	Tyrone 4
Kildare 11	Fermanagh 2
Wicklow 4	Monaghan 3
Carlow 2	Armagh 4
Wexford 4	Cavan 6
Kilkenny 5	Clare 2
Longford 4	Waterford 3
Sligo 1	Cork 12
Mayo 4	Kerry 2
Leitrim 1	Limerick 2
Galway 6	Tipperary 7
Roscommon 5	
Carry forward 66	Average, 4½. 141

In an old almanac of 1742, is the following announcement :—“ Mr. James Smith's new stage-coach sets out from the Unicorn in Capel-street for Belfast”—(one hundred and one English miles distant)—“ every Monday, and from Belfast every Thursday.

“ In winter, it takes three days, and leaves Dublin at eight and Belfast at seven in the morning. In summer, it will only take two days, and set out from each place about five in the morning. This coach will always run with six able horses.”

Again, in 1788,—“ The Drogheda *Balloon* post-coach—proprietor, Edward Hammond—from Hammond's, the Boot Inn, No. 2, Bolton-street, Dublin, to Hanton's in Drogheda” (twenty-eight English miles distant), “ sets out at nine o'clock in the morning, summer and winter, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday ; goes through in one day ; leaves Drogheda on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday ; fare for passengers, 7s. 0½d.”

But the post-office EXPRESSES in the same year are still more indicative of the *slowness* of the times :—

“EXPRESSES.

“ Private expresses may be forwarded from the general post-office, Dublin, to any part of Ireland on paying 4d. br. per mile, and 6d. to the horn at each stage,

tons of excess in one year. For the last ten years the Customs' duties received at Belfast have averaged upwards of 360,000*l.* a year.

The continual cry in the west and south of Ireland is for the Government to do this and for the Government to do that—to give bounties, to assist, to lend money for every object. In the accomplishment of this vast prosperity, the Government has never advanced to Belfast or to its people one farthing. They have struggled on unaided, and by the force of their own energy, enterprise, and industry, have achieved their own prosperity and importance. The establishment of joint-stock banks has much aided the merchants, spinners, and manufacturers in their enterprise. The average circulation of the joint-stock banks of Belfast is 836,000*l.*, and their subscribed capital is 2,000,000*l.*

The savings bank, too, shows in the number and amounts of the deposits an increasing prosperity. There were received from depositors,—

	£	s.	d.
In the year ending the 20th of November, 1844..	42,711	8	1
Do. 1845..	48,685	16	1

The balance due to—

5,685 Depositors on 20th November, 1844, was..	123,883	17	9
6,576 Depositors Do. 1845, ..	139,986	3	5
Leaving a total increase of deposits for the year 1845 of	£16,902 5 8		

The deposits of two-thirds of these depositors do not exceed 20*l.*, and the most numerous class of depositors are female servants.

I have not space to say much of the town of Belfast.

with the usual fees ; and also from Dublin to London for 4*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* ; to Chester, 2*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* ; to Liverpool, 2*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* ; to Glasgow, 5*l.* ; to Edinburgh, 5*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*

“ Expresses travel at the rate of four miles an hour.”

Including the Ballymacanett side of the river, its population is about 100,000. It is a well-built town, and in every respect extremely like one of our best English towns. There is a deaf and dumb institution, a dispensary, a fever hospital, a surgical hospital, a lying-in hospital, a Lancasterian school, a charitable society, a house of industry, a night asylum for the destitute poor, a lunatic asylum, a philosophical society, a literary society, a choral society, an academical institution, and various other societies, among its public institutions. The commercial building is a fine building, and the inhabitants are justly proud of their botanical garden and brown and white linen halls.

The country in the neighbourhood of Belfast is wooded, pretty, and well cultivated, and dotted over with the seats of merchants and manufacturers; and the houses of the peasantry and artisans are everywhere neat and comfortable looking. I have had the opportunity of seeing some tenants' houses on the estates of Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., who is everywhere highly spoken of as a landlord; and also on the estate of Lord Dufferin. At Bangor I visited the cottage of William Gibson, a tenant-farmer of the latter nobleman. This man began life as a farm servant in 1820, with 6s. a week wages, and a house free. He now rents six Cunningham acres (eight English statute acres) of land. He has reared four sons and three daughters. One son is foreman to a tailor in Wokingham, another is foreman to a shoemaker in Stafford, a third son is just out of his apprenticeship as a tailor, and, as the mother told me with pride, they are "making a scholar" of the fourth son. A cleaner cottage I never saw. The three daughters were working in the cottage at embroidering ladies' collars, at which they earn 5s. a week each, and pay their father for their support. The father pays 35s. an acre rent, has four cows and a pig, and makes and sells butter. The cows were in excellent outhouses, The cottage had four rooms, a clock, a looking-glass, a sofa,

a table, with an oil-cloth over it; there was abundance of crockery, some prints on the walls, a bust of William Pitt on the chimney-piece, and the greatest cleanliness and order. Contrast this with Mr. O'Connell's "comfortably-off" six-acre tenantry. I gave the good woman a description of the way in which the peasantry live in Kerry, with the pig and cows in the house, and the "biler" as the only cooking apparatus. "Oh dear!" said she, "I could not live so." It was evident she could not.

Most of the girls in the district of Bangor, Newtownards, Killileagh, and Downpatrick are employed in embroidering muslin collars. The muslin is sent over from Glasgow in an unbleached state, and stamped with a pattern. It is then distributed by agents among the cottagers, to be embroidered, and is afterwards collected by them and returned to Glasgow. The young women at this work earn, on an average, 10*d.* a day. About Waringstown and Lurgan the girls are employed in hemstitching and weaving cambric pocket-handkerchiefs, and earn about the same rate of wages. We thus see that the people are all thoroughly industrious and employed; and as the reward of their industry they live in comfort and decency.

The landlords, too, generally attend to the duties of their position. Sir Robert Bateson, of Belvoir-park, one of the most extensive landlords near Belfast, prevents subdivision, and thus secures a respectable tenantry, who can live in comfort. If there is more than one son the rest go out and learn trades, and work for their livelihoods elsewhere. There is, however, a considerable disposition amongst the tenantry in parts of the county to subdivide their holdings, and sink into the same condition as prevails in the west. This tendency is as much as possible prevented by the landlords. Lord Lurgan, the Marquis of Londonderry, and the Marquis of Downshire are all spoken of as good landlords.

I confess that this is an inadequate view of the condition

of the people of this district, though, I believe, an accurate one in its chief outlines. Generally speaking there are here no unemployed or idle people, and most of the people live in comfort.

In that trashy compilation of sketches of the characters of traitors, and bombastic nonsense, *Sir Jonah Barrington's Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*—one of the many books which I have felt it my duty to wade through in the progress of this inquiry, there is this truth :—"What," he asks, "sets one nation above another, but the soul that dwells within her?" What is it but "the soul," the indomitable spirit, the enterprize, the persevering industry of England, which has made her the first among nations? It is the same "soul" which makes Belfast and the north and east of Ireland tread in her footsteps and rival her in the race of civilization. Here is the real strength and the pride of Ireland. But beyond these few northern and eastern counties, we have to consider before we can state what is "the soul" of the Irish nation?

The "soul" of Ireland! Is it not a lazy and an apathetic soul;—a soul without energy or enterprise? Is it not a soul which lolls against a door-post, or leans its back against a wall with a pipe in its mouth and its hands in its breeches pockets? Is it not a soul which is content to live with a dunghill under its nose and to feed with its pigs? Is it not a soul which always has a *want* which prevents it doing anything, and whose greatest want is *industry*? Is it not a soul which is content to see its hedges down, its land undrained and unproductive, its home a hovel, and which satisfies itself with a complaint of *poverty*? Is it not a beggarly, a boasting, and a fawning soul? Oh Irishmen! drive it out from among you. It is unworthy of your fertile country and of your own abilities. Drive it out. Exert yourselves and you will prosper. Be industrious and independent, and you will be great as a people.

If taught and urged on, the people of Ireland have every

qualification for success. But they are like a rich soil uncultivated, which grows but rank weeds. Partly from apathy, and partly from neglect, a people capable of accomplishing anything, are sunk in the lowest degradation. Left to themselves they will remain stationary, as they have ever done.

In *Fyne's Moryson's Itinerary*, an old and scarce book which describes the manners and habits of the Irish people, and which was published in London in 1617, the Irish of that day are thus described:—"Touching the meene or wild Irish, it may truly be said of them which of old was spoken of the Germans—namely, that they wander slovenly and naked and lodge in the same house (if it may be called a house) with their beasts." (Part iii. p. 180.) This, their condition 220 years ago is literally their condition at Derrynane and in the west and south of Ireland generally at this moment. Why? Because they are left neglected, untaught, and unimproved, and of themselves it is not their character to improve. Should not this be a lesson to the Government, and to every landed proprietor in Ireland, and instruct them what course it is their duty to take towards the debased and neglected Irish peasant? To the honour of many of the Irish gentry, they do make efforts to improve the peasantry. It is such men who deserve to be encouraged, and praised, and supported, and *protected*; whose suggestions ought to be listened to by the Government as the barometer (if I may so term them) and true indication of the wants and requirements of the Irish kingdom. Belfast is a better guide than Conciliation-hall. But in the fair field of Ireland, successive Governments seem to attend only to the chirpings of the grasshoppers, and neglect the more important denizens of the pasture. The warnings and entreaties of the magistracy of whole counties are neglected, the suggestions of the real patriots of Ireland—of those who strive to advance and improve her are unnoticed; while the ; f a rabble, and the

sordid and selfish deceptions and boastings of characterless impostors, whose only use in the world is to furnish examples of the truth of Dr. Johnson's definition of "patriotism," as being "the last refuge of scoundrels," are attended to, treated with respect, and dealt with as if representing the feelings of the best and worthiest men in Ireland!

The sooner the Government undeceives itself in these respects, the sooner will Ireland be tranquil and prosperous.*

* I have been furnished with the following particulars regarding Newry—a thriving town on the east coast, and midway between Belfast and Dublin—which I have every reason to believe are correct :—

"The trade of Newry has very rapidly increased of late years. It has been much kept back by the operation of the late Bank of Ireland charter, which crippled enterprise, and prevented the full expansion of trade. Since the 1st of January 1846, however, two other banks besides the Bank of Ireland—namely, the Provincial Bank of Ireland and the Belfast Banking Company—have opened branches there, and already afford increased monetary accommodation. The town itself has great natural advantages, and is pleasantly situated in the valley of the Newry-water, five miles from the head of Carlingford-bay, with which it is connected by means of the river and a canal. The navigation, to which Government has given large sums, was formerly much impeded, and hitherto vessels of more than two hundred tons burthen could not come up to the town. But now improvements, under Sir John Rennie and an able resident engineer, Mr. John Ramsay, have been made so as not only to promote largely the commercial interests of Newry, but to subserve the general purposes of the great inland carrying trade through the richest of the eastern and western parts of Ulster. The present canal terminates at Fathom, one mile and three quarters from Newry; but the Newry Navigation Company are extending it two miles farther seaward by cutting a new canal from Fathom nearly to Narrow-water, and they propose widening the loch and deepening the present canal, so as to admit steamers of seven hundred tons and vessels of large burthen up to the town. Newry enjoys at present, water-communication by means of the Newry canal, the Blackwater river, Lough Neagh, and the Ulster canal, with Scarva, Portadown, Moy, Dungannon, Caledon, Monaghan, Roslea, Clones, Lisnaskea, Enniskillen, &c. In addition to these means, the railroads terminating in or passing through the town, for which Acts of Parliament have been obtained, will greatly extend the trade of this rising town, which, with enterprise, may probably become a chief shipping port from Ulster to Liverpool and the western ports of England, as it is directly facing Liverpool, and within nine hours' sail of the English coast. The Newry and Enniskillen railroad will open up a communication with Sligo and the towns on the western coasts of Ulster and Connaught, and, with the projected continua-

tion of that line from Newry to Carlingford, terminating with capacious docks at Greenore Point, approachable by steamers at every time of tide, will bring Sligo and great part of the western seaboard of Ireland, with all the intermediate towns, Enniskillen, Clones, Monaghan, Armagh, &c., within thirty hours' travelling of London. The Dublin and Belfast Junction, and the projected Armagh and Londonderry Junction, will connect Newry with the extreme north and the south of Ireland, and will enable the people of Derry, Armagh, Dungannon, Moy, &c., to reach London many hours quicker than by any other route.

The recent inquiries of Captain Washington, the Tidal-harbour commissioner, have revived a long cherished determination, on the part of the inhabitants of the district, to procure the deepening of the bar at the entrance of the Bay of Carlingford, and to convert the harbour into a port of refuge, for vessels of every burthen. The expense of this has been estimated by the Admiralty officers at less than 50,000*l*.

The manufactories of Newry and the vicinity are cotton-mills, linen-factories, and spinning-factories, along the river. At Bessbrook, within one mile and a half of Newry, where there is water-power capable of turning all the machinery in Ireland, a large spinning-factory is nearly erected, at a cost (including machinery) of about 35,000*l*. This will give employment to about one thousand persons. Newry also possesses all the appliances of a very extensive linen trade, being the centre of a large flax-growing country—has brass, iron, and metal foundries, spade and shovel factories, very extensive flour and oatmeal-mills, cordage-works, coach-factories, and appliances for various departments of manufacture connected with ship-building. Ship-building is now carried on here with spirit. The retail trade is very extensive and flourishing. The sales of dairy and agricultural produce in the town are very large, and command supplies from parts of Louth, from Monaghan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Armagh, and the southern parts of Down. The sales of butter exceed those of Belfast, and amount to upwards of 3,300 tons a year. The sales of agricultural produce in 1834-5 amounted to 7,710 tons of wheat, 3,610 tons of barley, and 23,850 tons of oats. The estimated annual amount of inland carriage to the town consists of 31,800 tons for exportation, 11,000 tons of agricultural produce for local consumption as food, 100 tons of exciseable articles not received by direct importation, and 11,000 tons of stone, lime, turf, and other heavy and cheap articles; and the carriage from the town consists of 32,300 tons of imported goods, 18,600 tons of coals, &c., and a large quantity of the produce of breweries. The importation of flax-seed is extensive, employs a considerable capital, and has of late years materially increased. The imports of that article this year (1846) from the port of Riga alone is 12,399 barrels, and large quantities from Holland, America, and England. In 1835, the exports amounted to upwards of 700,000*l*., consisting of corn, meal, flour, provisions, flax and tow, feathers, tobacco, spirits, linen, eggs, 3,551 cows and oxen, 898 horses, 200 sheep, 15,525 pigs, and miscellaneous articles estimated at 20,000*l*. more. In the same year, the estimated value of imports exceeded 800,000*l*., the chief items of which were coal, culm, iron, lead, tin, slates, oak bark, hops, mahogany, tallow, hides, ashes, cotton, woollen, and linen yarn, sugar, tea, coffee, spices, indigo, herrings, salt, flax-seed, wine, rum, and other British and foreign spirits, cotton and woollen manufactures, haberdashery, hardware,

glass, earthenware, leather, &c. In 1836, the gross receipts at the custom-house were 58,806*l*. The chief trade of the port is with Liverpool and Glasgow, but a considerable trade is also conducted with the other ports of Great Britain, with British America, with the United States, with the Mediterranean, with Odessa, with Archangel, Riga, Memel, and all the ports of the Baltic, &c. The vessels registered at the port of Newry in December 1843 were 206 sailing vessels, of an aggregate burthen of 11,358 tons, and two large steamers. During 1843, the number of sailing vessels arriving inwards coastwise was 1,265, of 63,854 tons register, and the number of steam-vessels inwards coastwise was 155, of 28,974 tons. During the same year, the number of British sailing vessels inwards from the colonies was 43, of 6,945 tons, and from foreign ports 14, of 2,953 tons; the number of foreign vessels inwards from foreign ports was 8, of 1,913 tons. In 1844, the list of foreign shipping arriving and discharging at Newry contained 45 vessels of aggregately 12,338 tons register.

The Savings Bank was established in 1821 for receiving deposits so low as 1*s*. It has continued to increase steadily till, at the annual settlement on 20th. November 1845, the accounts numbered 2,881, amounting to 98,373*l*. 11*s*. 7*d*. This large sum is principally due to farmers, labourers, artisans, servants, and persons in the humble ranks of life. The deposits of the domestic servants alone amount to upwards of 4,000*l*. There has been lately erected a very elegant and commodious house, in which to carry on the business of the bank, at a cost of upwards of 2,500*l*.

Many of the observations relative to the social and intellectual condition of the people of Belfast are applicable to the inhabitants of Newry, as might indeed be inferred from the geographical relation of the two places. The agriculture of the district lying north-west of the town is creditable, and is to be attributed partly to the greater industry and intelligence of its population, and partly to the influence of the examples of such landed-proprietors as Earl Gosford and Colonel Close, and to the supervision of such agents as Mr. Blacker, the latter gentleman having obtained great celebrity for successful scientific husbandry.*

* For opinions of the press as to this letter, see Appendix, No. 22.

LETTER XXXIX.

REVIEW OF REMEDIAL MEASURES.

Description of Dublin and its People—Review of previous Letters—Remedial Measures—Want of Industry, but partly the fault of the People—Their want of Knowledge and opportunities of Industry the fault of the Higher Classes—No Middle Class in the Country—The Upper Classes embarrassed, or driven out by apprehension of violence—Abolish the class of Middlemen—Raise the tone of Society, and thus prevent gross mismanagement of Estates, which would not then be borne—Facilitate the transfer of encumbered Estates—Compel the sale of Property by Law, when the interest of Mortgages upon it is not paid, instead of appointing Receivers in Chancery—Resolutely put down Outrages and punish Crime—Put a stop to Agitation of every kind—Suppress Trade Combinations—Instances of their evil effects—Their injury to the Fishing Trade—Insure a Tenant Payment for his Improvements—Undertake Public Works—Cultivate Wastes, and teach Agriculture by Model Farms—Attend to reasonable Applications for Assistance—Pay the Priesthood—Conclusion.

DUBLIN, January 6.

It would scarcely be compatible with the object of my letters to give a minutely detailed description of the metropolis of Ireland. It has most of the features of great cities—many of their advantages and most of their vices; much of their magnificence, and all their squalid misery and want. A rapid glance at its leading features may not, however, be without interest. Without the pretensions to the natural advantages of position of Edinburgh, Dublin in many respects rivals the Scotch metropolis. Its public buildings are magnificent and its park adjoining it

unrivalled. As a town, for the most part, its streets are wide and regularly built, and its principal streets contain good houses. It possesses, also, some very handsome squares. On the other hand, the worst parts of the town surpass the United Kingdom in misery and wretchedness. There is a district called "The Liberty," compared with which St. Giles' in London is a kind of paradise. The houses there are let in rooms to what are termed "room-holders," and as many as forty, fifty, and even sixty people,—beggars, thieves, and prostitutes,—men, women, and children, have been counted as thus dwelling in one house.

The character of the people of Dublin, both as it strikes a stranger, and as given by themselves, is one of contented, self-satisfied mediocrity. The first aim of a shopkeeper, as soon as his business will keep him, is to start a horse and car. He enjoys himself; mixes business and pleasure very equally, struggles to keep up his horse and car, and dies poor, leaving his son the same course before him. He rarely rises above his position; and his shop continues one of mediocre character. In England a shopkeeper minds his business while he is at it, and retires with a fortune to his country-house and his carriage, and leaves his son a wealthy man. He almost invariably rises in the scale of society. In Dublin, the professional man keeps his hunter, and sometimes his beagles. He enjoys life, and leaves it much as he commenced it. In England, the professional man is a slave to his profession; but he gains reputation, wealth, and a high position. The streets of Dublin have a jaunting-car, pleasure-taking, careless look. The streets of any town in England of similar magnitude have a bustling, business-like, wealthy look. The carriages of Dublin are eminently remarkable for "shabby gentility;" the carriages of any similar community in England impress you always either with the character of luxurious wealth *per se*, or of unmistakable aristocratic bearing and wealth. As a city,

Dublin possesses many advantages which would seem to mark it out for the residence of men of wealth. It has fine scenery, excellent sea-bathing, good markets, and good houses; as a residence, however, sought for by this class, it ranks much below Edinburgh.

The object of my letter to-day, is not, however, to write a dissertation on the city of Dublin, but to endeavour to take a calm review of my five months' tour in Ireland, now drawing to a close.

I have just finished a careful examination of the numerous letters which I have written to you from Ireland, having entered on that examination anxious to refresh my memory with the impressions which those letters contained, prompted by each locality from which they were written. I assure you that I rise from the task depressed by the almost unvarying evidence which they bear of neglected capabilities, of want of energy, enterprise and industry—of misery and degradation. To grapple with these monster evils is indeed a terrible task; but these are the evils with which the Government must grapple if it hopes to see Ireland no longer a stumbling-block and a difficulty—alike the weakness and the disgrace of the empire.

Want of employment is the first superficial want which presents itself. It is, however, a want which is more imaginary than real. Employment abounds; but there is the want of energy and the want of industry to set about finding employment.

Want of capital to give employment is the first cry with which you are met.* But it is enterprise and industry

* "Capital is wanting," says M. Beaumont; "the terror which reigns in the country drives it farther away. Industry alone could raise from indigence the multitude of cottiers that contend for the land; and capital, without which no industry is possible, has fled from poor Ireland for ever."—*Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious*, by M. Beaumont, vol. i. p. 312.

But M. Beaumont has forgot to tell us where ~~capital~~ comes from. It does not drop in bulk from the clouds. With more † —"What means are

which create capital. Capital is wealth accumulated; and wealth can increase only in proportion as the produce of the labour of the community is greater than its consumption. Labour is the first price—the original purchase-money which was paid for all things. “Labour is the source of all wealth,”* It is then to the *want of industry* that we must attribute the want of capital.

But the statesman will ask, almost in despair, “How can you make a nation industrious which is steeped in apathy and laziness?” It is the business of a statesman to try: and the task is worthy of a statesman.

It is at once conceded that the Government cannot find employment for a nation. Employment for the mass of the people must spring from the people. That which the Government can do only, is to aid the people, to stimulate them, to lead them, to protect them in finding employment.

The question then arises, how are these things to be done?

- I know the appearance of egotism—the seeming presumption—of writing to you what may be done to reclaim a people. There are quacks in abundance, each with his nostrum; I may be esteemed a quack. After, however, having been all over Ireland—after having written on every subject which is talked of in it, and prepared laborious details on every subject—after having had no common advantages, having always had the opportunity of mixing with the best informed society in each town and county, I humbly submit to you the opinions which I have formed. I believe them to be well-founded—test them; if you find them worthless, reject them.

there of becoming rich in a country where *commerce and industry are dead?*” Industry will create commerce; both united will create riches and wealth, and wealth accumulated is capital, and capital re-acts in promoting the industry which created it. But the first step in this ladder is *INDUSTRY*, without which we can advance no further; and the people of Ireland have little industry.

* Adam Smith.

The want of industry of the mass of the people is but partly their fault. It is partly owing to their natural disposition, and partly to their want of knowledge, and the want of *opportunity* of being industrious.

Again, the want of knowledge and the want of opportunities of being industrious are faults which must be laid at the door of the middle and upper classes. It is for them to guide and teach those below them, and find them the opportunities of industry.

Strictly speaking, there is hardly what can be termed a "middle class" in the country, looking at it as a whole. The middle class man in England is the most useful member of society; along with considerable physical activity and exertion, he is perpetually striving with all the energies of his mind to accomplish some useful object which gives employment and creates wealth. He is either a merchant, a manufacturer, a farmer, or a shopkeeper. Each gives his energies and his skill to make the business in which he is engaged succeed. Excepting parts of the north of Ireland, and two or three of the principal towns, the middle class man in Ireland is what is termed a "middleman"—a perfectly useless drone, apeing the manners and habits of the class above him, living on a profit-rent, which he neither uses skill nor exertion to enable his wretched under-tenants to realise. His superior knowledge never directs them. He is of no use in society.*

* "The absence of a middle class in Ireland has been, and is still, one of the greatest misfortunes of the country . . . What chance has a people of escaping or at least of alleviating oppression, if it remains motionless in its ignorance and its misery; and if men do not arise from its own proper bosom, who, superior by their education, their talent, or their fortune, are capable of taking its cause in hand, and guiding the popular efforts for deliverance?"

"The impossibility of a people, however oppressed, raising itself, when it has not the support of a superior class, was never shown more clearly than during the insurrection of 1798, when there were as many revolts as there were villages,—soldiers in abundance, but no officers. Everything aristocratic that then existed in Ireland was hostile to this national movement; the people could find no

On the upper class man then falls the duty of teaching the mass and finding them opportunities of industry. For the most part the upper classes almost entirely neglect both these duties. And this fault is partly to be attributed to their negligence, partly to their embarrassments, and partly to that unhappily prevailing system of intimidation which drives them out of the country. However well-disposed, the mere *nominal* owner of an estate has not the power to promote improvements which give opportunities of industry, and without the opportunities of industry the people cannot learn to be industrious. However *able* and well-disposed, the man who is placed in apprehension of his life will leave to agents the duties of his position, and the door for neglect and abuse is at once opened; and neglect and abuse but aggravate the evils which prevail.

What measures, then, would such a state of society dictate to a statesman? Remember that individual likings and prejudices—nay, that individual interests must give way to the interest of the nation. We cannot expect improvement to spring from the mass—from the common people; not only is this true of all nations, but in Ireland it is contrary to the national character for the mass of themselves to improve. They are contented with potatoes. Remedial measures must then be directed to the middle and upper classes—must be fitted to meet their peculiar relations and positions, under which now the opportunities of knowledge and employment cannot arise—for from the middle and upper classes must improvement spring.

Of what use is the “middleman?” If he usurp the place

assistance but in a middle class, and such a class did not exist in Ireland. There were some individuals fit to make a part of this class, but not enough to constitute it.”—*M. Beaumont's Ireland, Social, Political and Religious*, Vol. ii. p. 109.

“It is not merely number that is wanting to the middle class in Ireland, it also wants what it does not yet possess, knowledge, experience and education.”—*Ibid.* P. 120.

of landlord, whilst in reality he is not landlord, give reality to his position; compel him to become the landlord, or to give up his position. If he take the place of an extortioner, and as an idle drone consumes the surplus produce—the wealth and capital of the community—extinguish him; put an end by law to his ability to continue to do so. In fact, create a valuable middle class by prohibiting absolutely all subletting, and thus compel the middleman either to purchase the fee, or become, as in England, a working farmer of the lands which he holds, finding capital and intelligence and skill to employ and direct labour on his lands. What would be thought in Suffolk, for instance, of any man who should go there and take a dozen farms, as Mr. O'Connell does in Kerry, and sublet them to small tenants, at *three times* the rent which he himself paid, he doing nothing but receive the rents? It would not be borne; but if borne, it would soon make Suffolk what the farms of Mr. O'Connell are now—an abode of wretchedness and neglect.*

It is true that the Government cannot well compel the negligent among the upper class to attend to the duties of their position by direct means; but they may by indirect means. Whatever tends to raise the tone,—the expectations of society, will compel the *negligent* among the upper class to meet those expectations. Such utter neglect of all the duties of a landlord, such contrivances to insure rent, and such unscrupulous means as are resorted to to realise it, as are sometimes met with in Ireland, society would not bear in England. For instance, it is common in almost all parts of Ireland to let lands in partnership. In the north and west this is called “rundale,” or “common,” and the tenants occupy in common, and of course the best tenant will take care not to do more than the worst, as he would only be

* See, *post*, Appendix, No. 23, abstract of evidence taken before the Land Commissioners as to the evils created by the class of “middlemen.”

working for the benefit of others and not for himself. If he drain and make a piece of land rich for himself one year, another of the rundale tenants gets it in rotation the next year, and reaps the benefit of his labour. This would not be endured in England; but it arose from a landlord's contrivance to make a whole batch of tenants jointly liable for each individual's rent. In Tipperary the same system is extensively pursued, under the name of "partnership" holdings. There the tenants do not hold in common, but divide their holdings. Half a dozen tenants will take a tract of land, and become jointly and severally liable for the whole of the rent, and divide the land amongst themselves. If one tenant does not pay his portion, the remedy resorted to is not to distrain his stock, for fear of rescue, but to proceed by ejectment; but, in order to eject him, declarations in ejectment must be served on all the tenants who are joined in partnership with him. It is true that they usually club up the money somehow or other, but is it possible to imagine any management more likely to create disorder than this? In England society would not suffer it—would compel, in fact, the landlord thus negligent of his duty to alter such a management of his estate. Negligent landlords *must* improve—*must* attend to their duties, if the expectations of society are raised.

But the mass of Irish landlords do not afford opportunities for employment and instruction, because they are so embarrassed that they cannot. They have merely *nominal* estates—the real owners of their lands are mortgagees. No one can doubt the advantages which the upper classes are able to confer on society. Society wants an upper class. But it must have it in *reality*—in *substance*, not merely in *name*. Nor does it matter who the individuals are who compose the upper class so long as they are men of education, of honour, and of wealth. What matters it to society whether the lord of 50,000 acres be lineally descended from the treacherous scoundrel Dermot Macmurrough, or from a respectable

cheese and bacon factor of Cork, or yarn-spinner of Belfast, who realised a fortune by his industry half a century ago. It is the *man* society wants; and in that man *the power* of doing good—the wealth to give opportunities of industry, the knowledge to direct those opportunities, the honour to act justly and to set an example to all. But if you have a mere nominal landlord—a man over head and ears in debt and embarrassments, you lack in him the first and most needful quality, *the power* of doing good. Take measures then to give to society that which it wants to stimulate it and direct it—a *real* and not a *nominal* owner of the land. Facilitate the transfer of lands. Enable an encumbered proprietor to sell a part of his estate to pay off his encumbrances, giving the purchaser a clear title by Act of Parliament, provided the purchase-money be paid over to the encumbrancers, according to priority of claim. It is foreign to my object now to go into detail; but let in the life-blood and energy, and enterprise of capitalists into the lifeless masses of huge, encumbered, unimproved, helpless estates.* They will become *real* owners of the land, will give employment upon it, and stimulate industry. Employment will bring peace. Industry will bring wealth.

When an estate gets into such a hopeless condition that it can no longer pay the interest of its mortgage debts and keep the owner, no longer permit a receiver in Chancery to be appointed to receive the rents and hand them over to the mortgagee. The mortgagee has no responsibility, and no honour from the estate; he cares nothing about it so long as his principle is secure and he gets his interest paid. The *nominal* owner has no power to do anything, and, however well inclined, the estate goes to ruin under his eyes. We may respect his attachment to his ancestral acres, and his dislike to part with them; but we must not let his individual likes

* See *ante* as to this, p. 226.

and dislikes stand in the way of the public good. If he cannot fulfil the duties of his position it is his misfortune; the state must take care that the community and the country do not suffer because of it. When this is the unhappy condition of an estate, at once compel a sale; let in capitalists, and substitute a real for a nominal owner of the land. That which his good feeling, his inclination, or his good sense prompts, the *real* owner will have the *power* to carry into effect.*

There are, however, many landlords who have both the inclination and the power to benefit their tenantry—to give them opportunities of employment and to instruct them, but who, owing to the disgraceful system of intimidation that is allowed to prevail, are driven out of the country. It is foolish to hope for improvement if you do not enforce the law—if you do not give the consciousness of security for life and property to every man.† The outrages and shootings

* See Appendix No. 24, *post*, as to the vast amount of landed property in this deplorable condition, having a receiver in Chancery appointed to receive the rents.

† It is a strange phenomenon in Ireland, and peculiar to the country, that whilst new fortunes are created, the number of new rich men is not increased in the same proportion. The reason is, that after the fortune is created, the rich man departs, and this is explained by the social and political state of Ireland.

The manufacturer, the merchant, and the banker, enriched by their industry in Ireland, would be doubtless tempted to choose that country as their resting place; but besides the difficulty of obtaining land in Ireland, and finding a secure investment, there are in this country numberless obstacles to quiet possession.

It often happens, then, that finding no secure asylum in Ireland, those who have acquired wealth, go to seek it in some of the towns of England. We see then how it is, that while many make their fortune in Ireland, an equal number does not reside there: and nevertheless it is the residence not the fortune made, that must be taken into account. We have not in fact, to consider whether Catholics gain more or less at the bar or in trade, and purchase estates or rent-charges in Ireland with the fruit of their labours; but whether they live on their estates in Ireland, or spend their income in an Irish town: and if, after having issued from the people by their industry and talents they take an intermediate place between the aristocracy and the people, and maintain their station."—*M. Beaumont's Ireland, Social, Political and Religious*. Vol. ii. p. 120.

"On one side the agitated state of Ireland prevents the introduction of capital, and when capital is introduced by persons sufficiently bold to brave this agitation,

of Tipperary and some adjacent counties are disgraceful to the nation—they mark the existence amongst the people of the most cowardly and savage brutality. It is folly to apply to such a society the humane and moderate provisions of laws adapted only for a peaceful and orderly and independent community. No man is independent in Tipperary. He dare not act justly for fear of his life. However much he may hate the crime, he must shield the murderer for fear of his life. He dare give no evidence calculated to lead to the punishment of an offender for fear of his life. He dare not turn away a servant that robs him for fear of his life. He dare not compel the fulfilment of a contract, or enforce the payment of a debt, for fear of his life. Nay, he dare not express a political opinion adverse to the prevailing mob opinion for fear of his life. For the Lord-Lieutenant to talk of putting in force the laws in such a state of society as this—of summoning juries who will not convict, and subpoenaing witnesses who will not give evidence, is childish. A free and liberal Government—mild and humane laws, which depend as much upon the co-operation and aid of the people, as upon the law or the Government, are only fitted for an

those brutal and violent passions, which the working classes seem almost to breathe in the atmosphere that surrounds them, raise an almost insurmountable obstacle to the success of their enterprise.

“We should assign very extravagant national passions to English capitalists, if Belfast and Dublin differed in their eyes from Manchester and Glasgow. Let us state the matter fairly; the obstacle clearly arises from Ireland being the most miserable and agitated country in the whole world: hence an Englishman will invest his capital anywhere rather than in Ireland, and precisely because the country is directly before his eyes, he sees more clearly the danger to which his capital would be exposed if he sent it thither.

“What must we conclude from the preceding statements? In the first place, so long as the causes exist which oppose the spontaneous development of Irish industry, it is not from manufactures that we must ask work for those who have it not, and a remedy for the evils of which the idleness of the people is the real or supposed cause: and in the second place, that to render the development of Irish industry possible, it is necessary to begin by removing the causes by which it is now paralysed. These causes are notorious; they are the *anarchy of the country, and the spirit that animates the working classes.*”—*Ibid.* p. 154.

enlightened and orderly and just community ; they are helpless and mischievous in a cowardly, a savage, a brutalized, and an ignorant one. Such a people will *bear* and *require* a more despotic rule. Fine the community for every crime, and enforce the fine. If crime still goes on, send another thousand policemen into the county, and *make the county bear the whole expense*. Billet the police in the farm-houses, and let them worm out crime in a manner fitted to the cautious and timid character of the people. The man who dare not go to the police-office and give information of a murderer will hint it to the policeman billeted in his house, because he will not be suspected of giving the information. Appoint stipendiary magistrates for every district, and it would be wise to extend their powers, where juries will not convict. If a criminal is sentenced to transportation pack him off *at once*, do not give him time in gaol to leave behind him amongst his friends a legacy of revenge. Punish every brutal crime with a fitting punishment. What cares the man who can gloat over *revenge*, perpetrated or determined on, for a three months' imprisonment. Cat-o'-nine-tail him at a cart's tail through the chief town of his neighbourhood—hold him up to the scorn and derision of his neighbours for having been a cowardly brute, with just courage enough to skulk behind a hedge, and try to shoot an unconscious victim, or knock him senseless with a stone from behind. At the termination of his imprisonment give him a repetition of the same dose, and send him home to his friends to doctor his back for him. A few such examples as these would have a thousand times greater effect than all the rewards and proclamations in the world. Strive by overwhelming force to make the punishment of crime certain, and make its punishment terrible. If an outcry is raised against you by vagabonds and the press of the "Vindicator" class, never mind it ; uphold what is good in the community, and the clamour of the worthless will not injure you.

With a firm and determined hand put down agitation, whether that agitation be Orange or Repeal. If necessary, fear not to do it *despotically*. Remember you are dealing with a people who in the mass are almost uncivilized. Like children they require governing with the hand of power. They *require* authority, and will *bear* it. A more enlightened community would not require it, and would not bear it..

Rigorously put down all combinations and punish the combinators. It is a remarkable fact that there is scarcely a trade which has prospered in Ireland, save that of brewers and distillers. Almost every other trade has been ruined by combinations.* One brewer and one distiller, with a few unskilled labourers, are sufficient for a brewery or distillery, and there can, therefore, be no combinations of skilled workmen against them. For instance—and I name these only as examples amidst hundreds—a timber merchant of Dublin, Mr. James Fagan, erected saw-mills. The sawyers combined against him and, because he persevered, murdered his head sawyer, Hanlon, in open day, in one of the most populous streets in Dublin. Mr. Fagan, however, had sufficient capital to enable him to persevere, and now more “pit” men

* “Scarcely are the operatives, who at first consented to work for moderate wages, masters of the field, when they combine to obtain higher wages, and applying the White boy principle to manufactures, they arbitrarily fix the price of a day’s work; they enact terrible penalties against the master who should pay, and the journeyman who should consent to receive less wages; and this barbarous code does not contain idle menaces; punishment follows close on offence; and not long since, Dublin was the theatre of horrid murders committed on poor operatives, whose only crime was that they worked for a lower price than that fixed by the “Union of Trades:” unfortunate beings who were murdered because they were satisfied with moderate wages, and who must have starved for want of work, if they asked higher! And what is the infallible result of these outrages? If the manufacturer yields he is ruined; if he resists, the operatives refuse to work. In either case, industrial enterprise is destroyed, and the operative who complains, and perhaps not without reason, that he receives too little wages for his work is deprived both of work and wages.”—*M. Beaumont’s Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious*. Vol. ii. p. 152.

are employed in his saw-mills, because he has created a trade, than he employed sawyers before. The same gentleman leased an useless dock, intending to make it a graving-dock for the repair of vessels, instead of sending them to Glasgow or Liverpool to be repaired. His men combined, and refused to work except on certain terms and at certain times. This he would not submit to, and he procured Scotchmen as ship carpenters. About four months ago, whilst some of these men were working at a ship's side, on a stage suspended by ropes, some of the combinator got on board, cut the ropes, and precipitated the men into 16-foot water. Their lives were with difficulty saved; a Dublin magisterial Solon, before whom the fellows who attempted to murder these men were brought, satisfied himself and the law by simply *binding them over to keep the peace*. A Mr. Folds, a printer, about four years ago, rented a magnificent printing establishment in Dublin, and erected steam presses, to enable him to compete with the London printers. No sooner had he got contracts and was beginning to succeed, than his men combined against him and began to dictate terms to him, and the rules on which he should conduct his business. Determined not to submit to this he procured English and Scotch printers. Almost immediately afterwards his printing establishment was set fire to and burnt down, and the grand jury found that it had been done maliciously. This gentleman's undertaking, calculated to give employment and benefit to the community, was ruined in consequence. It is only two months ago that the colliers of Slievardah coalmine, Tipperary, and also of Earl's-hill Colliery, and South Ballinastick Colliery, in the same county, worked by the Mining Company of Ireland, combined to prevent the agents working them in the manner they thought most advantageous, and shot one of the agents. The average labourer's wages in that district are 8*d.* and 10*d.* a day, whilst every collier was earning from 2*s.* to 3*s.* a day. The company

have been compelled to suspend the working of these mines in consequence, and a large number of men are thus thrown out of employment.* I have before me a report politely furnished to me by Mr. Strangman, of Waterford, in which that gentleman details the establishment of a Coast Fishing Company there. There were but few fishermen, earning a precarious subsistence there, and it was said that the fish had deserted the coast; the trade was declining. Four years ago a fishing company was established there, and a trawler of about 40 tons burden was purchased. I cannot do better than quote his own report of the difficulties every undertaking in Ireland has to encounter, first from the most stupid opposition, and eventually from illegal combinations:—

*“First, as our mode of fishing was novel in this quarter, we had to employ Englishmen until some of the natives were instructed; an outcry immediately arose for bringing strangers when so many at home wanted employment. Then, when we told of the profits likely to arise from this mode of fishing, some accused us of boasting, whilst others circulated a report that fishing was merely the nominal object, but that smuggling was the real one. One class found fault with us for sending any fish to England until their wants at home were supplied. Others complained of the high prices charged. Another set denounced us for taking the bread from poor men—for that we caught so much we should not leave any for others; and further, that the market would be so glutted, and the prices depreciated, that even if they did catch as much as they had done previously they would not be remunerated for their labour. This latter was asserted by many who ought to have known better; and such being the case, it was no wonder that those poor men, who fancied their rights and mode of living would be infringed upon, were so excited as to threaten us if we persisted. These threats of course had no effect upon us, further than to endeavour to explain how ill-founded those reports all were; but it was of no use, and one night a party of them seized a new net, worth about 15*l.*, cut it in pieces, and threw it over the cliffs into the sea. We offered a reward of 50*l.*, and Government 30*l.*, for the discovery of the*

* A reference to the Appendix, No. 25, *post*, containing a return of the mines in operation in Ireland, will show that about 300 men were thus thrown out of employment.

perpetrators, but it was no avail; for though one of the men in our employ knew the parties, yet he stated *he would prefer being turned off to giving us information, fearing the consequences to himself.*

"These were very discouraging circumstances; but this [extreme violence brought matters more speedily to a conclusion. An inspector from the Fishery Board came down, and also a stipendiary magistrate. A meeting was held, and an investigation entered into. The Roman Catholic clergy also exhorted their flocks, and after some time peace was restored. Since that time other parties have procured similar boats, and there are now twelve cutters of forty to fifty tons burden, each belonging to this port, regularly engaged in this branch of fishing, besides sometimes as many as twenty more from other places, who occasionally visit us. The good wages the men earn has quite altered the current of public opinion, and those who were before hostile to us are now anxious we should get more boats, and thus give more employment. The apprehension of the fish being *all* caught has proved fallacious; and so far from this market being glutted, it is found the demand has increased with the supply, fish having become an article of regular diet. The cost of one of these cutters, with her gear, &c., is 500*l.*; and the value of the gross produce of the fish taken by each of our boats is about 400*l.* per annum. If, then, we suppose the other boats have been equally successful, the twelve boats, at 400*l.*, would clear 5,000*l.* worth of good nutritious food, drawn from the ocean, by this means giving so much wealth to the community; and there is abundant opening for three times as many boats in this branch alone. The men receive certain proportions of what the fish sells for. The earnings of our skippers or captains average about 25*s.* per week—the men from 16*s.* to 21*s.*, and boys 7*s.* to 10*s.* per week; and, after paying for wear and tear, the owners divide about 20 per cent. per annum. With this pleasing result, I feel no hesitation in stating it as my opinion, that the sea is a rich mine which only requires to be judiciously worked to yield abundant reward for labour and capital—in other words riches.

"Besides the trawl-fishing, our company were anxious to introduce improvements in other modes; and we began with lobsters, crabs, and prawns. We procured a suitable boat and apparatus, costing about 40*l.*, and two qualified hands. The summer before last this boat caught upwards of 100*l.* worth, the men earning 30*s.* per week, whilst employed, and the owners dividing 50 per cent. *The last summer, however, we have met with sad disappointments.* Our previous success excited much envy, and several of our pots were destroyed. We offered a large reward, but without effect. *At first the parties cut the apparatus; but latterly they*

adopted an ingenious mode by which they conceive they can ease their consciences, as well as escape punishment. The lobster pots are put in deep water about a mile or two from the shore, with a buoy or float on the surface to indicate their position. The plan resorted to is to get a piece of cord, about a yard long, with a stone tied to each end. This is dropped *accidentally on purpose*, saddle-wise on the float, which being unequal to sustain the weight is sunk to the bottom, and consequently defies all attempts at recovery. In consequence of these repeated losses *I fear we shall be obliged to give up this branch*, although we offered to the parties we have reason to believe were the perpetrators *to procure similar apparatus for them at cost price, and instruct them in the proper mode of using them.*

"Last summer we found the sea to be absolutely alive with herrings, mackerel, and pilchards, from one-half mile to six miles seaward from the coast, but there being no sufficient or suitable boats or nets to take them, owing to the opposition and prejudices of the people, the advantage was entirely lost, with the exception of a very small quantity that came in close to the shore."

It is melancholy to contemplate a stupidly ignorant opposition to enterprizes like these, from a people, *starving for want of employment.*

The Government, then, as a first duty, ought to protect every enterprise by the most stringent and determined enforcement of the law, and secure to the projectors the fair rewards of their enterprise, and with it employment for the people. The people themselves are too apt to mistake *cunning for wisdom*; and the cunning which delights in the cleverness of ruining a rival, or forcing terms and rules on a speculator which his business will not bear, has not the wisdom to see that in ruining a rival it ruins a trade by which it lives, and that its forced terms have stopped the speculation which was its only livelihood.

Insure by law payment to a tenant for those improvements, which have increased the value of the landlord's land, according to a fair estimate of the increased value. This is simply honest and fair.*

* See letter, *ante*, dated from Bantry, p. 405.

The landlord loses nothing, for he has the increased value for his money, and the tenant will thereby be encouraged to improve.

These are indirect means of insuring employment and prosperity. But there are other direct means which are in the power of the Government.

Provide suitable piers and harbours for the accommodation and safety of the fishing craft. This would be a direct encouragement to industry, and would leave laziness in sight of abundance of fish without an excuse. On the coast of Erris in Mayo, of parts of Connemara, of Donegal, of Kerry, and of the west of Cork, the sea swarms with fish, which often cannot be taken because there are no harbours of refuge. If a Donegal or Erris man ventures to sea, he does it at his peril, if the weather is at all doubtful, because there is no harbour to which he can run. And yet these people periodically starve with swarms of fish beside them, and are fed by the money of England, which would already have twice over built all the piers and harbours they wanted, and have enabled them independently to earn their own food.

With the revenues of the crown lands, lease, or purchase, and promote the draining and cultivation of waste lands.* These would act as public examples to capitalists who might become purchasers; for it is from them that general improvement must come. The Government can only set examples, it cannot cultivate the whole country. This would *cost nothing*, but would on the contrary *pay well*.†

* See *ante*, p. 470.

† From the evidence of Robert Dymond, Esq., land surveyor, before Lord Devon's Commission as to the effect of draining in Devonshire:—"With regard to draining does your experience enable you to say whether, in the ordinary run of cases, that is an operation which pays well?—I have no doubt of its being one of the most important improvements that can be made, and one which will give the largest return for the outlay; whilst land which is wet and requires draining remains in that state, all manure is thrown away upon it. As a proof of this

Establish in different districts model farms and agricultural schools to teach and instruct the peasantry, by both precept and example, how to cultivate the land, and make the most of those advantages they have.*

Attend to reasonable applications for assistance made by enterprising portions of the community. This would encourage and urge them on. Limerick, for instance, complains that she has no dock; that her trading-vessels are in danger of being driven against the bridge, and in fact have been thus destroyed; that the navigation of the Lower Shannon to the sea, which is now dangerous and full of shallows, might be improved at small expense, whilst the liberal grant of 600,000*l.* by the Parliament of Great Britain is being jobbed away in improving the Upper Shannon, and not one farthing is spent on the Lower Shannon. The citizens of Belfast complain that, with a trade that yields a Customs revenue of 360,000*l.* a year, the Government will not aid them to build a Custom-house for the convenient transaction of business, and the collection of the Queen's taxes. They complain, also, that their representations about their insufficient Post-office establishment are totally disregarded, and that the enormous commercial undertakings of that city are put to continual losses and inconveniences in consequence. Attention to matters like these are the routine duties of Government and effects much good. Inattention to them excites discontents, and depresses and beats down enterprise.

Pay the priesthood. Take away from them thereby

I may mention that, since I examined a large field of wheat a few weeks since, two sides of the field had been drained, and the centre of it had not; the produce so far as present appearances go I may safely say, will be four times as much upon the two sides as it will be in the centre of the field, although the land is precisely of the same quality, the only difference being that part is drained and the remainder is not. I have no doubt the farmer will, at harvest time, have four times the quantity of wheat upon the sides compared to the centre, although the present is a very dry season."—*Evidence*, Part II. page 22.

* See, *ante*, p. 154, account of the Agricultural School at Templemoyle.

every motive for agitation, and enlist them among the friends of peace and of order. I have already dwelt in former letters sufficiently on this subject, and further detail is now unnecessary.*

Now, every one of these measures is practicable. Every one of them would tend to benefit, to encourage, to stimulate the people; to excite emulation, enterprise, and industry. Yet every one of them is neglected. Such measures would let capitalists into the country. The efforts of the Government at improvement and civilisation would urge on those capitalists to imitate the example set to them, and they would have *the power* to do it.

The peasantry would be encouraged to be industrious, and would be taught how to be so. Compare any of these measures in probable benefit with the recent college grants. These grants are thanklessly received by the people. The colleges will teach young men Latin and Greek and theology, who had better be learning some honest trade by which to earn a living. Educated young men without means will be thrown upon the world, to fill professions, and to become priests; and these young men, penniless and disappointed, with cultivated minds, must become the seeds of future agitation.

You complain of the turbulence of Ireland. The means of employment will stop turbulence. The measures which I have humbly suggested will promote—nay, insure—employment. “*Necessity and poverty*,” said the great Lord Hale, in his plan for a reform of the English poor laws, “*and want of due provision for the employment of indigent persons, and the custom of a loose and idle life, daily supply with advantage, the number of those who are taken off by the sentence of the law; and doubtless as the multitude of poor and necessitous and uneducated persons increases, the multitude of*

* See *ante*, p. 498.

malefactors will increase, notwithstanding the examples of severity." "The want," says he, "of a due provision for education and relief of the *poor in a way of industry* is that which fills the gaols with malefactors and fills the kingdom with idle and unprofitable persons *that consume the stock of the kingdom without improving it*, and that will daily increase even to a desolation in time, and this error, in the first conception, is never remediable but by gibbets and whippings; for *there must be a sound, prudent, and resolved method for an industrious education of the poor*, and that will give better remedy against those corruptions than the after gain of penalties can." What Lord Hale wrote of England in his time is true of Ireland now. Give, then, that "industrious education of the poor," and those means of employment which the measures pointed out will insure, and Ireland, unhappy, neglected, agitated Ireland, will no longer prove "the great difficulty" of the English Government.

I close now the mission with which you have honoured me. I should be ungrateful did I not express my warm estimation of the many courtesies, hospitalities, civilities, and attentions which I have received in the prosecution of my prolonged and most arduous task, in every town in Ireland which I have visited.*

* For Opinions of the Press, see Appendix, No. 26.

LETTER XL.

THE PROPOSED MEASURES OF RELIEF FOR IRELAND.*

Grounds of Mr. O'Connell's Motion for relief of Irish Distress—Dissent from them—The People of Ireland not entirely blameless for the extent of that Distress—The People not decreasing in Numbers—Much of Irish Distress owing to neglect and want of Industry—The "Anomaly" of the People of Ireland starving and exporting Food—The same "Anomaly" often seen in England—Irish Exports and Irish Gain by them—The *real* Evil of Absentees—The Portion of the Irish Population which will really suffer by a failure of Potato Food—Is the construction of Railways the best Remedy to aid this portion of the Irish Population?—Rather encourage permanent Improvements, such as draining and improving Waste Lands and Public Works, which will promote Industry.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,—Having so recently returned from the fulfilment of the commission with which you entrusted me in Ireland, I naturally read the recent debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of the apprehended famine in Ireland, with considerable interest; and you will perhaps pardon me for intruding on you a few observations respecting it.

* The following Letter on the "Proposed Measures of Relief for Ireland" was recently written to the editor of *The Times*, in consequence of a debate in the House of Commons on a motion brought forward by Mr. O'Connell, and was published in *The Times* of the 26th of February. As it refers to the previous Letters written from Ireland, and bears on Irish questions generally, I have added it to the Irish Letters.

The debate was on the motion of Mr. O'Connell for a committee to consider the state of Ireland, with a view to devise means to relieve the distress of the Irish people.

In showing grounds for his motion, that honourable and learned member states, that "the calamity with which Ireland is threatened is not owing to any default of the people," but to a dispensation of Providence; "that such is the distress of the Irish people that the population, instead of augmenting, has actually been falling and wasting away;" that 46 per cent. of the rural population live in dwellings of a single room, such is their destitution; that Ireland exhibits the strange anomaly of exporting vast quantities of food, whilst her people starve; and that the people are threatened with a pestilential fever in consequence of their poor diet. Much of all this is attributed to the fault of England, and an appeal is made to the Government to advance large sums for the formation of railroads in Ireland, to give employment and alleviate the threatened distress.

No doubt, if the people of Ireland are threatened with famine and pestilence in consequence of it, it is the duty of the Government, as far as possible, to adopt means to avert such calamities, and, if there be a proved necessity for it, to send the money for which Englishmen have laboured to rescue their Irish fellow-subjects from such miseries.

But are the grounds laid for such a measure unquestionable? Is it a proved necessity that the money for which Englishmen have laboured should be sent to Ireland for such objects? If it be, let it be freely sent. Are railroads the most fitting objects on which to spend that money to alleviate the distress?

Without boasting, I may fairly claim some little knowledge of Ireland, and to many of these positions I entirely demur.

Without wishing to stay liberality by the statement, I do assert that it is in a great measure the fault of the Irish people themselves that the impending calamity wears so

through sheer ignorance and neglect, not producing *one-half* of what it is capable of doing? What would be thought of an English labourer with a six-acre allotment of land, for every acre of which he paid rent, cultivating one acre every year for potatoes to live on, and two with oats to pay his rent, and leaving the other three acres for his pig to root up; and when he had exhausted his first three acres, from never manuring and having a perpetual succession of the same crops, beginning on his other three acres, and letting his first three "lie out to cool," and gradually recover themselves by years of rest? * If with such a system the Irish peasant can live, though badly, he would get wealth if taught how to cultivate properly. Whose fault is it that the poor peasants are not taught how to cultivate? Teach them, and there will be some hope that this continual cry of Irish *distress* will be put an end to.

But we are told that Ireland exhibits the strange anomaly of a country exporting food, whilst her people starve. It is only because the manufacture *happens to be food*, that we think it strange the people should starve who manufacture it. It does not strike us as so strange that people should starve who manufacture cottons, or silks, or stockings. Yet where is the difference in the two cases? Both are manufactured by labour, and it is for his labour only that the labourer seeks to be paid. If he be paid for his labour, no matter what the manufacture is,—whether corn, or cattle, or cottons, he can live; and it can make no earthly difference to the labourer whether his 6s. or 10s. a week are earned in manufacturing corn or cotton. It is the 6s. he wants, and on the 6s. that he lives. Does Ireland give away that food which she exports? No, she sells it; and she sells it for its value. Well, with the value she can re-purchase the food—or would she have both value and food? Ireland exports so

* See note, *ante*, p. 54.

7 per cent. of increase is draughted out of Ireland, and from those returns they show that 572,464 persons (or 7 per cent.) have been draughted out of Ireland in those ten years, upwards of 100,000 of whom have found permanent work in Great Britain.*

It is too true that 46 per cent. of the rural population live in hovels of a single room: nay, in Kerry, in a part of it with which Mr. O'Connell is well acquainted, for it is rented and sublet by him, it is far worse than this; for in the barony of Iveragh, in the rural portion of the parish of Cahir, or Cahirciveen, out of a total of 854 houses 634 have but one room and are without windows.—(Census 1841, page 198).† But it is the system of *middlemen* which generates this misery; and until middlemen are put an end to by law this misery will continue.§ If, as it is to be supposed he does, the head landlord exacts a fair rent for his land, and, as is the fact, the middleman exacts *three times that rent*—nay, as Mr. O'Connell himself does as a *middleman* in this identical barony—from these wretched occupants of hovels, how can they be anything but miserable and ready recipients at all times of England's bounty, when their agricultural knowledge is only just sufficient to enable them to raise this extortionate rent, and to exist on the most wretched food? Is it not enough to try English patience to hear men talking about *distress and want of employment* with some 3,000,000 of acres of good land lying waste and capable of cultivation beside them and around them, before and behind them?‡ Is it not enough to excite indignation to hear men whining about their distress, with the land they have in cultivation,

* See *ante*, p. 15.

† See note †, *ante*, p. 531.

§ See *ante*, p. 593.

‡ See notes, *ante*, pp. 225, 354. The Commissioners of bogs in their fourth Report, calculate the extent of waste land that might be reclaimed at 2,830,000 acres.

through sheer ignorance and neglect, not producing *one-half* of what it is capable of doing? What would be thought of an English labourer with a six-acre allotment of land, for every acre of which he paid rent, cultivating one acre every year for potatoes to live on, and two with oats to pay his rent, and leaving the other three acres for his pig to root up; and when he had exhausted his first three acres, from never manuring and having a perpetual succession of the same crops, beginning on his other three acres, and letting his first three "lie out to cool," and gradually recover themselves by years of rest? * If with such a system the Irish peasant can live, though badly, he would get wealth if taught how to cultivate properly. Whose fault is it that the poor peasants are not taught how to cultivate? Teach them, and there will be some hope that this continual cry of Irish *distress* will be put an end to.

But we are told that Ireland exhibits the strange anomaly of a country exporting food, whilst her people starve. It is only because the manufacture *happens to be food*, that we think it strange the people should starve who manufacture it. It does not strike us as so strange that people should starve who manufacture cottons, or silks, or stockings. Yet where is the difference in the two cases? Both are manufactured by labour, and it is for his labour only that the labourer seeks to be paid. If he be paid for his labour, no matter what the manufacture is,—whether corn, or cattle, or cottons, he can live; and it can make no earthly difference to the labourer whether his 6*s.* or 10*s.* a week are earned in manufacturing corn or cotton. It is the 6*s.* he wants, and on the 6*s.* that he lives. Does Ireland give away that food which she exports? No, she sells it; and she sells it for its value. Well, with the value she can re-purchase the food—or would she have both value and food? Ireland exports so

* See note, *ante*, p. 54.

many quarters of grain, and so much stock. These are her manufactures. Manchester exports so many bales of cottons and silks, which are her manufactures. Both want food, and both want clothing; and both resort to a common medium of exchange—namely, money; and the manufactures of both represent so much labour. The Kerry peasant says,—“ My labour has manufactured ten quarters of wheat, worth 50*s.* a quarter, and ten firkins of butter, worth 80*s.* the firkin; give me 25*l.* for my wheat, and 40*l.* for my butter, and you pay me for my labour, and I intend to spend the money you give me in paying my rent and purchasing my subsistence.” The Manchester manufacturer says,—“ My labour and skill have manufactured ten pieces of cotton, worth 50*s.* a piece, and ten pieces of silk, worth 80*s.* a piece; give me 25*l.* for my cottons, and 40*l.* for my silks, and you pay me for my labour and skill, and I intend to spend the money you give me in paying my rent, paying for materials, and purchasing my subsistence.” Where is the difference between the two? Either of them with the money in his pocket for his manufacture, whatever it may be, has so many quarters of wheat and so many firkins of butter in his pocket, or so many pieces of silks and cottons, as the money stands the representative value for. And as for “ anomaly,” surely the anomaly is fully as great to see, as is unhappily too often the case, in such a town as Manchester, for instance, poor creatures half-clothed and perishing of cold in the middle of a town which clothes the whole world.

Mr. O’Connell quoted the following tabular statement of imports of provisions from Ireland to show what the Irish people have produced *for our consumption* :—

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Wheatmeal or Flour.	Oatmeal.
	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1842	112,195	50,287	1,274,326	314,311	1,551,172
1843	192,477	110,449	1,561,997	713,463	1,706,628
1844	200,276	90,656	1,509,870	839,567	1,150,976
1845	372,719	93,096	1,679,958	1,422,379	1,059,185

The produce, or rather manufacture, of food is certainly very great. Taking these same figures, and turning them into money value, I will show, on the other hand, how much sterling money we have created to send to Ireland to pay them for this produce. Taking wheat at, say, 50s. a quarter, barley at 30s., oats at 20s., flour at 20s. a cwt., and oatmeal at 15s. a cwt., which are about the present market prices (for I quote them from the Mark Lane prices of January 26, which I find in a newspaper on my table), merely making the sums even for readier calculation—thus, oats are at 22s., and I quote them at 20s.; wheat at 51s., and I quote it at 50s., these imports show the following values:—

Years.	Wheat. Value at 50s.	Barley. Value at 30s. per qr.	Oats. Value at 20s. per qr.	Wheat flour. Value at 20s. per cwt.	Oats. Value at 15s. per cwt.	Total Value.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1842	280,397	75,430	1,274,326	314,311	1,163,379	3,107,843
1843	381,192	165,673	1,561,997	713,463	1,279,971	4,102,296
1844	500,690	135,984	1,509,870	839,567	863,232	3,849,343
1845	931,796	139,644	1,679,958	1,422,379	794,388	4,968,165

So that poor, miserable, ever-complaining Ireland receives from England from 4,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* sterling yearly in exchange for these articles of produce alone, to say nothing about pigs, cows, sheep, butter, porter, and flax—vast quantities of all which articles England purchases from her.* The

* See *ante*, pp. 575, 577 n.

simple fact is, that obtain the money—the common medium of exchange—and you obtain whatever money will purchase. Money represents everything ; and it is worse than folly to talk about England consuming the food of Ireland, so long as Ireland takes care to be well paid for it.

With regard, too, to the money sent to absentees residing in England or elsewhere, there is a very prevalent fallacy, which passes for wisdom, and which is put forth as one of the chief arguments to show the “ injustice of England to Ireland.” It is said the Irish peasant sends his produce to England, and the money he gets for it he sends also to his landlord in England ; therefore he is deprived of both produce and money. One really feels almost ashamed to find it necessary to expose such a fallacy. The Irish peasant cannot have *both* his goods and the value of his goods in money ; he therefore cannot lose both. Suppose a resident landlord of an income of (say) 1,000*l.* a year will require for the consumption of his stables (say) 100*l.* worth of oats, straw, and hay, and for the consumption of his house (say) 150*l.* worth of corn and butter, and that this 250*l.* worth of agricultural produce he consumes in Ireland on his estate, and buys it direct from his tenants, what is the fact with regard to this produce which the tenants sell to him ? They part with their 250*l.* worth of produce to their landlord, who *consumes it*, and take in exchange for it 250*l.* ; and they then pay the 250*l.* to the landlord for their rent. Thus, *in the same way*, the landlord, to use this silly argument, gets both their produce and money ; the fact being simply, that he gets so much money for rent, and for that money he gives them the use of so much land, which is worth the rent paid for it. Now, what earthly difference can it make to these tenants, so far as this 250*l.* of produce is concerned, whether the landlord’s steward pays them 250*l.* for it at “ the castle,” or a Liverpool or London agent or buyer pays them the 250*l.* for it at the next market-town ? In both cases the tenants

part with their produce for 250*l.*; in both cases the produce is taken from them for consumption; and whether it is eaten at "the castle," or in England, or goes to the bottom of the sea, it is all the same to the tenants—they have the value of it in their pockets. And inasmuch as the landlord, whether a resident or an absentee, expects the rent of his land which he lets to his tenants, and for which they have this 250*l.* to pay, surely, if they pay it for rent, it is all the same to them, so far as regards this 250*l.*, whether their landlord is resident or not, for, in either case, having paid it, they are the 250*l.* poorer.

The argument in reply to this obvious truth is,—“true, it is all the same to the tenants as to this 250*l.*, the value of their produce sold, whether they sell it to their resident landlord for this sum, or to a London buyer, and it is all the same to *them* whether they pay the amount so received for their produce to the landlord, be he resident or absent; but it is not all the same for *the nation*: for, if the landlord were resident, *the whole* of his income would be spent in Ireland in fostering native industry by the purchase of Irish produce and manufactures, and thus give employment to the Irish people to that extent; whereas, if *the whole* is spent out of Ireland, *the whole* is lost to *the Irish nation*.” This loss from the number of absentees is estimated by Mr. John O’Connell at 4,500,000*l.*, in a speech made in the House of Commons on the occasion referred to in this letter; and it is asserted that this sum is such a drain upon the resources of Ireland, that it accounts for her poverty, and that no nation under such circumstances can be rich. It is easy to make flippant assertions like these, but how their value melts away—how transparently foolish they are—when you come to examine them. Suppose a landowner of 1000*l.* a year, *resident* in Ireland, and, for easy calculation, suppose he *consumes*, as shown above, one-third of his income in his household and stables, in the purchase of food for his establishment and

horses. This calculation will not be far wrong. Inasmuch as he *consumes* this amount of produce, the nation, or its people beyond his household, cannot benefit by the outlay of this third portion of his income, further than the peasantry who raised that produce have already done in selling it to him for its value. But the peasantry, it is shown, would benefit to precisely the same extent if they sold the same produce to a London or Liverpool buyer for its value at the next market town, which they can always do. As to this *third* of the landlord's income, therefore, *being consumed*, beyond the servants of his household *the Irish nation* does not benefit when the landlord is *resident*; the Irish nation cannot therefore be injured by his *consuming* the same amount of produce in England, and paying for it there its equivalent value. On this score, therefore, we may fairly deduct one-third from the alleged injury of the absentee drain, or 1,500,000*l.* (taking Mr. J. O'Connell's estimate), leaving the alleged injury and drain amounting to 3,000,000*l.* We come, then, to examine the remaining portion of a *resident* landlord's expenditure in Ireland, and we shall see how much of that goes to benefit *the Irish nation* by promoting Irish manufactures. How much of his clothing is made in Ireland? His hat comes from London; his coat from the west of England; part of his boots from France; so of his gloves; his stockings from Nottingham; his watch from England or Geneva. How much of his lady's clothing has been manufactured in Ireland? Her bonnets, shoes, gloves, and silk and satin dresses, most of them are of French manufacture; her morning dresses the produce of Manchester or Glasgow; her jewellery from every part of the world. How many of the luxuries of life which have become necessities to him are of Irish manufacture? His wines—his champagne, hock, claret, port, sherry, Madeira—all are the produce of foreign countries. So are his tea, coffee, sugar, spices, and tobacco. How much of his household furniture is the produce of

Ireland? His mahogany and rosewood chairs and tables, their morocco leather seats, their cotton coverings, the chandeliers of his rooms, the oil and wax he burns, the marble of his chimney-piece, his fire-range, the expensive pictures on his walls, his books—all are the produce of English or foreign industry, which, *resident*, just the same as absent, he must and will have, and to pay for which Irish food, that is *her manufactures*, must equally be abstracted. The money annually required for the purchase of these luxuries and necessities may be fairly set down at one-third more of his income; and this third, *though resident*, does not benefit the manufactures of the *Irish nation*, but encourages the industry of foreigners. It would only do the same if he were an absentee. This *third*, therefore, of absentee income must also be deducted from the absentee payments, which, it is alleged, drain and impoverish Ireland. We, then, further reduce the 3,000,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.* of injurious absentee drain. We will now examine this remaining sum. There are sons to educate, and daughters to fortune. To educate the sons properly, custom or fashion demands that they should be sent to college in England or abroad. The *resident* Irish landlord thus educates his son. He could do no more, so far as Ireland is concerned, if an absentee. This takes a portion of his income, which, in either case, *resident* or absent, would not benefit Ireland. Then he has something to save and lay by for the fortune of his daughter. Whatever sum is thus saved is not spent in encouraging the manufactures of the *Irish nation*, and this will demand another large share of the resident landlord's income; it would do the same if he were an absentee, and no more. Is it an over-calculation to assume that the remaining *third* of his income is reduced by these calls *one-half*? If it is not, inasmuch as this reduction must be made from the benefits which a resident landlord's income would diffuse, it must be equally made from the evils which an absentee's drain of

income entails. We then have still further to reduce the remaining 1,500,000*l.* of absentee injurious drain to 750,000*l.*, or one-sixth of the absentee income, which is perhaps about the real amount of support taken away from Irish manufactures, and of benefit lost to the *Irish nation*. Well, has Ireland no counterbalancing benefit, derived from the English nation, and to the *injury* of the labourers of the *English nation*? English money chiefly pays for the support of 20,000 soldiers in Ireland, rendered needful by her turbulence. The last Irish census shows that there is a permanently settled Irish population of above 1,000,000 in Great Britain, who have *obtained employment* there. The complaint against absentees is that *they take away employment from Ireland and give it to England*; let us see what employment *England gives to Ireland in return for that abstraction*. Assuming that each Irish family settled in Great Britain consists of the average of five persons, out of 1,000,000 of Irish settled in Great Britain, there will be at least 200,000 men. These men must subsist by their labour, for by law, if they were beggars, or were unable to support themselves, they would be passed back again to Ireland. Assuming that their average wages throughout the year, earned by the employment given to them, be but 5*s.* a week each, which is much below the mark, they would earn, each man, 13*l.* a year, or, in the aggregate, 2,600,000*l.* annually. But assuming their wages to be 10*s.* a week each, which is a far more likely average as the earnings of their families are not at all taken into the account, we have the aggregate amount of employment *given by Great Britain to Irishmen permanently settled in Great Britain*, amounting to 5,200,000*l.* But 57,000 harvest labourers annually migrate from Ireland to England, and these are *all* men, and they carry back with them from 3*l.* to 10*l.* a man, money earned from the *employment given to them during harvest in Great Britain*. Assuming the average to be 5*l.* each man, we have here again an aggregate

amount of employment given, and money taken out of Great Britain to Ireland of 285,000*l.* a year. Adding this to the previous sum given to Irishmen permanently employed in Great Britain, we have 5,485,000*l.* worth of employment given to *Irishmen* as a compensation for 750,000*l.* of real absentee drain and employment taken away from Irishmen, not at all taking into calculation the counterbalancing good of our paying for the maintenance of 20,000 *absentee soldiers* from *England* in *Ireland*.

What becomes, then, of the injury which the *Union* is said to be to Ireland, or of the foolish exaggeration about the drain of absenteeism when examined into? Defend absenteeism I do not for a moment; it is one of the greatest possible evils to Ireland; but its *drain* on the country is a minor evil compared with the absence of supervision, of encouragement, of example, of instruction, which a landlord's presence alone can give. These are the evils and the faults most prominent in Ireland.

The outcry, therefore, *in this respect*, against absentees is for the most part groundless; it will not bear examination; it has neither reason nor argument to back it. No doubt absenteeism does entail some considerable amount of want of employment which would be otherwise given by indirect as well as by direct means—as in servants, &c. But the chief evils arising from absenteeism are the absence of *the landlord's moral influence and example from his neighbourhood*—the absence of a superior mind capable of leading, directing, and instructing. These are great evils, and *the evils* of absenteeism; and not the landlord's mere consumption of produce, which will be the same at home, in Dublin, or in London; and Dublin or London, if he resides in either place, will require so much more of the produce which Ireland can furnish to supply them, and cannot get that supply without paying the farmers for it, who produce it, its full value. Yet, oddly enough, we hear it gravely asserted in the Legislature

that the furnishing of produce to England, *for which Ireland is paid*, is an evil to Ireland ; and that the money which purchases that produce, on being returned to absentees in England for rent or value, is *pro rata* to the damage of Ireland. That is pointed out as *the* evil of absenteeism, which, when examined into, is a trivial evil ; whilst those things which are the real evils of absenteeism—the neglect of social duties, the absence of instruction and example and encouragement to tenants, the absence of a superior intelligence to direct and guide untaught ignorance—are not even *hinted at*. Such is the mental calibre of the picked Legislators of Ireland.

But how is produce which will obtain, because it is worth, money, to be got ? Only by labour and enterprise, of both which qualities there is a most lamentable want in Ireland. The man who never labours, if without fortune, must necessarily starve. The man who labours only a little must necessarily be in want. The man who half labours must necessarily be poor ; and the man who labours hard his whole time must, under ordinary circumstances, be well off. “ Labour,” says Adam Smith, “ is the first price, the original purchase-money, that is paid for all things.”

It is because the people of Ireland generally *do not labour*, either physically or mentally, in anything like the proportion that the people of England do, that they are not generally near so wealthy. Nay, it is because they are generally absolutely lazy and apathetic—too lazy to weed their land though they have nothing else to do,—too lazy to clean their cottages, with nothing else to do ; or to mend the holes in their cottage roofs, with nothing else to do,—that their land is so wretchedly cultivated, their cottages are so dirty, and their hovels so miserable.* I have repeatedly seen *whole untied* “ loggins” or *bundles* of straw, in the south of Ireland,

* “ ‘ We are so poor ! ’ is the reply of the Irish peasants, when they are reproached with increasing their misery by neglect ; and they continue in the filth

laid on the roofs of cottages to keep out the wet or to stop holes; the owners having the straw, and being too lazy to open it out and lay it on the roof properly. We must also remember that the cry about an Irish "famine" does not proceed from uninterested parties. The Irish peasantry will make a "poor mouth" because they hope to get some of England's bounty, and to escape paying their rent. The Irish landlords generally have no reason to contradict the cry in this country, for if John Bull is persuaded that the Irish are starving, his sympathies will be roused, and whatever he pays or gives to Ireland will find its way to the landlords' pockets eventually; at any rate, it will stop a hole in the gap of necessity, which they must fill up themselves if John Bull does not, for the peasant will consume the rent rather than starve. And lastly, at this juncture, Sir Robert Peel and the Government listen favourably to such an outcry, for it greatly aids the success of their measure regarding the corn laws.

That the peasantry will suffer a heavy loss by this calamity there can be no doubt. But I do very much doubt that on that account they will starve. The small farmers, wretchedly

that chokes their hovels, without the slightest wish to keep them clean."—*M. Beaumont's Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious*. Vol. ii. p. 25.

"The same statistical documents which show that in Ireland nearly 5,000,000 of individuals are employed on the land, show that in England and Scotland, out of a population of 16,205,000, not more than 5,000,000 are engaged in agriculture; that is to say, nearly the same number that is so employed in Ireland; nevertheless, England and Scotland have an extent of 54,000,000 of acres, whilst Ireland has only 19,000,000. So that in Ireland the land absorbs two-thirds of the population, whilst in the other two countries it does not engage quite one-third; and it appears that Ireland employs as many labourers to cultivate her soil as England and Scotland, which are double her size. Finally, it appears certain that by the Irish system of tillage the ground produces one-half less than it does under the management of an English or Scotch farmer; whence it follows that three Irish agricultural labourers do rather less work than an Englishman or Scotchman. Even supposing that the number of English and Scotch labourers is too small, that of the Irish agriculturists is clearly excessive. And the defective cultivation of the ground depends precisely on their quantity."—*Ibid.* p. 143.

as they choose to live (for they know no better), have most of them small sums in the savings banks, or elsewhere. At Cork the manager of the savings bank there told me, that the small farmers in a radius of twenty miles round Cork had deposited the enormous sum of nearly 200,000*l.* in the bank, and that the average of the deposits of these small farmers was 34*l.* a head. The cost of a whole year's living to one of these small farmers is not above 30*l.*, so that *famine* to them in a period of four or five months is out of the question. I obtained the same information at Mallow, at Wexford, and at Kilkenny.* But it is the labourers and con-acre tenants who will be wretchedly off if their food fails them. This class is always on the verge of starvation, and a failure in their potato crop is a dreadful thing to them. But the class is not alarmingly numerous, for the majority of farms are from five to ten acres, and farms of this size the tenant himself cultivates without labourers; and it is small farmers of this class that form the bulk of the population in Ireland. It is true they live on potatoes, and in wretched cabins; but most of them, by dint of hard saving, have got a little money—some 20*l.* or 30*l.*, either in the savings bank or in a hole in their thatch, or lent out at usury—a fact which they are most careful to conceal.† And we ought to pause before we tax the hard-working people of England, who have suffered the same calamity, to relieve these men.

But, assuming the necessity for relief to Ireland to be proved, it is an immediate necessity. Labour must be given to the people to enable them with its price to purchase food. The question then arises, what is the best labour to give? Can there be a doubt about it? That labour which shall be continuous—for continuous labour will make the labourer well off—and that labour which is calculated to repay the out-

* See *ante*, pp. 468, 494.

† See *ante*, pp. 467, 468.

lay spent upon it, and to open up the resources of the country. Is the making of railways in Ireland that labour? I very much doubt it. In the present state of Ireland, with the exception of one or two great trunk lines, it is impossible that railways can pay there. Capital would therefore be sunk in them without realising any benefit beyond the labour given in their construction; and this labour would be but temporary, leaving the labourers at its conclusion in their former misery, to repeat their oft-told tale of Irish distress. But there are 3,000,000 of acres of reclaimable waste lands and bogs in Ireland, the reclamation of which would not only give vast employment, but would pay 7 per cent. on the investment of capital, as the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society have proved by their profits.* And the land thus reclaimed would give permanent labour and occupation to all the surplus labour of the country many times over.

Again, there are great works which would immensely benefit the country, and which the State as a Government ought to see to, as from the want of enterprise and apathy of the people they will never otherwise be completed. A canal of four miles from the lower part of Lough Erne at Belleek to Ballyshannon would open out a navigable water communication from sea to sea across the whole country—from Belfast on one side to Ballyshannon on the other. This would necessarily afford means of getting to markets with produce cheaply, and means of obtaining manure cheaply. This would promote industry, increase the produce of the soil, and necessarily increase wealth, and in doing so tend to remove some subjects of Irish complaints. From Sligo across Lough Gill to Lough Allen, a ten miles canal would open the whole interior of the country to the sea at Sligo at one end, and to the sea at Kerry, at the mouth

* See note, *ante*, p. 225.

of the Shannon, at the other, with of course the same benefits.*

The western coast swarms with fish. If the people catch the fish, it is food and wealth for them. They are timid and lazy fishermen; but they have an excuse that they dare not put to sea unless the weather is calm. Take away their excuse, and build them places of refuge to run to. This the State ought to do; and this will at once stop the cries of starvation from Donegal, Mayo, Sligo, Galway, Clare, Kerry, and the west of Cork; for the people are always the most miserably off on the sea-coasts of those counties. Loughs Neagh, Erne, Mask, Corrib, and Allen, all rise in winter much higher than their summer levels, and in doing so, flood and render many thousand acres of rich land swamp. Scientific drainage would keep them at their summer level, and render their margin swamps productive.† These waste

* A canal of three miles would also open the navigation of Loughs Corrib and Mask to the sea at Galway, and, in doing so, open the market of Galway and the advantages of its port for fifty miles into the interior of Connemara. See *ante*, p. 293.

† “ 94. Have you any suggestions of any measures of improvements in the law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland, and in respect to the county cess and other burdens falling respectively on landlords and occupying tenants, which, having due regard to the rights of property, may be calculated to encourage the cultivation of the soil, to extend a better system of agriculture, and to improve the relation between landlord and tenant?—No, not much. I have mentioned before, that I think it would be a very great advantage to collect the county cess in one gale, instead of the inconvenient season of summer. With reference to local matters, one of the greatest things would be to get rid of the inundations you have passed by to-day. Bringing it to your consideration, as connected with a general system of drainage, if we could get Lough Neagh lowered, it would be a vast advantage to this part of the country; it would throw a great many thousand acres into grain cultivation, many of which are useless entirely, or only fit for indifferent meadow, or very coarse pasture. I have already mentioned, that distress for rent might be done away with, if you give the setting party a more prompt remedy for getting his own back again. It is hardly credible the instances of chicanery, and all that kind of thing, to which under-tenants in this country resort, in order to baffle the landlord off for half a year, and take the chance, whether, at the end of that they cannot do it again a second time, they are so amazingly fond of law.”—*Evidence of Mr. Blacker, Part I. of the Evidence taken before the Land Commissioners*, p. 459.

acres would give employment and produce wealth, and there would be fewer fevers to complain of. Vast tracts of land in Roscommon are a swamp. Draining would make them rich and fertile lands ; would give employment and produce wealth ; and, if along with this employment the people were properly instructed in the business whereby they live—in agriculture,—they would double their produce, and, of course, their wealth, and this would be another means of putting an end to the Irish cry about distress.

Measures like these would permanently improve the condition of the people. Employment on railways will only put off the evil day, which will again shortly recur, and more hopelessly than ever, because the capital which before aided them will then be locked up and sunk in railways, which at best are uncertain of being successful.

Pass measures for facilitating the transfer of embarrassed and overgrown estates, and private capitalists will be let into the country, who themselves will confer many of these social benefits, will urge the people on to *labour*, and will teach them *how to labour* ; their labour will diffuse wealth, and with that diffused wealth there is an end to Irish distress. But without industry, and knowledge, and enterprise, Ireland will always remain what she has ever been—a miserable country, subject to periodical famines. Industry, and enterprise, and knowledge, are then the qualities to encourage and to give, to put an end to Irish distress.*

It is to be hoped that the motion of the honourable and

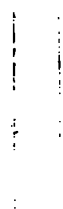
* It is said that an amendment of the franchise and increased political liberty will remedy the evils of Ireland. I do not think these questions, however just or expedient in themselves they may or may not be, have anything to do with the matter. M. Beaumont justly observes :—"The poverty of Ireland did not vanish as its liberties were consolidated and increased. On the contrary, it would seem that, as the Irishman acquired political rights, his social misery was increased in the same proportion. It is certain that Irishmen have never been so free as at the present moment ; and it is equally certain that they have never been so miserable." —*M. Beaumont's Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious*. Vol. ii. p. 51.

learned member for Cork will do good by drawing attention to these subjects. No one can in this case doubt his perfect sincerity ; and no man in Ireland has a more unshackled opportunity of proving that sincerity : for, whether the evil be living in hovels with but one room, whether it be the incubus of *middlemen*, whether it be want of knowledge of agriculture, whether it be waste lands or unprofitable bogs, or whether it be household dunghills without number, which generate fever—on any, on each, and on all these evils the honourable and learned member may commence amendment on his own estate and middleman-tenure at Derrynane and its neighbourhood. Apologising for the length of this letter,

I have the honour to remain, sir, faithfully yours,

YOUR LATE COMMISSIONER IN IRELAND.

The Temple, Feb. 25.



APPENDIX.

I.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.*

Referred to in page 26.

(From the *Cork Southern Reporter*.)

The Times has sent its Commissioner into Ireland to revive that *caput mortuum*, the Land Commissioners' report. We augur great utility from the arrival of this Commissioner. We trust he will be rigidly impartial. From what we have seen of *The Times'* strictures on Irish agricultural affairs, its representative will act with fearless candour, and give a faithful picture of the society into which he enters. The wish we expressed some time ago, when we saw the mismanagement in the Scottish Highlands fully and feelingly laid bare, is gratified. The expositor has come amongst us. He is one we believe competent for his task. He writes, we perceive, fluently—readably—we give his first specimen. He thinks, if not profoundly, certainly not superficially. He has set about probing our wounds, and will report upon the seat of the disease, suggesting, in due time, a medicament, or leaving it to *The Times* to compound one out of the materials he supplies. There is one danger—that he may mislead his employers, because he may be himself misled. There is an old practice in this country of earwiggling the stranger. Travellers and tourists have been crammed with marvellous stories. No sooner do they set foot upon our shore than they are smoked. Their guides humbug them, their acquaintances mystify them. Wonderful are the things they are told, and the things they are not told, but see assume a complexion in accordance with the colouring with which the seer's thoughts were tinged. A thousand pitfalls are before

* These opinions of the Newspaper Press are appended to shew the tone and general feeling with which the public received the publication of these letters.

The Times' Commissioner. He cannot face to the north, or east, or west, or south without treading among them. Unless he has the cap of Fortunatus, or the ring of Gyges, and can make himself invisible, he will be watched and circumvented. We are bound to suppose he is as qualified as any educated Englishman to search and see—that his eyes are as open and his intellects as sharp—that, in a word, he is no *gobemouche*; but to do well what he is to do he must be more than ordinarily gifted; have a lynx's eyes and the heart of Aristides. Well, perhaps this is too much to expect from any one. He must, then, at least, be on his guard—eschew landlords and tenants as infallible informants—keep prudently aloof from middlemen—beware of guides and gossips—shun the “leprous distilments” of the Orange squirearchy, and receive *cum grano* all he hears of the mysterious and immortal Mollys. We presume he has already a lively distrust of the “state of the country” journals. *The Times* does not swallow all they say, seldom does it afford a niche for the enshrinement of their exquisite little figures, nor, we must allow, does it open a bazaar for manufactured murders, robberies, and burnings. If the Commissioner, therefore, acts as that journal acts in this particular, we can predicate utility from his arrival, and the gathering of some wholesome fruit at the termination of his tour.

The dropping of a thunderbolt in any given spot causes some commotion—either a mark is left, or the passenger is singed. The Commissioner promises fairly to be the living thunderbolt of the north, not to speak yet of any other point. As sure as fate, he will leave his mark behind him. That's what he was sent for. He is *comme il faut* of course at the work. He will put his soul in it. He has come to test—to sift the blue ledgers whose “ponderosity” has overwhelmed the press, even with the prop of supplements. We shall have new notes and new readings, another appendix, and fresh annotations. *The Times'* edition of Lord Devon will be the standard work. We are heartily glad of the new commentator. The Devon facts, heavy and cold, and clogged together like a snowball, will be separated into flakes, and blown abroad. A puff from *The Times* has the strength of a nor-wester.

The Commissioner is as safe from harm as if he had the skin of Achilles. He dreads no personal consequences, and he need not. He will act impartially. His responsibilities alone alarm him. He has an oppressive sense of their weight. Let us give him comfort.

Let him "tell truth, and shame the ——." That 's all he has to do, and 'tis just the thing he ought to do. Will he do it? Oh! certainly. He would not be promoted by *The Times* if he were not a man of honour and understanding. He dare not compromise the Home-office. He will be cautious of his facts, and prepared to substantiate them all, in Parliament or out. He may anticipate—*The Times* does for him—desperate objurgation. Already does the "leading journal" hear the buzzing round its ears, and already are denials, letters, plump contradictions—bitter rejoinders dancing up and down before its vision:—"Man puts up to man. Our Commissioner will have his enemies—discussion is necessary to the discovery and improvement of the truth. In a nation of offenders all sinning either one way or the other, nearly all more or less compromised in sudden murder, or slow but no less deadly oppression, a 'chiel amang them taking notes' will be a lively provocation." Not a doubt of it. The Commissioner must thrust his hand into the hornet's nest, and they'll sting it, if 'tis not as hard as horn. Suppose he attempts to deny that the Mollys are desperate rascals—Thugs; suppose he ventures to blame the landlords, and to say their rents are rather high, and their rule oppressive, won't he "get it" from the Orange organs? They'll be on him in a swarm, and then *The Times* comes to the rescue. It will be a pretty quarrel, doubtless. What *The Times* has in strength will be made up in numbers on the other side—the provincial Orange press against the thunderer—the minnows against the Triton—all Lilliput against Gulliver.*

From this it may be concluded that we expect the Commissioner will take part with the people. We take it for granted he is resolved to tell the truth—that he will not be hoodwinked or bamboozled. Now, if the case be so, he must be with the people, though his first communication is not symptomatic of any partiality in their favour.

* The reading of this extract from the *Cork Southern Reporter* has given me much amusement; for it forcibly exemplifies the state of Irish partisanship. "Let him tell the truth and shame the ——," says this paper. I did so of Mr. O'Connell. "He will be cautious of his facts, and prepared to substantiate them," says the paper. I was so; and did substantiate my facts regarding Mr. O'Connell. But, because "I told the truth and shamed the ——," this very paper was one of the first with a "plump contradiction." It was one of the swarm "that attempted to "sting" me, though not an Orange swarm; and "all Lilliput" failed.

(From the *Freeman's Journal*.)

We republish to-day from *The Times* the second letter of their Commissioner, deputed to inquire and report for that journal on no less a matter than the condition of Ireland, her diseases and their remedies.

'T were easy to be flippant upon a newspaper undertaking a task which belongs to a Legislature, and to which the whole power and weight of a Legislature does not seem disproportioned; but the Legislature to which this matter at present belongs performs its duty in this respect so woefully that we know no hands so puny—provided only they were tolerably honest—to which the task might not with great advantage to Ireland be transferred. We are, therefore, disposed to view with satisfaction, and with some sense of obligation, the spirit that has prompted the proprietors of *The Times* to despatch a special correspondent to study the social condition of this country. The correspondent sent over here is plainly a man of ability. His present letter sufficiently vouches for that. We also fully believe him to be determined to do his duty in all honesty. We have reason to believe that the gentleman now acting for *The Times*, in Ireland, is the same who acted for that paper, with so much credit to himself and that journal, in Wales and in Scotland. That he will be able to avoid all the pits of false information that will yawn for him here would be very difficult to expect; still more hard would it be to hope that, as regards the remedies immediately applicable to our social state, he could wholly divest himself of his stock of ready thoughts derived from the machinery of English society, and be able, in a few months' acquaintance with this country, to conceive fully and accurately the best, the happiest, and the most congenial means which the existing condition of Irish society furnishes for the promotion of its own regeneration. This is just the thing for which we want a native Legislature. Many errors—in fact, many notions—transferred in the lump from England to here, and, therefore, preposterously out of place, we are prepared to meet with in his letters, but from what the public already know of the gentleman who will write them, even at the cost of making it more difficult for ourselves hereafter to controvert his future errors, we will say that we do expect in the main able work and an honest purpose.

The present letter does not, as yet, go far into the subject. It has, in fact, only arrived at the question, "How are the people to be

employed?"—that is, how is universal hope, industry, and wealth, to take the place of universal discouragement, lethargy, and poverty?—for "employment" means all this. The letter does not even glance at the solution: it barely states the problem which is needed to be solved. There is slightly apparent in it a disposition to pause in arriving at the announcement of the very simple postulate, that what Ireland wants is employment for her population, and to rest upon this as if some way were already made towards solving the great question as to the mode of her regeneration. Were this disposition more decidedly evident in the letter, we should cease to hope that *The Times'* Commissioner would succeed even in exciting a useful discussion; but where there is an able hand and a straightforward purpose at work we have no wish to descry afar off any evidence of ultimate failure. This letter contains many evidences calculated to suggest the opposite hope. It fairly states the present condition of the people with respect to the land. It ably, and with a clearness and amplitude of deduction that cannot fail to carry irresistible weight with the English people, to which it is submitted, gathers under one general character the whole mass of discontent which from time to time, and from place to place, has broken out in outrage under divers names, but always under the pressure of one necessity—the necessity of clinging to the only plank that keeps peasant life afloat in Ireland—land. The writer has without passion—for he is a stranger—but with great force, suggested the true moral character of those sweeping "clearings" by which the lives of the unhappy people have been ruthlessly sacrificed, and few thinking men will peruse his letter without deducing from it that the history of the wholesale ejections and the retaliatory bloodsheddings of Ireland is simply a history of multitudinous manslaughter, partially arrested by occasional murder.

The great question is, What is the remedy? It is not answered by saying, "Employ the people," and we hope the Commissioner does not think it is. The question is, How is the employment to be brought about? The answer *we* would give is well known. The Commissioner has arrived at the *question*, we shall look with much interest to see how he proceeds with the answer.

APPENDIX II.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

*Referred to in page 41.**(From the Dublin Pilot.)*

We publish this evening two most valuable letters from the special correspondent of the *London Times*, dated from the scene of the late agrarian disturbances. The Monarch of the Press is assuming the functions of the Legislature, and sends its own Commissioner to enlighten the world upon the state of this unfortunate country, lately visited by a roving commission, whose ponderous blue book of crime and sorrow is not within the reach of one in 10,000 of the inhabitants of Britain. We had long been in hopes of the advent of an impartial Englishman, who would, without fear or favour, lay before the eyes of the world the miseries of our suffering people. When we saw legislative measures founded upon the admirable essays upon the state of Wales during the Rebecca Riots published in *The Times*, and beheld the grinding Highland laird, and more exalted tyrants, wince beneath the lash of well-told and honest truth, we suggested the expediency of a visit of the same gentleman to our shores. He has come at length; and, as will be seen from the letters which we insert, he is pursuing the same bold, manful, honest, and truthful course which directed so much attention to his former communications. We must avow that, much as we detest the politics of *The Times*, which once, in its harshness, called the Irish people "a filthy and felonious rabble," it deserves honour for thus letting their true condition be known to the step-sister country. It has ever stood up for the poor of England and Scotland; it is now turning its regards towards Ireland, and we pray it God speed in its noble exertions. We are much mistaken if the able Commissioner of *The Times* will not prove to demonstration (indeed, he cannot help doing so) that the crimes of the "filthy and felonious" Irish are excited by oppression, and that their consequences lie at the doors of bad landlords and heartless agents, who are the makers of the filth, and the sub-owners of the felony.

The reclamations of the Irish press against landlord oppression

were comparatively useless, because unheeded and uncopied in the country where their publicity would be calculated to do good. The people of England cannot now plead a want of knowledge of the dreadful condition of the agricultural population of Ireland, and, if a strong demand for justice do not arise beyond the Channel, we shall at least have the satisfaction of depriving enmity or apathy of the excuse of ignorance, and of showing up our neighbours as regardless of our wrongs. We are happy, then, to bid welcome to this ambassador of benevolence, who is so successfully depriving our rulers of the slightest excuse for not daring to be just to the trampled poor of the United Kingdom. We would wish to see this gentleman in office.*

(From the *Freeman's Journal*.)

We publish to-day, from *The Times* of Tuesday, the third letter of the Irish "Commissioner" of that journal. We, yesterday, expressed some apprehension lest the writer should content himself with the discovery that "the want of employment" was the root of all the social evils of Ireland. It appears we were too sensitive, when we feared that this gentleman was likely to content himself with finding the mare's nest, which has usually proved the *ultima Thule* of English explorers into the origin of the social evils of Ireland. This gentleman does not stop short, but proceeds to inquire why it is that our labouring people, indeed all classes of our people, languish for want of employment. This investigation is commenced in the present letter. We are bound to say that it is pursued with a perfect freedom from bigotry, national or religious, and there is evinced a fearless honesty of purpose such as we anticipated from the writer of the well-known reports on the condition of the people in the disturbed and distressed districts of Wales and Scotland. There is a ready power, too, in mastering his subject evinced by the Commissioner, which, whatever may be his natural ability, would scarcely

* It is unnecessary for me to say, as my letters show it, that I don't entirely concur in the opinions of this extract. No newspaper, however, has shown more rancorous hostility to my mission, the moment I began to exhibit *one* bad landlord in his true colours, and to point out the evils of mischievous agitation, than this same newspaper—*The Pilot*.

have become thus quickly available in a state of society so unfamiliar to Englishmen as that of Ireland, had not his previous labours in Wales and Scotland familiarised him with the general types of disease which might be looked for in our deeply disordered community. Between the condition of society in the parts of Sutherland which the gentleman inspected in the early part of the present year, and the condition of society in Ireland, there exists a similarity with which we were greatly struck, when we read some weeks ago his reports from that part of Scotland. To this resemblance we may take some future occasion to draw the attention of our readers. We cannot help believing that the familiarity acquired in his Scottish inquiries with evils so much resembling what prevail in this country, has greatly aided the ready conception with which the writer has apprehended the nature of the disease under which the agricultural industry of Ireland perishes.

We cannot but rejoice that in the columns of a paper of so much influence, and commanding so wide a circulation as *The Times*, some wholesome views of the condition of the Irish peasant farmers are likely to be laid before the English public. The English public has it now on authority much more intelligible, and certainly not less credible, than the blue books of commissioners, that "if these peasant farmers industriously exert themselves for the improvement of their farms, the reward of that industry is not secured to them, but is taken from them"—that such are the relations subsisting between landlord and tenant in Ireland, that industry bears no fruits to the man who is expected to be industrious, and that the agricultural resources of the country are undeveloped, because the landlord makes no improvements, and the tenant having no security—but all the contrary—that if he made them he would be permitted to enjoy the benefit of them, "acts practically up to the adage, 'it is better to play for nothing than to work for nothing.'"

We commend the present valuable letter to the attention of our readers. It is a most able exposition of the views it undertakes to enunciate. The commencement of it is elaborate, and to our Irish readers may seem, for a subject which to them is so plain, unnecessarily scientific. But we beg them to read on; they cannot fail to be gratified with the clearness of the views thus laid open to English readers, in a way that English readers love to get at them; and they must feel with us the deepest satisfaction that the British public can no longer be at a loss for what we Irish mean by "fixity

of tenure," or wherefore it is that we demand it for the tenantry of our country. We shall expect with great interest the full development of this writer's views.

(From the *Dublin Warder*.)

We have read the letters of *The Times'* Commissioner with attention and with pleasure. They exhibit an industrious and accurate command of statistics, which are handled with ease and aptitude—much care and sagacity—and, above all, a hesitation to attribute blame—an absence of all tendency to one-sidedness—of all disposition to make a class report, or to sustain a pre-adopted theory at the expense of fair statement—all which argues a truly liberal and statesmanlike mind, and a spirit of honesty worthy of the solemnity of the undertaking, and which we hold to be the more commendable in *The Times*, inasmuch as that journal, and at no very distant period, discharged a series of articles against the landlords of Ireland, upon which we felt bound to comment as false in theory, most bitter in execution, and mischievous in effect. In the letters of which we at present speak there is no repetition of such doctrines—not an attempt even to insinuate a sly suggestion in support of the old editorial tirades. The landlords are no more criminated than the priests or the peasantry themselves.

(From the usual *Irish Correspondence of The Times*.)

You have already had some evidence of the attention which the Irish press has given to the letters of *The Times'* Commissioner, and of the impression which his communications are making upon the public mind. His labours have, however, attracted notice in other quarters, and were made the subject of a special resolution, which was carried, of course, *nem. con.* at the last weekly meeting of the Dublin Protestant Association, the Rev. Thresham Dames Gregg and Dr. Hyndman being the mover and seconder. It is to the following effect:—

"That having heard that a correspondent from *The Times* has been employed by that journal to communicate through its columns to the public on the subject of the evils of Ireland and their remedies, we hereby record it as our opinion, that no matter how great the talent, learning, or worldly wisdom of an individual may be, he cannot understand the case of Ireland, the true nature of its evils, their cause, and their remedy, if he do not view them in the light of Scripture."

(From *The London Satirist*, August 31st.)

This is not the first time *The Times* has done the State some service by the reports of its "Commissioner." Everybody remembers how soon "Rebecca" was brought to reason when *The Times* took her in hand; and how quickly her tender sympathies and better feelings were awakened when once the grinding nuisance of turnpikes was fairly revealed in the columns of the leading journal.

Much more recently *The Times* has made the world acquainted with the miseries endured in the Highlands of Scotland. We are now acquainted with the munificent donations of Scotch lairds and heritors towards the support of the poor; the "clearing process," too, by which vast tracts are depopulated, save and except a few shepherds, with a view to the better breeding of sheep; mutton being deemed of more consequence than the human stock which might be reared.

That O'Connell will regard the mission of *The Times* with much favour we do not anticipate. We are not romantic enough to imagine that the "Commissioner" will become a convert to the necessity of "Repeal;" and if he does not, we can guess what sort of eye will be cast upon him by the despot of Derrynane. Between the Liberator and the "Commissioner" there will be no great love lost. The panacea of O'Connell is very different to anything that will probably be recommended by the ambassador of *The Times*; and that vigour of agitation, backed by the extraction of shillings, which is so strenuously urged by the former, is not likely to be included among the curative remedies likely, in the opinion of the "Commissioner," to regenerate Ireland.

Now, as to what the "Commissioner" has done. First, however, be it said he has not made any surprising discovery on the subject of Irish misery. He broaches no new doctrine, no cardinal remedy for centuries of wrong, no novel means of cure. He does not seem to think the evil lies with O'Connell, the devil, or the Pope. He indulges in no "young Ireland" poetical flourishes, but plainly and prosaically traces the evil to the want of employment; the lack of employment to the want of a motive for productive labour; this last, again, to the care taken by middlemen and landlords that the tillers of the soil shall by possibility get nothing beyond a bare and miserable subsistence for their toil. He points out the general refusal of the landlords, chiefly from political motives, to grant leases at fair rents, so as to secure the reward of the tenant for his labour,

as a monster grievance demanding removal—at the same time that the absence of manufactures, and other means of employment, induces a grinding competition for land as the only means, bad as they are, by which the population can live at all. Lastly, he views outrages of all kinds, Ribbonism, Whitefetter, and Blackfeet murders, and even repeal itself, as symptoms only of the general disease, and destined to disappear when this is cured, and not till then.

Such seems to be the substance of the “Commissioner’s” conclusions at present. The discussion of suitable remedies is yet to come—albeit, they are pretty forcibly glanced at in describing the disease. One principle, indeed, might be laid down as tolerably safe. Undo all that has been done, and it would hardly be possible to make a mistake. Too clear is it that in Ireland whatever is, is *wrong*. If, therefore, landlords, parsons, priests, magistrates, Orangemen, and Repealers, did just the reverse of what they do now, some hope might be entertained of the nation coming right at last. Everybody seems to have done their worst, as the results show: we should, consequently, gladly see what a total change would effect. But the great fact remains, that nobody has the power to force their neighbours to act better for the future, and they take good care not to begin themselves.

APPENDIX III.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Referred to in page 61.

(From the *Freeman’s Journal*.)

We publish elsewhere a fourth letter of *The Times’* Commissioner on the condition of Ireland. The Commissioner has passed from Leitrim into the county of Fermanagh, and is struck by an appearance of better cultivation, and a more comfortable peasantry, as he passes into Ulster. He seeks a cause for this. He forgets that abundant cause for it is patent in the principles he himself has enunciated in his earlier letters, taken in connexion with well-known facts regarding Ulster. With these facts we are sure his head is stored—for he has evidently been studying the evidence taken before

the Land Commissioners. *The tenantry of Ulster have a secure tenure of their land.* The custom of "*tenant right*" prevails in that county of Fermanagh, with whose superior condition the Commissioner is struck, giving the tenantry something infinitely better even than those "*leases*" which he has pronounced to be the practical remedy for that insecurity of tenure under which he has so justly represented industry as perishing in the other parts of the country that he has visited. If the men of Leitrim were industrious, the fruits of their industry would not be their own—the Commissioner has told us so—and he has indicated the true remedy—to secure their industry by giving them *leases* of their farms. The men of Fermanagh *have* this security, and more than this, for their tenant-right is not terminable like a lease, but its nature is to endure for ever.* Is it strange, then, that the Commissioner observes a difference as he passes into a county where his own remedy has been for ages in practical operation. No; but it *is* strange, and passing strange, that instead of observing and commenting on this happy working of the remedy whose application he deemed advisable elsewhere, he *bolts* and rides off upon mad national bigotry, for freedom from which we have hitherto been giving him credit. "Here," says the Commissioner, "we see the operation of the superior breed—the descendants of the Scotch and English settlers of Ulster—vindicate their blood, and tower above the inferior Celtic race!" If the Commissioner has hitherto mortified himself by repressing his national antipathies and conceits, he now seems disposed to make himself ample amends, and take a fling of the most ludicrous indulgence. His national complacency knows no bounds; it extravasates even into boastings of physical superiority, and he proclaims that the Saxon race out-top the Celtic by full six inches of stature! You Scotch and French philosophers, who, by the most extended deductions have found the Irish Celts to be in strength and stature far away the first of European men, hide your diminished heads before this observer of a day? We really regret that the Commissioner has suffered this national delirium to overcome him, just at the moment when his otherwise sound sense might have found the strongest confirmation in fact of its previous reasonings. May we hope that the mono-

* See the letter dated Dunfanaghy, as to the system of tenant-right. The tenant-right prevails amongst the native Irish to the west of Donegal; and no people are more wretched.

mania of his country will be content with this one outbreak, that reason will take sway again, that he will once more discharge himself of these odious national antipathies, and resume the unclouded feelings, under the influence of which he wrote his earlier letters.*

APPENDIX IV.

Referred to in page 73.

From the evidence of the Right Hon. the Earl of Mountcashel, given at Fermoy, in the county of Cork, before the Land Commissioners of Inquiry (Appendix, Part III. page 148), on the proportion which rent should bear to the produce of the land.

"20. What proportion, in your opinion, should the rent bear to the produce of the land?—I am exceedingly glad I have been asked this question, as it enables me to bring before you a plan which I have taken a great deal of trouble about, which I have found to be very useful upon my own property, and which I think is very applicable to the whole of Ireland. I will, with your permission, explain my plan. I was long anxious to form some general plan by which land could be fairly valued, so that the landlord would get what I considered his right, and at the same time enable the tenant not to be too hardly pressed; accordingly, after making a great number of inquiries, not trusting so much to my own opinions, and reflecting upon the subject, I drew out the plan which I hold in my hand. This is a calculation to prove what is the fair valuation of land in Ireland—the amount of the produce, and the fair price of such produce—for the value of all land must depend upon the amount of agricultural produce which the land is capable of giving, and at the same time the average prices which that produce will fetch. Before I state this plan I must, however, say, that it is not applicable to every kind of land, there are some few exceptions, and the exceptions are these:—the value of town fields and building ground is, for obvious reasons, left out of this calculation, as also the value of waste and mountain land, which not only depends upon quality but locality, and particularly its

* This is simply an ebullition of wounded national vanity, which one may easily bear with. The simple truth is a sufficient answer to it. I thought it right to copy this extract, as it embodies the feelings of very many of the Irish population. Those feelings I should be sorry either to wound or to ridicule unjustly. Writers on Ireland have for the most part been Irishmen, and many of them have written such bombastic stuff, and have taken such distorted views of their country, that Irishmen are apt to be offended at that which they *know* to be the truth only.

proximity to manure. Taking the average rotation of crops into account, an average value of the produce is thus struck, three-fourths of which ought to belong to the tenant for profit, taxes, and expense of cultivation, and one-fourth is the fair rent a landlord is entitled to receive. Now, before I go further, I may be allowed to explain myself. I first formed this notion many years ago upon reading Adam Smith's work upon the 'Wealth of Nations.' He lays down a rule for ascertaining the value of land, and he divides the value of the produce into three parts; he says one-third should go for the rent to the landlord, and the other two-thirds to the tenant for his remuneration and expense; however, more modern writers on political economy have found that this division was not a fair one towards the tenant, because since the time of Adam Smith, the taxes and charges of various kinds have increased materially, and more modern writers have therefore divided the produce into four parts; they have laid down that one-fourth ought to be the amount which should go to the landlord for rent. I accordingly adopt that plan, as laid down by modern writers on political economy, and the plan I hold in my hand is framed upon that principle. Three-fourths of the produce ought to belong to the tenant for profit, taxes, and expense of cultivation, and one-fourth is the fair rent a landlord is entitled to receive. Now, having laid this down, I have worked it out, and I have given some examples to show that it will answer the purpose not only for this county or any particular estate, but the whole of Ireland. I suppose that the land will produce a rotation of three crops; I commence with potatoes, and have taken wheat for the second year, and for the third year I take oats, I then divide the land into various qualities. I have taken No. 1 as being the very richest of our land, then No. 2 as being something inferior, and No. 3 as something inferior to that. I have given six examples; but the commissioners will recollect that although I have only given six, those six will not apply to every quality of land, there will be intermediate qualities of land: but if I prove the principle to be good, it is very easy to adapt it to any quality of land which may produce something more or something less. The whole principle is to ascertain what is an acre of land in the country capable of producing for three years in succession, and then taking the average price of such produce, and that is what I have worked out upon this plan. The first year (potatoes) the produce will be at least sixty barrels, or eight tons eight hundredweight three quarters. I am speaking of the statute acre. There is some land that will produce eighty barrels, but I do not go to that extent. Then I take each barrel (which is our measure here) at an average price of 4s. per barrel; that would produce at the rate of

12*l.* an acre for the first year. Then I take the second year—wheat to follow the potatoes—and I suppose eight barrels to be the produce, which, upon the best inquiry I can make, I have ascertained to be the average produce, which is equal to thirty-seven bushels and twenty pounds; this I take at the average price of 25*s.* per barrel, which would make the produce of the crop amount to 10*l.* I then take the third year, a crop of oats, which I estimate will produce ten barrels or fifty-one bushels and twenty-two pounds, which, taken at the price of 8*s.* per barrel, the average price, will make 4*l.* Then, having got those three years' crops, I add them together, and it makes a total of 26*l.* in the three years. I divide it by three in order to get the average amount, which will be 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* I then divide by four, in order to get the fourth part, and the fourth part will be 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* And that I say ought to be the rent for the first class land, leaving three-fourths to the tenant. I then work this in a similar way upon the next quality of land, and bring out as the rent 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*; for the third quality 1*l.* 9*s.*; the fourth quality 1*l.* 2*s.* 5½*d.*; the fifth quality 13*s.* 7*d.*; and the sixth quality 7*s.* 10*d.* per acre. I have stated before that there may be intermediate land, but if the principle is a right one, it is a principle by which you may ascertain the value of any land, and what ought to be paid as a fair rent for it.

His lordship delivered in the following paper :—

No. 1.

	£	s.	d.
1st year, potatoes, 60 barrels (8 tons 8 cwt. 3 qrs.) at 4 <i>s.</i> per barrel	12	0	0
2nd year, wheat, 8 barrels (37 bushels 20 lbs.) at 25 <i>s.</i> do.	10	0	0
3rd year, oats, 10 barrels (51 bushels 22 lbs.) at 8 <i>s.</i> do.	4	0	0
	3)	26	0 0
	4)	8	13 4
Rent per acre	.	2	3 4

No. 2.

	£	s.	d.
1st year, potatoes, 60 barrels (8 tons 8 cwt. 3 qrs.) at 4 <i>s.</i> per barrel	12	0	0
2nd year, wheat, 6 barrels (28 bushels) at 25 <i>s.</i> do.	7	10	0
3rd year, oats, 9 barrels (46 bushels 16 lbs.) at 8 <i>s.</i> do.	3	12	0
	3)	23	2 0
	4)	7	14 0
Rent per acre	.	1	18 6

No. 3.	£	s.	d.
1st year, potatoes, 50 barrels (7 tons 2 qrs. 14 lbs.) at 3s. 6d. per bar.	8	15	0
2nd year, wheat, 5 barrels (23 bushels 20 lbs. at 25s.) do.	6	5	0
3rd year, oats, 6 barrels (30 bushels 36 lbs.) at 8s. do.	2	8	0

3) 17 8 0

4) 5 16 0

Rent per acre . 1 9 0

No. 4.	£	s.	d.
1st year, potatoes, 40 barrels (5 tons 12 cwt. 2 qrs.) at 3s. 6d. per bar.	7	0	0
2nd year, wheat, 4 barrels (18 bushels 40 lbs.) at 23s. do.	4	12	0
3rd year, oats, 5 barrels (25 bushels 30 lbs.) at 7s. 6d. do.	1	17	6

3) 13 9 6

4) 4 9 10

Rent per acre . 1 2 5½

No. 5.	£	s.	d.
1st year, potatoes, 30 barrels (4 tons 4 cwt. 1 qr. 14 lbs.) at 3s. 6d. per barrel	5	5	0
2nd year, oats, 4 barrels (20 bushels 24 lbs.) at 7s. per barrel	1	8	0
3rd year, grass, to fatten three sheep	1	10	0

3) 8 3 0

4) 2 14 4

Rent per acre . 0 13 7

No. 6.	£	s.	d.
1st year, potatoes, 20 barrels (2 tons 16 cwt. 1 qr.) at 3s. per barrel	3	0	0
2nd year, oats, 3 barrels (15 bushels 18 lbs.) at 6s. do.	0	18	0
3rd year, grass, to fatten two sheep	0	16	0

3) 4 14 0

4) 1 11 4

Rent per acre . 0 7 10

I have tried this upon my own estate. If a tenant of mine comes to me and says he has his land too high, I immediately say, "Very well, I shall try it according to my own plan, and if you can show me that you have your land higher than that, and that you have not three-fourths of the produce for yourself, I am willing to lower it;" and I proceed to try it in that way, and I find I can satisfy the tenant, and I am satisfied myself, and great good results from it, because anything that can satisfy

tenant and the landlord, does a great deal of good in Ireland, and takes away a great deal of the cause of that discontent and division which we are desirous of putting an end to."

APPENDIX V.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Referred to in page 97.

(From the *Dublin Evening Packet*.)

Having lately had occasion to speak in terms by no means complimentary of the gentleman sent over to Ireland by the proprietors of *The Times*,—having, in short, exposed his ignorance on certain points with which he ought to have made himself acquainted before he wrote,*—we have now much pleasure in rendering him an act of justice. His last communication, transmitted from Donegal, deals principally with facts, and is, in many respects, an important one, showing what advantages might be derived by the peasant farmer from a judicious but very simple method of improving the soil.

The remarks with which the "Commissioner" concludes his letter are so pertinent to the subject under consideration, and contain so much plain but sound sense, that we willingly give them a place, notwithstanding the great pressure on our columns.

APPENDIX VI.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Referred to in page 113.

(From the *Belfast Northern Whig*.)

The Times, as our readers are aware, has sent over a "Commissioner" of its own to report upon the condition of the Irish people; and he, unlike other commissioners, reports from week to week directly to the public. He is evidently a gentleman of energy and ability; and we have no reason to doubt his anxiety to discharge fairly the duty which he has undertaken. There has been a disposition to carp and sneer at this Commissioner: but, for ourselves, we are ready to regard his labours in a far different spirit.

* These "points" were stating the town of Kells to be in Cavan, instead of near Cavan, it being about six miles from that county. See note, *ante*, page 24.

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Whatever we may think of the political character of *The Times*, it is due to that mighty journal to acknowledge, that, as the advocate of the poor, it is deserving of honour. We do not agree at all times with its mode of advocacy ; but it is clearly entitled to the high credit of making the rights of the poor paramount over all other considerations. We remember when some of the French journals, wishing to turn aside the force of some statements which it had published, taunted it as the journal of the lowest, the humblest, the poorest classes in England, instead of denying the charge, it very frankly acknowledged the truth of the imputation, and boasted of it. Last year, when the people of Wales were oppressed, *The Times* sent down its Commissioner; and it was, we believe, mainly owing to his representations and exposures of the grievances complained of, that the Government were induced to interpose. We are glad that Ireland is now the scene of his labours. He may not be able to produce much that is new ; but it is of no slight importance that the case of Ireland should be brought forward by an able and intelligent man, through a channel which must give the details great prominence and weight before the public. We this day publish an exceedingly interesting letter, in which the Commissioner gives a sketch of the state of the population in a district of the county of Donegal. The picture is one gloomy and distressing in the extreme. He alludes, at the close, to the evidence taken by the Land Commission ; and we have turned to the evidence referred to, some portions of which we shall briefly notice, in order that the reader may compare them with the statements in the letter.

APPENDIX VII.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Referred to in page 128.

(From the *Leeds Intelligencer*.)

"THE TIMES COMMISSIONER" IN IRELAND.—We earnestly call attention to an extract from the report of "*The Times Commissioner*," which will be found in another place. It is a description of the marvels which have been wrought by Lord G. A. Hill, on an

estate purchased by him, only seven years ago, in the county of Donegal, on the north-west coast of Ireland, collected partly from a little work written by his lordship, entitled *Facts from Gweedore*, partly from other documents and the personal observations of the Commissioner himself. The experiment it records is of the highest interest, as having been performed on a portion of the Irish peasantry at their lowest point of depression, and suffering from the evils of their land-tenure, as it exists among them in its most mischievously developed and absurdly extravagant form : it is important, too, as showing what, in spite of the idleness, the wilfulness, the obstinate suspicions, the obstructive habits and customs of a thoroughly neglected, lazy, and ignorant population, may be effected by the steady and regenerating energy of a single resolute and high purposed will. The conclusions to be drawn from it are of immense importance, as showing what may be done, and what ought to be done for Ireland ; what are her real grievances, and what her real remedies. They are not without their bearing upon England ; for though we have not a rustic population in the same stage of destitution, or grotesque ignorance, or territorial relations, as that of Gweedore, though we know no agricultural district of 9,000 souls with but "one cart, one plough, twenty shovels, thirty-two rakes, two feather and eight chaff beds, the people sleeping principally on rushes or mountain bent ;" though we have no instance of three men becoming joint-partners in a horse, and leaving the fourth foot unshod, because neither of the three felt himself bound to shoe it ; nor of half an acre held by twenty-six people in separate portions, at an enormous rent : yet we have an agricultural population whose physical condition might be much improved, whose intellectual condition might be much raised, whose productiveness might be much increased by a spirit similar to that which has converted into fertile corn-fields the once "bleak wilderness" of Gweedore, in the wilds of Donegal. We cannot quit this subject without expressing our sense of the public obligation which *The Times* Commissioner is conferring ; at first, we confess, we looked upon him with a certain suspicion and distrust, but he appears to be discharging his duty intelligently, honestly, and well. Most cordially do we agree with the reflections suggested to him by what he saw at Gweedore. "Did converting the Roman Catholic population to Protestants," he asks, "effect this change ? They are Roman Catholics yet. Did Saxonizing them and making them Orangemen effect it ? They are all Celts. Did the getting up of

monster meetings and talking about 'Repeal' effect it? No. The remedy was a social one. The people were justly dealt with, taught, shown by example, encouraged, and employed."

APPENDIX VIII.

Referred to in page 230.

No. 1.—REPEAL ASSOCIATION, CONCILIATION HALL, SEPT. 29.

Mr. J. O'Connell said, that he had also to read for them a letter of a different import:—

"Halesworth, Sept. 25.

"SIR,—I have this moment read in *The Times* of yesterday your dirty and unmanly remarks concerning *The Times* Commissioner, and I do not lose one moment to tell you that you are a liar and a blackguard.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JOHN FOSTER."

"John O'Connell, Esq., M.P."

Mr J. O'Connell continued to say, that this was pretty well for his "obedient servant." (Laughter.) The letter appeared to be genuine—the handwriting was not forced—the seal contained the initials "J. F."—so they had every reason to consider it genuine. In the first place, with respect to this letter, it was dated from England, and he would wish to know if all his letters to *The Times* about Ireland were written in England, for if they were to judge by the information on matters of fact contained in them, they might well presume he never saw this country; also, he would ask what he had done to this civil gentleman,—he would not say handsome gentleman, for in his own country he had got the name of "Ugly always" (laughter),—what had he done to call for such language? He had accused *The Times* Commissioner of making an attack on the tenant-right of the north, and of making that attack in an unfair way. (Hear, hear.) He stated that he had gone to the county of Donegal, where it least prevailed, and he did not go to the eastern parts of Ulster, where the tenant-right might be said to flourish. He could discover nothing from his letters, save a design on the part of his employers to strike at that valuable privilege, without obtaining any legislative compensation for its abolition.

(Hear, hear.) He (Mr. O'Connell) had accused him of talking of the want of employment as a great evil, without tracing that evil to its source—the union—the union, which had taken the money of the country out of it—which had lured the rich proprietors away—which had placed their commerce, their trade, and their manufactures at the mercy of an interested legislature. He had accused him of laying the fault of the miserable condition of the people upon themselves, and not upon the great discouragement given to them by bad laws, and by the impunity afforded to local tyranny. (Hear, hear.) He had done everything in his power in his letters to slander the character of the Irish nation, and not a sentiment appeared approaching to what ought to have been written, if he were honest in his vocation, namely an *exposé* of the real evils of the country, resulting from the absence of resident proprietors, and the want of manufactures and commerce. (Hear, hear.) Instead of writing such letters as that which he had just read for them, *The Times* "Commissioner" would be better employed in trying to meet some of the charges which he (Mr. O'Connell) had brought forward. He (Mr. O'Connell) had suggested one matter to him which would have saved him a great deal of trouble. One subject appeared to give him a vast deal of trouble—he could not at all relish the idea that the Irish were stouter and stronger fellows than the Saxons. He (Mr. O'Connell) had suggested that he should get an Anglo-Saxon and a Milesian, and try which of them could give the strongest kick. (Laughter.) That would set the matter at once at rest. There was another suggestion which the Commissioner might find of advantage to him. In those new infidel colleges it would of course be difficult to find either an Irishman or a Catholic willing to accept a professorship, and he would therefore move that the Commissioner be appointed professor of politeness in one of them. (Laughter.) He had done with himself and his letters, and would merely add that he was exceedingly glad that, as his country and his countrymen had been attacked, he had been attacked himself also. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'Connell said the letter was such a splendid sample of English politeness, that for the benefit and edification of the Irish people, he would move its insertion on the minutes. ("Hear," and laughter.) As he saw two or three respectable English persons in the gallery looking intently at him, he would withdraw the term "English politeness," and admit that such blackguardism was

peculiar to this person himself. It would, however, be a pity not to give the man his proper name. Formerly, when elections were carried by force of money, there was every sort of agent, from the law agent down to the gutter agent. It so happened also that they had every sort of commissioner, from the commissioner of the great seal down to a gutter commissioner. Now, he (Mr. O'Connell) hoped that he might have influence enough with the press to have this fellow called the "gutter commissioner." (Cheers and laughter.) Did they know what he said?—that the Irish women were ugly. He really did. (Cries of "He's a liar.") Oh! (cried the honourable gentleman, looking round the galleries) how ugly they are! (Cheers.) He was beginning to wish that the fellow was present then; but he hoped that he might never have the happiness of witnessing such a sight. They had done with the "gutter commissioner," and he would conclude by moving the insertion of his letter on the minutes.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Broderick, and adopted.

No. 2.—REPEAL ASSOCIATION, Oct. 6.

The usual weekly meeting took place to-day in the Conciliation-hall, Mr. Doyle in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read,—

Mr. John O'Connell said, that he had received a letter from his friend *The Times* Commissioner, which he should read for them. It appeared that the letter which he had read for them on that day week was not written by that individual. The name of *The Times* Commissioner was Thomas Campbell Foster, and the letter submitted to the meeting on last Monday was signed "John Foster." He (Mr. O'Connell), however, was under the impression that the name of the *The Times* Commissioner was John Foster, having been so informed some time previously to the receipt of the letter bearing that signature. He should, as an act of justice, read the letter which he had since received from Mr. Foster, together with his (Mr. O'Connell's) answer. They would perceive that he apologized for and retracted the remarks which he had made in consequence of the mistake into which he had fallen, but that he did not apologize for the remarks which he had made in condemnation of those statements regarding Irish affairs published by Mr.

Foster in his capacity as *The Times* Commissioner. The letters to which he alluded were as follows :—

“ Ballinasloe, Galway, Oct. 2.

“ Sir,—In the *Freeman's Journal* of the 30th ult., I find that you are reported to have read a letter signed ‘ John Foster,’ which you proceeded to attribute to me. Assuming me to be the author of that letter, you proceeded (in terms which it is not now my object to notice) to attack me publicly because of its contents.

“ I beg to inform you that I am not the author of that letter ; that I never authorized it to be written for me ; nor would I countenance any such letter being written on my behalf.

“ This being the case, I do not very clearly perceive the propriety or the applicability of your public attack upon me because of that letter ; and I have a right to expect from you, as a gentleman, that you will remedy what I am bound to suppose was an inadvertent mistake, in a manner as public as that attack.

“ I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

“ THOMAS CAMPBELL FOSTER.”

“ John O'Connell, Esq., M.P.”

“ Kingstown, Dublin, Oct. 4.

“ Sir,—The letter which I read at Conciliation-hall last Monday I beg to enclose, that you may see there was nothing in its outward appearance to lead me to suppose it a forgery. I was the less likely to form that opinion of it, as I had several days previously been informed that your name was precisely as signed in the enclosed.

“ Of course, I shall make it my business to give your disclaimer, and my expression of regret at having been misled, the same publicity as my attack of last Monday. This would be my duty, even were it not my inclination and intention.

“ Reserving my opinions on the public matters in dispute between us, and on your manner of treating them, I fully and entirely retract every personality used by me while under that impression that you had written the certainly rather personal and not very gentle-toned letter which occasioned my mistake.

“ I have the honour to be, sir, your faithful servant,

“ JOHN O'CONNELL.”

“ Thomas Campbell Foster, Esq., Ballinasloe.”

The honourable gentleman having moved the insertion of Mr. Foster's letter on the minutes, continued to say, that he had on

Monday last fallen into a mistake, which was natural under the circumstances. He regretted that he had been misled, and tendered to Mr. Foster the most ample apology for the language he had used ; but he did not feel called on to retract the observations he had made in reference to his way of representing the state of the country.*

* It is unnecessary to do more than to request the reader to compare the two statements.

Figures as in page 11

STATEMENT of the Outlay and Returns for Three Years on one Plantation Acre of Bog or Mountain Land, of the IRISH WASTE LAND IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY.

ORIGINAL OUTLAY.			
Proportion of fencing		£0 9 0	
Ditto draining		0 14 0	
Under draining		2 0 0	
Reclamation		3 2 0	
Manure and Lime for First Crop		5 11 0	
Dr.			
To preparing land, manuring and planting Potatoes		£10 16 0	Cr.
Horse and boat hire for manuring	£3 16 0	By 1086 stone Potatoes, at 3d. per stone	£13 11 6
Digging, picking, and clamping	2 10 0		
Seed, and freight of ditto	1 8 0		
Rent	2 13 0		
Balance Profit 1st year	0 3 0		
	3 1 6		
SECOND YEAR.			
To digging, sowing, harvesting, and stacking		£13 11 6	
Seed Oats, 22 stone, at 9d.	£1 1 8	By Balance Profit 1st year	£3 1 6
Rent	0 16 6	160 stone of Oats, at 9d. per stone	6 0 0
Balance Profit	0 5 0	2 tons Straw, at 25s.	2 10 0
	9 8 4		
THIRD YEAR.			
To breaking up old ridges and forming new		£11 11 6	
Manuring and sowing Potatoes	£0 17 11	By Balance brought down	£9 8 4
Moulding Potatoes	2 15 6	1300 stone of Potatoes, at 3d. per stone	16 5 0
Digging and clamping	0 10 6		
Seed, 186 stone, at 3d. per stone	1 18 6		
Manure	2 6 6		
Rent	5 0 0		
Balance Profit	0 10 0		
	11 14 5		
	£25 13 4		£25 13 4

Showing that the whole of the original outlay is more than repaid in three years, with an average annual profit of 3l. 18s. 1d. per acre.
N.B.—This result would have been much more favourable, had not the early part of the work been executed when there were no roads, or bad roads, and with all the other disadvantages to which the preliminary operations on the estate were necessarily subject.—From Major Ludlow

APPENDIX IX*.

APPENDIX IX*.

Referred to in page 254.

ADVANTAGES OF HOUSE-FEEDING.

Belvoir, August 1, 1845.

SIR,—By Mr. Wilson's desire I furnish you with an accurate statement of the manner and effect of house-feeding my cow (a very small one and a poor milker).

Nov. 7, 1844, I had her milked at 11 o'clock A.M. in the presence of 36 of his workmen—the milk measured by his steward was 1 quart and 3 naggins, and at night her milk was but 3 naggins.

„ 9, „ Milked before the workmen, at 10 o'clock A.M., 1 quart and 1 naggin, and in the evening again before them, 3 naggins.

„ 11, „ I got her in to house-feed, after the following manner:—

1st feed, 6 o'clock A.M., Cut straw, hay, and turnips, all boiled together (called steamed food).

2nd „ 8 „ „ Raw turnips.

„ 10 „ „ Let out on the field till 12 o'clock.

3rd „ 12 „ M., Hay.

4th „ 3 „ P.M., Steamed food same as in the morning.

5th „ 6 „ „ Raw turnips or mangel leaves, &c.

6th „ 8 „ „ Hay.

The result was an increase from the first day to the third, when she milked two quarts in the morning and the same at night; on the eighth day, two and a half quarts at each milking; and on the twelfth day after being put in, she milked three quarts at a time, and continued so for four days.

Being limited in my supply of green food (as I then thought), I curtailed her a little in the different feeds, consequently she did not increase

From the day on which she was got in to house-feed, up to the 1st of April (being 140 days), her milk averaged 5 quarts per day, at 1½d. per quart	£4	7	6
On the 1st of April, the turnips and mangels not being nearly consumed, I increased her feeds again, when she averaged 6 quarts a day for the first fortnight, and 7 quarts during the remainder of the month, being 6½ quarts per day for 30 days, or 195 quarts, at 1½d. per quart	1	4	4½
9th May.—The vetches were now fit for cutting, and the supply of turnips and mangels continuing up to the 15th of June, she frequently milked 9 quarts a day. Her milk at this date (1st August) is 9 quarts, allowing an average from the 1st of May to the present date (being 92 days) at 8 quarts per day, or 736 quarts, at 1½d. per quart	4	12	0
Total amount from 11th November to 1st August	£10	3	10½
Deduct the value of 21 cwt. of hay, at 2s. per ton	2	2	0
	£8	1	10½

The quantity of ground under green food was—

Mangels	10½	perches	English.
Swedish turnips	21	"	"
Aberdeens	9½	"	"
Vetches and rape	15	"	"
Hay 21 cwt., Statute	56	= 35	perches Irish.

An Irish acre of ground bearing crops such as the above, and being turned to the same advantage, would (notwithstanding the cow being such a poor milker) bring in a return of 46l. 10s. (minus the price of hay), together with a large quantity of manure, and the cattle well fed. My cow is at present in an excellent condition. Had she not been house-fed I would have to buy milk and butter for my family during the winter, and to pay about 30s. for seaweed or guano.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN LYNCH.

N.B.—I purchased this cow after calving for 5l. 2s. 6d., on the 22nd of June, 1843; she calved on the 3rd of May, 1844: since then she has not been in calf, it being Mr. Wilson's wish to have her remain a *stripper*, in order to show the boys and their parents the effect of house-feeding, even on so poor a milker.

APPENDIX X.

*Referred to in page 256.**To the Editor of THE TIMES.*

SIR,—Having been absent in some remote parts of the country, I had not the opportunity of seeing your Commissioner's report relative to the estates of the Marquis of Conyngham in Donegal, and your strictures thereon, till the 20th inst.

After perusing, I transmitted them to Mr. Robert Russell, a magistrate for the county of Donegal, and his lordship's local agent, and desired that he would immediately furnish me with a reply to them.

Averse as I am to public discussions of a private or personal nature, yet, in justice to Mr. Russell, and indeed to all parties, and more especially to an amiable and highly honourable nobleman, and a kind and considerate landlord, I feel myself bound to send you Mr. Russell's letter, and to request that you will be so obliging as to insert it and this letter in your next publication.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN BENBOW.

Crogen House, Corwen, North Wales, September 30.

Lackbeg, Dungloe, Donegal, September 27.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 20th on my arrival in Dublin, on the 24th instant, enclosing the publications in *The Times* newspaper, and desiring me to consider the representations therein made, and to report to you upon them. I will endeavour to comply with your request, and as briefly as possible (although the topics alluded to are somewhat numerous), with the view of satisfying the mind of the Marquis Conyngham, and, if you think proper, of making my statement known to the public.

The publication by *The Times* "Commissioner" contains more unjust charges against a landlord than it is possible to conceive; as the following plain and unquestionable statement of facts will prove.

About twelve years ago, when the Marquis Conyngham succeeded to the estates upon the death of the late marquis, I was appointed by you, and sent into this district, as his lordship's local land-agent, having a short time previously come to Ireland from my native country, Scotland. Before this his lordship's estates here had been under the management

of the late and present Mr. Forster, and under it the land had been (I know not under what authority) subdivided into small portions between the families of the original tenants, and the evil consequences of this subdivision (which have been serious obstacles to me) have naturally arisen. It is not in twelve, it is not in twenty years, that in a remote district like this the state of things thus created can be remedied; but I fearlessly assert that, notwithstanding these disadvantages, the estate is steadily, and even rapidly, progressing in improvement.

It is very easy for the Commissioner to expect impossibilities,—to believe, or affect to believe, that a landlord has it in his power to make all his tenants happy, and all his land fertile; it is very easy for a writer in a newspaper to call on him to exterminate or enrich a pauper population brought on or increased by a minute subdivision of the land.

It seems to have been understood that there is no local agent on the estate. I have resided, as you know, constantly here in that capacity for the last twelve years. Nothing can be more erroneous than the assertion that the tenants are visited half yearly for the purpose of collecting their rents at such periods, without giving them due time to make available their resources, and using at the same time the most rigorous means for enforcing payment. The facts are otherwise; the tenant is never called on half yearly for his rents, and it is only when a year and one half's rent becomes due that he is asked to pay one year's rent; and that too at a period of the year when he shall have disposed of his crops or stock to most advantage. The farms are never visited for the purpose of seeing what increased rent they will bear; nor is it correct that the rude efforts of the tenants to improve are followed immediately by raising their rents. I defy any informant of the Commissioner to name an instance of it on the entire estate. It is equally incorrect that no capital is spent among them. Within the last year upwards of 1,000*l.* has been spent by his lordship on the Glenties estate alone—in the opening of new roads—the building of upwards of 100 houses—and other solid and substantial improvements; and I have had his lordship's authority to continue an outlay for all useful and beneficial purposes.

In 1837 a very large portion of the estate, containing a population of some thousands, fell out of lease on the death of the late king. This large tract had mostly been held in rundale, or in common; on the expiry of the leases it was all laid out in distinct farms, with a view, as far as possible, to benefit and support the population, and surveyed and valued accordingly. This was not entirely accomplished until 1839, when the new lettings were completed; and since that period no new valuation or advance in rent has taken place in this district. How far, then, can the statement of the Commissioner be reconciled with these facts, which I am perfectly ready to prove to the satisfaction of the public?

That I have not been able to convert this remote and wild district into fine cultivated land is not the fault of his lordship or of myself.

The statements as to the management of the estate, the Commissioner must have received from others. But even where he professes to give the result of actual observation, it is but too plain that he was influenced in a great degree by partial and inaccurate accounts. Had he intimated to me his intention of visiting this part of the country I should have felt happy in giving him every information in my power, and although I would have freely confessed that we were still surrounded by difficulties arising from the habits and condition of the people, which only time and patience, and long and close attention, can remove, I would have shown him districts of his lordship's estate inferior to none in the county for good conduct, comfort, and regularity. The Commissioner unfortunately fell into other hands.

I was in Glenties when he passed the hotel of that town (an hotel rarely to be surpassed for comfort in a country district, and on the building and furnishing of which his lordship has, for the convenience of the public, expended above 600*l.*), and put up at a far inferior house, perhaps that he might amuse English readers with an account of an "Irish inn." Here he most conveniently finds a person from another estate, and by him is conducted on a mountainous track to poor habitations, the accuracy of his account of which I have no means of testing, as the town-land is not named; but similar instances, if they exist here, I will venture to say will be met with in every mountainous district, either in Ireland or Scotland.

The Commissioner must have been grossly deceived as to the mode of letting on his lordship's estates. That a person travelling through the district in about twenty-four hours was open to such deception is obvious enough. He states that a person held seven cows' grass for 16*l.* It is utterly untrue that any such sum is paid in any part of the county for that quantity of ground; 5*l.* would be much nearer the sum. The land on his lordship's estate is not let by cows' grasses, but by the acre; in scarcely any instance does the rent of the best arable land exceed 20*s.* an Irish, or 12*s. 6d.* the statute acre. The mountain is let at from 2*d.* to 1*s. 6d.* by the Irish acre.

The Commissioner, on his way to Arranmore, breakfasted at Mr. Forster's, who, with his father, were the agents to the late Marquis, and on his way from Mr. Forster's passed my door. Of course he could not have been informed by Mr. Forster that I was a constant resident, and it is equally extraordinary that, without any public notice of his approach, the population, as if by inspiration, were found ready prepared with written statements of their grievances, both real and imaginary, all which the Commissioner has at once adopted without any sufficient test of their truth.

Before the Commissioner left Dungloe, he was told that the island was at present held in Rundale, but that a surveyor was in the island at the very time of his visit for the purpose of getting a proper division of the land effected; and I know that at the very time the Commissioner was in the island, every man, woman, and child, capable of working, and who were industrious enough to do so, were employed in the manufacture of kelp (a very profitable occupation), which costs them nothing but their labour—no charge being ever made for the sea-weed (as other landlords do make) from which it is manufactured, and to my knowledge many families have received as much as 20*l.* this summer for such kelp.

The Commissioner does not state that the rent of the land of this island has not been raised for the last forty years, nor does he state that two years ago, when his lordship visited this island, he generously gave to the inhabitants, rent free during his life, a large grazing farm, which had been held for years by his late agent, Mr. Forster.

The greater part of the country through which the Commissioner passed in going to the Gweedore from Arranmore is held in perpetuity, over which his lordship, as you know, has no control or management.

The connexion of the road to avoid the strand at Anagry, which the Commissioner mentions, never was opposed by either his lordship or his agents. Neither did the Board of Public Works ever offer to make this road; but an entire new line of road, from Dungloe to the Gweedore, a distance of upwards of six Irish miles, was proposed to be made, but it was opposed by all the cess-payers of the barony, on account of the expense which it would have occasioned them, and conceiving that the present line would answer all the purposes. When the part to avoid the strand to which the Commissioner alludes was made, I some time ago undertook on the part of his lordship to pay a moiety of the expense of opening it, although all the land for miles in that neighbourhood is held in perpetuity by those who would chiefly be benefited by it.

To go through all the statements contained in the Commissioner's letter would be to you unnecessary, and to the public superfluous. His descriptions of the poverty of the people are grossly overcharged. To ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Arranmore, a large tract of the main-land was bought up to locate a number of them thereon, and encouragements held out to induce them to settle upon it. With reference to many of his statements as to the mode of life of the people, and the mistakes to which a man utterly unacquainted with the habits, the manners, and perhaps even the language of the people from whom he fancied he was deriving information is liable, I will not meddle, but I do trust I have said enough to prove, that the impression which his letter is calculated to produce is, as to his lordship and his agents utterly erroneous.

It is true, that these tenants hold their land at will, and it is also true that though no leases have been granted, except in the case of Mr. Forster, they have neither been applied for nor refused, and that the tenants of this property, who are represented as so miserable and oppressed, have in various instances obtained and been allowed to accept from twenty to twenty-five years' purchase on the present rents for their tenant-right. Whether such permission was right or wrong is not at present material for us, I think, to inquire or discuss.

After so much misconception, I think you will consider it an act of justice to his lordship and his agents to make my explanation public.*

I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient humble servant,

ROBERT RUSSELL.

John Benbow, Esq., M.P.,
26, Mecklenburgh-square, London.

APPENDIX XI.

Referred to in page 303.

In the course of his speech in Conciliation Hall, on October 27, 1845, Mr. Daniel O'Connell said,—

“Repeal alone would restore the ancient equipoise of Queen, Lords and Commons, and it was he who sought to effect it. It would also restore happiness to Ireland, and rescue her from the state in which Lord Devon's commission had proved her to be. By-the-by, that put him in mind of “the gutter commissioner” of *The Times*. He (Mr. O'Connell) had seen him at Limerick, and he really was not so ugly a fellow as he thought he was. He was going about with a Mr. Watson, an amiable person enough in private life, but proprietor of a paper which was well called “The Lie.” (Cheers and laughter.) He referred to him in the present instance for the purpose of warning the Roman Catholic clergy

* I may perhaps here properly state, that, after the publication of Mr. Russell's letter, the tenants of the Marquis of Conyngham sent to me a memorial, which was signed by six chief tenants, containing an account of grievances and oppressions on the part of Mr. Russell towards them far worse than anything published by me, and which they offered to state before me on oath if I wished it and would revisit them. I simply advised them to send a copy of their letter to me to the Marquis of Conyngham.

against him. They would have cause to be sorry for it, if they did not beware of having anything to say to him. The fellow was going about among them, and lately had called on Dean O'Shaughnessy, a most perfect gentleman, to whom, as he was about leaving, he said that he had seen enough of the Irish people to be sure that they were not worthy of Repeal, nor fit for a more extended franchise (groans); whereupon the Dean said to him, "Sir, if you were not in my house I would order the servant to kick you out." (Cheers and laughter.)

In consequence of seeing a report of this speech in *Saunders's News Letter* I wrote the following letter to Dean O'Shaughnessy, and sent a copy of it to the *Limerick Chronicle*.

(To the Editor of the *Limerick Chronicle*.)

Roscrea, Tipperary, Oct. 29.

Sir,—Mr. O'Connell having thought fit to make a statement in the Conciliation Hall, at Dublin, relative to my visit to Ennis, I have deemed it right to address the following letter to the Very Rev. Dean O'Shaughnessy, of Ennis, which sufficiently explains the whole matter, and which I shall feel obliged to you to insert in your next publication, as being the one most read in, and published the nearest to, that locality:—

My Dear Sir,—On reading *Saunders's News Letter* to-day, I saw the following sentences making part of a speech uttered by Mr. O'Connell at Conciliation Hall, last Monday:—

"He (the Commissioner) had introduced himself to his (Mr. O'Connell's) excellent friend, Dean O'Shaughnessy, of Ennis, who received him, courteously, and the Commissioner got into conversation with him, and told him before he was done, 'that for his part he had no doubt at all about it, he had seen enough of Ireland to convince him that the Irish were not entitled to Repeal.' 'What,' said the Dean, 'would you not give us more members?' 'No such thing.' 'Or the franchises?' 'The people of Ireland are not worthy of them.' 'Sir,' said the Dean, 'I am not in the habit of being discourteous to strangers, but only that it is in my own house, I would order the servant to kick you out,' and off went the Commissioner as fast as he could. (Laughter.)"

I am sure you will believe me when I state candidly that I was influenced by much respect and reverence for your age and evident attainments. That we had an animated conversation on the question of Repeal and extending the franchise is quite true, and I do not at all complain of yourself or the other gentlemen who were present, detailing that conversation with any colouring which you or they might think fit; but I do complain of the latter part of the story—the "kicking out" part

which excited the "laughter" of Conciliation Hall. It is not for me to point out to you what is befitting your own position, but I am sure you must concur with me, from the courtesy with which you bade me adieu, and expressed to me that "you felt it a compliment that I had called upon you," that the whole of this "kicking out" part of the story is (to call it by its right name) *an unmitigated falsehood*.

As this matter has been made public, I am sure you will not complain (whatever steps you yourself may be pleased to take) of my using this letter as I may think fit.

I have the honour to remain, my dear sir,
Your faithful servant,

THOMAS CAMPBELL FOSTER.

The Very Rev. Dean O'Shaughnessy, Ennis.

Mr. O'Connell must indeed be driven hard for a fault, when he has to resort to so petty a trick as this. The statement contains its own refutation; for, except "in his own house," the Dean would have neither the right nor the power to give any such "order;" and in his own house or anywhere else, neither he nor any one else, ever made such a speech to me. I must also do the Dean the credit of saying that, from his courtesy to me, I do not believe the thought even of acting so absurdly, and so unbecoming his position as a dignitary in the Roman Catholic Church, and as a gentleman, ever crossed his mind. The audience, however, by their approval of the speech, showed how worthy they and the speaker are of one another, and how utterly unworthy both are of either credit or estimation by decent and sensible men.

I have the honour to remain, sir,
Your obedient servant,

"THE TIMES" COMMISSIONER.

The following answer was received, in course of post, to this letter to which also my reply will be found subjoined.

"Ennis, Oct. 1845.

"Dear Sir,—In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 28th inst., from Roscrea, I have to regret its being called for by any reference that may have been made in the Conciliation Hall to the animated conversation, to use your own words, that we had upon the question of repeal, and extending the franchise and representation. As I neither had any interview with Mr. O'Connell since I saw you, neither did I solicit or authorise any person to communicate with him upon the subject, I cannot hold myself accountable for the language he may have used. I must refer you to himself in reference to his observations; and although I must acknowledge we parted on those terms that gentlemen may part, who are

opposed in sentiment and feeling, I must at the same time take leave to remark that, as far as I have read your letter, your references to the body to which I have the honour to belong, are neither fair or courteous.

"I have the honour to remain, dear sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"T. O'SHAUGHNESSY."

"To Thomas Campbell Foster, Esq."

"Limerick, Nov. 1.

"Dear Sir,—I felt satisfied that your reply as a gentleman could only be what it has been, an exposure of the paltry falsehood to which Mr. O'Connell thought fit to resort to obtain a momentary applause.

"I am, however, quite at a loss to understand to what the concluding part of your letter refers. On no occasion whatever have I shown either 'unfairness' or 'discourtesy' to the Roman Catholic clergy. I know no reason why I should do either.

"I know, however, that Mr. O'Connell calls you his 'particular friend.' That feeling, from the conversation I had with you, I make no doubt is reciprocated; and, perhaps, a pardonable anxiety to aid that friend, in an unwilling exposure of his falsehood, led to the spice of mischief thrown into the concluding passage of your letter, which really does appear to me to be completely out of place.

"I have the honour to remain, dear sir,

"Yours very faithfully,

"THOS. CAMPBELL FOSTER."

"To the Very Rev. Dean O'Shaughnessy, Ennis."

The following week Mr. Daniel O'Connell ate his own words in Conciliation Hall, in the following characteristic and ungracious fashion :—

In the course of some desultory remarks connected with the perusal of other letters, the honourable gentleman said that he had seen a letter from that eccentric gentleman, the gutter Commissioner of *The Times*. He was glad to see the fellow was in a passion. He was very angry, but not wise in his anger. The Commissioner denied that he was threatened to be kicked out by Dean O'Shaughnessy. He said he was not kicked out. All he (Mr. O'Connell) could say was, that he ought to have been. (Loud laughter and cheers.) He would now pass over the Commissioner, about whom so much had been said and written. He wished they would leave him (the Commissioner) to sink into his native insignificance, which God knew was low enough.*

* See next following Appendix.

APPENDIX XII.

Referred to in page 411.

I must entreat the reader's forbearance for having copied the following leading article from *The Times* on the subject of the last Appendix; it deserves perusal because of its ability, and I make no doubt it will as much entertain the reader as it did myself.

(From *The Times*, Nov. 5, 1845.)

In order to master a system it is always necessary to get at its leading idea. Unless you are familiar with the air you cannot enter into the thousand beauties of the overture. Thus expediency is the leading idea of one moralist, authority of another, heroism of a third, and progress of a fourth. The leading ideas of political parties are as specific as they are numerous. Unity of thought and tone is essential to interest as well as to success; so everybody by a sort of special instinct takes care always to keep his one point in view, and, in fact, to be saying the same thing perpetually in an infinite number of disguises. In order, then, to understand people, you must analyze them into their simplest element. This done, you have a key to the whole man, and everything that he says and does. You have discovered his characteristic—that which most distinguishes him from the rest of his species. It is the prominent operation of his mind. A clever artist would catch it, and if possible make it the expression of the countenance, and the action of the figure.

We believe we have hit upon Mr. O'Connell's favourite thought and movement, when we pronounce it to be kicking. Could we discern the emotions that successively struggle for utterance under that brawny exterior, we should find them expressing themselves in an endless series of imaginary kicks. There are hostile movements with which Mr. O'Connell is not spiritually and heartily familiar. The delight of his soul is a kick. To the various species of the brute creation nature has given their several hostile appetencies in accordance with the weapons with which she has also supplied them. The anger of some creatures finds vent in their horns, of others in their stings, of others in their teeth, of others in their hoofs. Mr. O'Connell comes under the last class. Nature has given him a gift of

oratory, with more force than grace, fitful, sudden, secret, mischievous, and backwards. It is of that sort against which neither friend nor foe can be on his guard. No mortal man can tell in his neighbourhood when he shall not find himself the victim of a desperate lunge, which inflicts a broken rib before he is conscious of offence. Should we desire to describe by a type from the animal world a power of rhetorical annoyance so strong, so ugly, and so treacherous, we could not light on so apt a resemblance as the horny extremities of the horse and some inferior quadrupeds.

In general, of course, it is the kick metaphoric, the kick ideal, that gives force and sting to Mr. O'Connell's eloquence. The letters of our "Commissioner," however, seem to have brought out the type itself. The Agitator cannot mention his name but out there comes a curse and a kick also. In one of the early letters the writer made the comparison which every Englishman with eyes in his head, and wits in his brain has always made, and will always make, between the physical characteristics of the Saxon and the Celt. If the Celt is the smaller, the less robust, and less upright of the two, it is his misfortune rather than his fault, and may also serve to excuse his inferior habits of life. O'Connell denied the fact. Well; that might be the fault of his vision. He went further, however, and proposed a peculiar test, which took its character from the singular mental propensity we have noticed. It was that representatives of the two races should alternately kick the writer of the letters, in order that he might report the comparative force of their efforts.

To an English taste the idea is strange and grotesque enough. Whatever O'Connell might desire, no English Saxon would wish his Irish kinsman to give this proof of his sinew. If his speculative curiosity, or his national rivalry, were allied with a less peaceful feeling, he would think rather of a clenched fist and a stand up fight than of Mr. O'Connell's chosen branch of competition. Unquestionably the Liberator identified himself with the Celt in his imaginary trial of force. In the suggestive region of his wishes and fancies he was kicking hard enough—ininitely hard, from Galway to Nova Scotia, from earth to hell. To a man of O'Connell's mind it was pleasant to imagine the kick, and to realize the imagination by a public expression. Such is the mysterious economy of our nature that to say a thing before a multitude affords a delectation next only to the doing of it. It was not in Mr. O'Connell's power to kick the writer himself, so in a public harangue he pictured the whole Celtic

population kicking him in brisk universal competition. We will not ask how far Mr. O'Connell would enjoy a further satisfaction, if the scene he had been at the pains to conjure up should have been unexpectedly realized.

The scene was not realized either wholly or partly. Neither the Celtic race nor any deputation thereof have put their strength to Mr. O'Connell's proof. His imagination, however, still runs on the thought. After the interval of some weeks, he has returned to it with augmented zest and reality of conception. This time he has clothed it in the form of a threat, and put it into the mouth of a Roman Catholic dignitary. Last Monday week, at that abode of the virtues and graces, called, *quasi lucus a non lucendo*, Conciliation Hall, Mr. O'Connell said,—

“He (the Commissioner) had introduced himself to his (Mr. O'Connell's) excellent friend Dean O'Shaughnessy, of Ennis, who received him courteously, and the Commissioner got into conversation with him, and told him before he was done, ‘that, for his part, he had no doubt at all about it; he had seen enough of Ireland to convince him that the Irish were not entitled to Repeal.’ ‘What!’ said the Dean, ‘would you not give us more members?’ ‘No such thing.’ ‘Or the franchises?’ ‘The people of Ireland are not worthy of them.’ ‘Sir,’ said the Dean, ‘I am not in the habit of being discourteous to strangers, but only that it is in my own house, I would order the servant to kick you out;’ and off went the Commissioner as fast as he could! (Laughter.)”

Only the day before yesterday he recurred to the pleasing thought. We insert elsewhere the Commissioner's own reply in a letter to the *Limerick Chronicle*. In this place therefore it is unnecessary to do more than observe, that Mr. O'Connell's story rests on the same solid foundation as the alleged abusive letter from the Commissioner, and about nineteen-twentieths of all that the *Liberator* ever said or wrote. It is the pure coinage of his own fertile brain. O'Connell himself is again the hero of his tale. He is ringing the changes on his own toe. On the former occasion he was kicking in the person of the Celts, now he kicks through the person of his very reverend friend the Dean. He knows that the Commissioner had a brisk discussion with Dean O'Shaughnessy at Ennis, so forthwith he falls a-kicking. He passes a kick to the Dean, who is to pass it on to his servant, who is to deliver it in a bodily form to the Commissioner. If, after this, all the deans and parish priests in Ireland that come in the Commissioner's way do not attempt to supply Dean O'Shaughnessy's omission, they are rather slow at taking a hint.

We are quite satisfied to take Mr. O'Connell's own portrait of himself. He wishes to be drawn kicking. As Mercury is sculptured just leaving the earth "i' the act to rise," Apollo as following with his eye the dragon-piercing arrow, and Hercules as leaning on his club, unquestionably it is Mr. O'Connell's wish to be handed down "i' the act to kick." We will not venture to say how far so hostile a gesture will recommend to the less bellicose genius of English piety the popular leader of the Irish religion. We are not a kicking species. Unless in some very uncivilized corner of the island, in some very rare and unfavourable specimen, the trick is obsolete. When we hear any one talk of kicking we involuntarily look to see hoofs. If Nature has not shod Mr. O'Connell's feet with horn, she has done him a great injustice. She has implanted instincts which he cannot fulfil, and which can only be indulged in thought and word to be perpetually thwarted in deed.

APPENDIX XIII.

Referred to in pages 527, 547.

(From the *Weekly Freeman's Journal*.)

CONCILIATION HALL, DUBLIN, Dec. 29, 1845.

THE usual weekly meeting was held on Monday the 28th of December at Conciliation Hall, Mr. Thomas Steele, "the Head Pacificator" (as he is called) in the Chair. After the reading of several letters and the handing in of various subscriptions, Mr. O'Connell is reported in the *Weekly Freeman's Journal* to have spoken as follows :—*

* I feel that an apology is due to the reader for laying this mass of abusive trash before him. I am influenced, however, by motives of fair play, and because this Appendix will not be without its use in many respects. First, it is fair that Mr. O'Connell should be heard in his defence; and I hope that those who may cavil at what I write will be satisfied with my publishing every word of his and his son's reply. I am satisfied that I could not do anything which would damage him more or me less. Secondly, this reply is referred to in a subsequent letter; and that letter will be better understood by a reference to this speech. And, thirdly, it is valuable in showing the reader the style of man and opposition that I had to meet, and the kind of audience that must grace Conciliation Hall, when such an address as this is according to its taste.

LIBERATOR.—I think I may as well say a few words about the worthy gutter Commissioner. (A Voice—Let him go home.) He must fatten on Irish potatoes first—(laughter). I believe I need not tell the people of Ireland, that of all the newspapers in the British dominions, that which has shown the most malignant hatred to the people of Ireland and to the Catholic clergy is *The Times* newspaper. I believe there is no proposition that is so clearly demonstrated as that. Surpliced ruffians, hooded incendiaries, wicked despots, and I know not what else, were the only words they used towards the Irish Catholic clergy. (A Voice—They are liars.) Why, to be sure, it is not worth your while to tell me that. And if I have fallen under part of their censure, I am only proud of sharing it with such a body as the Catholic clergy of Ireland—(cheers). At this very moment, there is a favourable review in it of a book written by an infidel in France of the name of Michelet, and written for the purpose of traducing and villifying the Catholic clergy all over Europe. It is a most diabolical work; and if the talent equalled the intention of the party who wrote it, it would be the most mischievous book that ever yet was published. But, like every other effort of the kind, the malignity is weakened by the want of sound understanding, which, if it existed, would prevent the man from following that line at all. That work is favourably reviewed in *The Times*; *The Times* praised that work to the skies. I am glad to be persecuted by—shall I call it?—the supporter of infidels and the hater of the Catholic clergy—(hear). It is hardly worth my while—and I am half angry with myself for taking up the public time about it; but there is one thing which I have a right to complain of—the calumnies against me occupy not a line less than six mortal columns of *The Times* newspaper. Six columns! Why, you should not have the heart to throw at the dog of your enemy such a violent instrument or weapon as six columns of *The Times* newspaper—(laughter). Now, should they not do me the kindness, or at least the common justice, to cut up those calumnies, and give me at each time but a reasonable share to speak of, and a reasonable quantity to answer. But, mark me, I am not here to reply to this calumny. I am here to make but a few observations on the nature of this calumny, and the futile ground on which it stands—(hear, hear). When I so triumphantly contradicted the gutter Commissioner, the first thing he did was to produce a kind of arbitration.* He proposed that a jury of twelve persons should be appointed, and he was to take those twelve gentlemen over my property, to decide upon it acre by acre. But the thing was too ludicrous to be entertained, and it was not intended to be entertained one moment.† But what did my son do? He wrote

* The triumphant contradiction was in showing that the town of Cahirciveen had got a convent, a reading-room, a church-yard, and a market-house, and that its houses were covered with slate, in answer to my allegation that Derrynane Beg, a place seventeen miles from Cahirciveen, consisted of wretched hovels of one room, without a pane of glass. If this can be called a *triumph*, it is the triumph of jockeyism and cunning over a stupid or unreasoning auditory, that could not see that Tenterden Steeple and Goodwin Sands have about as much to do with each other as my accusation and this "triumphant defence."

† "The Liberator" does not condescend to tell us *why* it could not be entertained.

to *The Times* newspaper when this offer was made. He said,—“ This proposal for the appointment of a jury of twelve persons is absurd ; but I'll tell you what I propose. Let one arbitrator be appointed by *The Times* Commissioner—I will appoint another ; and, if necessary, they can call in a third person to act as umpire. Let them go over and investigate the state of my father's property, and see whether those statements are false or true”—(hear). This proposition was not accepted. It was fair and reasonable, and they preferred another course. They had one gutter Commissioner in Ireland, and they appointed another gutter Commissioner ; thinking, no doubt, that two would increase the quantity though they might not improve the quality—(laughter). For one gutter, we have two gutters—(laughter). *The Times* appears to have a sort of notion, that a lie obtains circulation like a promissory note, and that, by the name of an indorser on the back of it, it will have more currency—(hear, hear). Liar the first follows liar the second, the indorser not being a bit better than the original concoctor of the bad security—(cheers). It is singular, too, how this indorsement of the lie results. First, we have three columns of this newspaper taken up by the calumnies of Foster, the first gutter ; and then there are three columns more taken up by the calumnies of Russell, the second gutter—(laughter.) Should they not have come on one at a time ? But they are repeating the same thing, one with more virulence, the other with less ; but the statements of both are equally false. I will show it. I will demonstrate the falsehood of their statements, and that, if possible, there is more falsehood in the conduct of Russell and in his assertions, than in the assertions of gutter the first—(hear, hear). There they stand together, something like the quack doctor and his son. The quack doctor and his son are on the stage together. The child cried out,—“ Good people, my father is the finest physician in the world.” The father says,—“ The child speaks truth.” “ My father,” said the son, “ cures all manner of diseases.” The father again says,—“ The child speaks truth.” Thus stand together the two gutters. Foster tells the lie ; Russell says,—“ The child speaks truth.” The pretty papa indorses over the lie of the child, and they both perform the quack operation in concert—(laughter and cheers). Let me, before I go on, offer my most sincere thanks to the press of all sides and parties in Ireland—(cheers). I am told, to be sure, that the *Limerick Chronicle* has not been so honest as the rest of the Irish press ; it will not even inquire into the facts. But I am too proud, for the sake of Ireland, of the conduct of that press, to be too minute in seeing whether one or more should be left out—(hear, hear). They are, to be sure, strongly scolded by the gutter Commissioner, but that scolding will fall very lightly on the shoulders of many of them ; and, at all events, whatever they may do in the future stages of this controversy, they shall never lose my eternal gratitude—(cheers).

A Voice.—None of Andrew Watson's breed could be honest—(cheers).

LIBERATOR.—I shall say nothing of Mr. Watson ; he is dead, and I forgive him—(cheers). The *Limerick Chronicle*, however, has found out an excuse for the poor gutter Commissioner ; they have joined in the discovery that he is really an Irish patriot—(laughter). I was looking over his letter to the *Chronicle*, and I find that, after abusing me, his spirit of affection for Ireland is the sole cause

why he attacks me—(hear, hear).^{*} In his letter to the *Chronicle*, he says,—“ I confess that, after this example of the manner in which things are managed in this country, I have little hope for Ireland.” Here is a fellow for you! He, however, is not very delicate towards the Irish females. In his letter from Wexford, he says,—“ In the west I never saw a woman below the rank of a lady, or in towns below that of a shopkeeper’s wife, who wore stockings and shoes.” The attack upon me at present is made in two letters—one from Foster and the other from Russell; Foster being doubly virulent in all parts of his charge, and Russell heel-tapping the entire—scarcely adding to it, but particularising, as it were, on particular occasions. I am really ashamed of myself for taking up this subject as I have done; but, as I have commenced, I will go through the disgusting task. The first thing I complain of, in the statements of Foster and Russell, are the grossest omissions. They went to four farms of mine; they went to Angheramong, Kilcoleman, Tarmon, and Arkerra. Those were the particular farms they mentioned; but they went to several others, though they passed them by and left them out of their account, because they were not what they wanted to find them.† Now, close to Cahirciveen, there is the farm of Garranebane, and they did not report on it at all. Why?—because there are on it thirty or forty as good houses as are in the occupation of the peasantry in that country—(hear, hear).‡ The next farm they did not report on is Rynard. The houses there are excellent, and roads have been made between them, which have cost me a large sum of money, and which are exceedingly good—(hear, hear). There is a kind of indirect

^{*} On my return from Kerry, I heard of so many people inquiring after me, as it had become known that I had gone there, and I was thought to have gone on dangerous mission, that on passing through Limerick I wrote a brief account of my visit to the editor of the *Limerick Chronicle*, to satisfy inquiries on the subject.

† This is not true. We went to as many places as we possibly could in the day without distinction; and on two occasions during the day, on his man Connell suggesting that there were capital farm-houses a mile off, though those close to us looked wretched enough, we left the carriage, and walked each time above a mile, through mud and water and rain, with this Connell, to see them. I knew well enough if we did not go, it would be said we refused to go; and, on both occasions, instead of finding the farm-houses as described to us, we found them as wretched as possible, and in no manner differing from those close to the road, except in being, if anything, more wretched. The fact was, Connell, with true Irish cunning, calculated we should not walk through mud and water, ankle-deep, for a mile, to see capital farm-houses he told us of, and therefore he thought he could safely boast of them, and if we did not go, this would serve to accuse us of want of fairness. On every occasion that he spoke of a better farm-house further on, I made a point of telling him at once to show us to it. On every occasion, we found that his statement was incorrect. That this was the *tactique* he was to pursue is evident; for though it failed, the charge is still falsely made, that we avoided the best farm-houses.

‡ This is a very safe assertion. The Census Commissioners have told us what kind of houses those are. See *ante*, note, p. 531.

admission, to be sure, that the Rynard houses are good ; but it is a very stingy one. I know the reason they omitted it ; and I also know the reason why they made that concession. I know it as well as if I were looking at the fellows when they agreed together not to report upon it. I have perfectly confidential motives for not stating their reasons.* I therefore give them the benefit of any reasons that could sway creatures of that kind—(hear, hear). Rynard is a capital farm, and it was pointed out to them. They were shown on their way several other farms, especially the two Letturs, the Come, the Castlequarter, and the two Killoes. There are several excellent houses there ; but as they saw these farms denoted the prosperity of the tenants, they did not visit any of them. It was impossible for them not to see them ; they lay before them, and they are as fine farms as any in the country.† In point of fact, they visited every wretched habitation they could find, no matter who was the owner ; but they did not go to these farms, because there were some slated houses and other excellent houses upon them.‡ This is the truth, but it is not worth while complaining of these omissions ; but if these fellows had common honesty or integrity they would not have omitted them—(hear, hear). They came to Augheramong, and I will tell you why. Early in life I made a lease of Augheramong to a relation of mine, Mr. Mahony, for his life. He held it during his life ; he was a much younger man than I was, and I thought he would survive me. He died, and the reversion fell into my hands. The tenants were very poor, but when I got into possession, I encouraged them, and nursed them ever since. They thought they were likely to find the poorest houses on this farm, and therefore they went there. I will now give you a specimen of their integrity :—“ Augheramong, which is college property, contains about thirty-six houses. The cottages of D. Sullivan and D. Currane were the first we entered,—a feat requiring no ordinary circumspection and agility, by reason of the mounds of mud and manure surrounding them. They were poor, comfortless places, nearly dark inside (as boards blocked up the holes in the walls intended by the builder as sites for windows), with a rough deal table, a settle, an iron pot, some few earthen vessels, potato-heap, &c., as furniture. Yet Daniel Sullivan was a snug farmer, renting six cows’ grass, and having the same number of children, who were lying promiscuously along the mud floor of their cottage. Currane was not near so well off.” Now, I am not here answering this document ; I am here only showing its utter futility. *The Times* newspaper containing those charges could not have reached my son before yesterday, and of course I could have no answer from him ; but a person who saw those Commissioners’ proceedings has written me up a letter on particular parts of their conduct. My son has sent me a long statement, the nature of which I will here-

* As a point of honour, I never made a single remark to Mr. Russell on the subject, or interfered in his report in any way. I may fairly state, too, that Mr. Russell had, at that time, resigned his appointment on *The Times*, and had no motive whatever to be influenced by me.

† Than which nothing can be worse.

‡ This is not true. We went to every farm that lay in our way, and took the houses indiscriminately. But they were all alike wretched, and only differed in the degree of misery.

after read ; and I have only to caution those who are capable of saying anything, that I am not now going over *seriatim* the answers to those falsehoods. Now, I will show you what the statement to me—one that is certainly true—contains upon this subject. There is a man named John Connell, whom they state to be an agent of mine. He is no such thing. He is my son's clerk, and a steady, active man.* He is one of Father Mathew's miracles. He used to earn a good deal of money, the entire of which he spent on whisky. He took the pledge, and he is now rich and comfortable. He has a good farm under me, and a good slated house, for which I gave him the timber, lime, and slates—(hear, hear). When I say he is not my agent, but the clerk of my son, I am not repudiating him, but only stating the precise fact. He says,—“They then drove along the main-road, and stopped upon the road. They asked me, was that one of the tenants' houses below the road?—pointing to one house in particular. I said yes. They and I went down to the house. The man of the house or his wife were not at home, but his mother-in-law and the children. They asked me, after we went into the house, what was his name. I said Denis Sullivan. They asked me how many cows' grass he had. I said five. They asked what rent did he assume. I said eight pounds. They then asked the old woman, through me, how many children he had, and she told them. They then examined the furniture, and went to the room and looked at the bed, and said this man has a feather-bed. I said he was very comfortable, and worth money.” Not a tittle of that is in their account ; but they disparage this man, and seek to disparage me through his means—(hear, hear).† That is a specimen of the manner in which they have acted throughout this transaction—(hear, hear). Let this, however, be remembered throughout everything I have to say, that not one particle of my case respecting Cahirciveen, or the statements I made, or the improvements I alleged, has been contradicted, or attempted to be contradicted, by those Commissioners—(cheers). The only case they attempt to make is, a case of bad houses in themselves, and badly furnished. We will see how that is as we go along ; but that is their only case.‡ They next go to Kilcoleman. I shall not for the present, but shall hereafter refer to the statements with reference to the houses they entered. But I shall now tell you the real facts respecting the farm of Kilcoleman—(hear, hear). It fell into

* He stated to us, that he collected the rents on Tarmons and other estates, and acted as the agent under Mr. Maurice O'Connell. It matters little what he is called ; the one name is quite as appropriate as the other.

† We should, indeed, have been clever fellows for this or any duty to have put down all this man Connell told us ! What guarantee had we that he was telling the truth ? Whatever a tenant said without his influence, and whatever we saw and could believe, was always put down.

‡ And a very sufficient case. The town of Cahirciveen had nothing to do with the inquiry. All that was said of it was, that it was dirty and unpaved, with old hat-mended windows. A small part of it is paved, the rest is literally accurate. The fact was, something could be said about Cahirciveen as a defence, for it has a convent, and school, and market-house ; but nothing could be said in defence of any other part of the property, and therefore it was cunningly lugged into a discussion with which it had nothing to do.

my hands in a dilapidated state, and I built houses upon it. I was the person who first introduced into that part of the country the practice of landlords making houses for their tenants. It was a practice that was never known nor thought of in that part of the country until I began it, and I began it on the farm of Kilcoleman. The houses were placed along the then high-road, at suitable distances, and I paid for the building of all those houses, and they were then such good houses that some of the peasantry used to go two or three miles round to see the capital houses built for the tenants of Kilcoleman by their landlord—(loud cheers). They are certainly now amongst the worst houses on my property, the other houses are so superior to them; and I would have changed them from their present site, and got new houses built, but there is a new road made through the land below the former road, and when the land is cultivated down to the new road, the houses will be changed. It is true that I put out a tenant last year. Now, what is the fact? This tenant held another farm, on which he went to reside, and he turned my land into dairy-land. When I saw so many human beings in want of land, I would not consent that my land should be given to beasts of the field—(loud cheers). I accordingly turned out the dairy farmer, and there are now two tenants in his place. He got 70*l.* as tenant-right, which I paid him out of my pocket; and that was the first instance of a landlord recognising the tenant-right in that part of the country, and I shall take care that it is followed up on my property—(cheers). Kilcoleman, which is described to be in such a hideous state, is the second farm on which I established the tenant-right. There was a widow in good circumstances living there. Her son was an ill-conducted fellow, and, above all, what I most abominate, a pledge-breaker. I would not take him as a tenant, and the woman had another farm, to which I removed her. The incoming-tenant gave me, as a fine for the farm which she held, 40*l.*, which I instantly handed over to the widow—(cheers). And yet I am the man to be assailed by those itinerant tellers of truth, I suppose I shall call them.

A Voice.—They are blackguards and scoundrels—(cheers).

LIBERATOR.—I shall give you, I think, another specimen. With respect to a place called Arkarra, here is honest Foster's account:—"The condition of the huts was perfectly horrible. In one of them in which we all entered in the presence of Mr. Maurice O'Connell, I requested your reporter to note down, that a broken iron pot was the only furniture of any description in it. The cottage was full of stifling peat-smoke, and a woman clad in rags, with four or five half-naked children about her, was squatted on the mud-floor near some smouldering turf. The excuse here was, that she was a pauper, and paid no rent. Mr. Bland will, of course, get the odium of her condition, and have to remove her eventually at his own cost, when this middleman's lease expires." He must survive me, at all events; and pity for the Mr. Bland that shall survive me is rather too premature a quality for this worthy man to boast of—(laughter). Now, let me read the fact as stated by my son:—"They went into another cabin, which was wretched enough. Foster was in great glee, and very witty upon a cracked iron pot (calling it the '*biler*'), but was quite silenced when the poor woman who was in the house said that she was a travelling beggar, and that one of the neighbours gave her the use of the house, as she had a sick child, until it recovered; that the pot was given her by a neighbour, and she was supported by their

charity."* See what an accusation to bring against me! Was there ever anything like it? A poor widow, with a child, going through the country begging. The child is taken sick; the people take compassion upon her; they give her a hovel for shelter; they give her straw to lie upon; they administer to the poor creature's wants in every way within their power; when in comes these two—what shall I call them?—

A Voice.—Scoundrels—(cheers and laughter).

LIBERATOR.—In they rushed, in great glee at her misery, and became witty at the poor woman's expense; talked of "bilers," and so forth, until they were at length shamed into silence by an announcement from the woman herself that she was a travelling beggar—(hear, hear). Oh, it is a pleasing fact to dwell upon! I thank Heaven at this fresh proof of the humanity of my countrymen. I am rejoiced that, amongst my own tenants, the good feeling was evinced—and God bless them for it—of taking in the starving widow and the sick child; giving them to eat and to drink, and providing for them a shelter from the rain and the storm—(cheers); and if there was but one particle of humanity—if there was but one spark of the proper mind—if there was any thing but party-spirit, and the virulence which shows itself in *The Times*, and of course in those that they employ, it would not induce an attack upon me for such a cause, and this fact would not be turned to the improper uses to which it has been turned by Foster and his colleague (cheers). But it appears that all their anxiety is lest Mr. Bland should be hereafter blamed for my transgression (laughter). A great deal has been said throughout these letters of the Marquis of Lansdowne's property, and the commissioners have had the unparalleled impudence to say that they went into several houses on that property. That assertion is made by both, and it is an arrant lie for each (hear, hear, hear). They went into one house, and only one,† and yet though this was the case, Foster takes upon himself to ask in his letters, "Why are not Mr. O'Connell's houses as good as the Marquis of Lansdowne's?"‡ Now I will read what happened on the Marquis of Lansdowne's estate:—"They asked me to show them part of the Marquis of Lansdowne's property. I said it was very near us. We then passed Inny Bridge. I said we are now on the

* The reporter's account had better be referred to as to this case, *ante* p. 542. If this be true, it was highly creditable to these poor people, for they were all nearly as wretched as this poor creature. One thing is certain—she got nothing from the O'Connells; and Mr. Maurice O'Connell viewed her condition with perfect and apparently habitual indifference.

† This is a falsehood—I was in three. It is, too, really absurd to talk of going into these houses. All the cottages of a decent look outside are precisely of one character inside. All that are wretched-looking outside, have in the same manner one character inside. After being in a dozen of them you become as certain of the contents of the interior of a cottage from a glance at its appearance outside, as if you had spent an hour in it. All the cottages of one stamp outside are exactly alike within.

‡ There is no comparison in the appearance of the Marquis of Lansdowne's cottages outside (and their insides correspond) with those under Mr. O'Connell. Those on the Marquis of Lansdowne's property are in every way superior.

Marquis's property. The first house we met was at the right, alongside the road. They came out of the carriage and went into that house. They asked me what was the name of the farm? I said Murriagh, but that that part was called Scariff. The son to the man of the house spoke English. They asked him how much land had his father? He said by right that it would not graze more than one cow; but that they had two cows sometimes on it, and sometimes three. They asked him then what rent did he pay? He said 4*l.* 16*s.* yearly." I hope it will be recollected that that is the rent charged for the grass of one cow on the Marquis of Lansdowne's property, and the only chance of making that rent is to overstock the land with cattle and render it almost valueless (hear). "They asked him were there better houses than that on the marquis's property in that district? He said there were some better and some worse. They asked him then which was there more better houses than worse houses? He said there were not many better houses, but that there were a great many worse. They looked down into the room and asked the daughter had they a feather bed? She said not. They went out and got into the carriage and drove along until they went opposite the National School-house on the Spooncaune road."* There are the Marquis of Lansdowne's houses which these commissioners describe as first-rate houses. Four pounds sixteen shillings for the grass of one cow, and no feather bed! And yet my friend "the gutter" asks why are not my cottages as good? (cheers).—They came next to another farm of mine called Tarmons, where the commissioners have displayed their usual virulence and inattention to facts. Here is the account given by my correspondent of their doings at Tarmons—"We walked along until we came to the bounds of Tarmons, I showed them a road that was leading down to the houses of the old demesne, and said there is a road Mr. O'Connell has got made lately at his own expense to these houses, and if they went on a little farther I would show them another road he had got made at his own expense to the same houses.† There are many farmers in Tarmons—there is a very large extent of land, and a good many houses, it is a property for ever, subject to no head rents. The first house I came to on the old road to Upper Tarmons was a slate house two story high, with four large glass windows." Not a word of this in *The Times* report—all is left out, but it appears the worthy "gutters" could not see the glass windows (cheers and laughter)‡—"I said this is the first house of Tarmons; they went into the house; I called in the man of the house who was a smith that was working in his forge next door; he came in; they asked him his name; he said Tim Murphy; they asked him how many cows' grass he had; he said five; they asked him his yearly rent; he said six pounds; I said it would give good grass to four cows, but that he put an additional cow on it; they asked him how many children he had; he told them." Thus this man

* The report of Mr. Russell as to this visit, written from notes taken down at the time, is better evidence of the facts than this man's interested statement from memory, see *ante*, p. 540.

† And such a road I never was on before. John Bunyan must have seen some such place, and have made it the foundation of his allegory of the Slough of Despond.

‡ A reference to Mr. Russell's report will show that this is not true.

had the grass of five cows for 6*l.*, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, whom they boast of and puff off to the utmost, charges 4*l.* 16*s.* for the grass of one, and notwithstanding this I am denounced as oppressive and a grinding landlord, and the marquis is proclaimed to be the paragon of all perfection (hear, and cheers). I am not blaming the marquis, I am sure he does not exact any amount of rent but that which the land can pay; but I assert I do not exact as much rent as he does (hear). He is a good man—and his agent is a good man—but, I repeat, he gets his rent to an amount that I do not (cheers). “They asked Murphy had he a feather bed? He said he had, and showed it to them. They asked him used he eat enough? He said he used. They asked him did his children eat enough? He said they did. They asked him then was there any failure in his potatoes? He said not. There was a cabin next to it on the old road to the east of it; they asked me who lived there, I said a poor widow that had it for nothing, as she lived in the house those years back (I gave the man 3*l.* a year reduction to leave the poor widow a cabin); they went to the door, and the woman of the house came out, and they asked her if she paid any rent? she said she did. I asked her to whom did she pay it, as I did not know her, never seeing her before; I thought it was the poor widow lived there always. They asked her then who did she pay rent to? she said to Tom Keating (one of the tenants). They asked her how much? she said 1*l.* 4*s.* a year. They asked her how she supported herself? she said, taking score ground at 1*s.* per score (a score is twenty spades in length, and the length of a spade is five and a half feet by eight feet in breadth).* Gentlemen, said I, here is Keating, and let me ask him one question. What was the amount of your gale’s rent six years ago—was it 3*l.* 15*s.*? It was, said Keating. Was not your gale’s rent reduced to 2*l.* 5*s.* per gale at that time by giving up your claim on those cabins? Keating said it was. And is 2*l.* 5*s.* your gale at the present? It is, said he. How dare you attempt to charge rent for these cabins the Liberator gave for nothing to these creatures six years ago, and gave you a reduction of three pounds a year in your rent since? He said he charged no rent for them since, but found this cabin waste lately, and let it to this woman’s husband. I told her not to pay Keating any rent for it.—They then went to the next house: they asked the man of the house what holding he had. He said he had the house and a garden to the rear of it, that used to support him in potatoes, about an acre and a half. They asked him did he pay any rent? he said he did not these six years since it was taken from Keating. There was a small nominal rent put on him last May, in order to acknowledge the tenancy. They asked him how many children he had? He told them. We proceeded then to the next house they went into (Tom Keating’s); they asked him how many cows grass he had? He told them three. They asked him the rent. He said 4*l.* 10*s.* They looked at a good feather bed he had and his furniture, and asked him how many children? He told them. Asked him what diet? He said potatoes, milk, and fish. There was a large flock of geese outside the house. They asked him if the geese were his? He said yes. They

* Connell, though the rent-collector, knew nothing about the woman, and very little about any of the tenants. There could not be a stronger proof of neglect.

asked him then how would he dispose of them? He said to eat them. They went into the next house, to John Keating's. They asked his wife how many cow's grass her husband had? She answered the same as his brother Tom Keating, and showed them a feather-bed and furniture.* Now, not a word of all this in Russell's report—not a tittle about the featherbeds and furniture.* His only object seemed to be to describe everything as his imagination suggested, and to certify that my tenants are as badly off as those described in Lord Devon's report, where it is stated that a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury amongst the agricultural labouring classes. But what is the fact? They found no feather-bed in the Marquis of Lansdowne's boasted cottages—they found feather-beds and good furniture in each of mine (cheers).† “They went into another cabin which Keating had let to a labourer, asked him what rent he paid Keating, he said 1*l.* 4*s.* in labour and cash; Foster said to Keating, you are a middleman under Mr. O'Connell. It was then night fall, we went upon the old road—that is a dirty road said they; now, Keating, said I, did Mr. Maurice O'Connell allow the tenants of this land last summer one shilling per perch for opening this old road? Keating said he did; the gentlemen said to me then, it is too late to go into any more of these houses; we went into the best, the smith's house, and the Keatings' houses, which are good houses, and that will tell for the rest.” That is what the reporters told this man, and how different from their published statements.‡ “There is a better slate house, said I, to the east of us that Mr. Maurice O'Connell got built lately; and I said, that the Keating's houses were built a long time, and that all the houses on the rest of Tarnons were new houses, lately built, and far superior. It was then dark, and we went on towards Waterville.” Any body who hears that account, and reads the report in *The Times* must feel astonished at the impudent audacity of these persons in making such a statement. The two Keatings' houses are the oldest on the entire farm, and yet, they are in good condition—they are well furnished, and have feather-beds amongst other things. On the rest of the farm the houses are all new, and these the commissioner did not visit.§ To be sure it was dark at the time, and that might be received as an excuse; but that they went to sleep at Waterville, only a short distance off, not half a mile from Tarnons, so that they could have, so disposed, satisfied themselves next morning, and found out the truth; but they were not so disposed—darkness suited them better—their object was not that of truth or honesty, and the darkness afforded them an opportunity of lying

* Feather beds and furniture! A dirty poke, with undressed and stinking feathers thrust into it, and laid upon a pile of stones, or on a rude bedstead, like a wooden-box or a mangle-frame, placed on a filthy mud-floor, is dignified with the appellation of “a feather-bed and furniture!” But see Mr. Russell's report, *ante*, p. 541.

† This is grossly erroneous. See *ante*, p. 540.

‡ We told Connell no such thing as that they were good houses, but that they were the *best* to be found there.

§ Precisely. All we visited we found wretched. All we did not visit and did not see, were, we are told, excellent houses. Why, this Old Bailey trick has got so stale, that none but the Gobemouches of Conciliation Hall would have swallowed it.

(cheers). There is one thing very curious—Russell divides his peregrinations through my property into three days' inspection—the first day he was accompanied by Mr. Eugene O'Sullivan, Mr. Hartop's agent, and he appears to be exceedingly angry with the agent for being friendly to me (oh, oh). To be sure it was very offensive to his highness the Commissioner of *The Times*, that Mr. O'Sullivan should have any regard for me; but the gist of this first day's report was an examination of five or six houses, which he described to be in a most miserable state. I won't say whether they are in such a state or not; but this I say, no matter what their state, or what their condition, I have no more to do with them than I have with the Castle of Dublin (hear, hear). It is true they are within my property under the lease of Hartop; but what is the fact? They are actually in possession of Captain O'Connell, the nephew of the gentleman who sold the property to me. Before he sold it he made a lease of that part of it to Captain O'Connell for 5s. a year, so that in point of fact I have no more to do with the houses thus described than I have with the house of Mr. Butler at the other side of the river (hear, hear). Yet an entire page is taken up with abuse of me, though they must have known all this. I cannot let them off on the assumption of a mistake, for Mr. Eugene O'Sullivan was with them to explain everything, and I am sure the newspaper containing the slander will hardly have reached his post town when I shall have a letter stating that he did explain everything (cheers).^{*} They confined themselves in their first day's vituperation entirely to the houses on Captain O'Connell's land, and did not venture a word disparagingly of the nine other farms (hear, hear). But I will have the full particulars—I will take up Russell and Foster from their first day's investigation on the land with which I had nothing whatever to do, and I pledge myself to exhibit in its true light the temper and spirit in which this investigation was carried on (cheers). And now, let me ask, what is there in *The Times* report to disparage any part of my former statement? Everything I said about Cahirciveen turns out to be true. They were taken through the town—they were shown the convent and the various public buildings—they were shown everything to bear out my words, and not one tittle have they dared to assert in disparagement of my statements about Cahirciveen (cheers). I stated the extent of my expenditure—I calculated it at some thousand pounds—they have been there a second time, and yet with the malignant eye of enmity they have been unable to detect the slightest mistatement on my part (hear, hear, and cheers).[†] Is not that a proud and gratifying feeling after such an investigation? (continued cheers). Again, there was the letter of Mr. Butler, and I ask is there any attempt on Russell's part to disparage the statement of that gentleman? (hear, hear) Mr. Butler states that I am a kind and indulgent landlord; he states further, this important fact—that he was a valuator under the tithe composition act in four parishes in which I have estates—the valuation under that act is always as low as it possibly can be—and that, with only one or two exceptions in these four parishes, my lands were the only lands let so low as the valuation (cheers). Do they attempt to answer these

^{*} How could Mr. O'Connell tell that? Did he send instructions to O'Sullivan to prepare and forward such a letter?

[†] What! not even about the glass windows? without going over all the story again.

things? Not one word.* Mr. Butler is living to prove—but unwillingly the truth comes out, for when they proceed to show the rent obtained by the Marquis of Lansdowne from his tenants, and that received by me from mine, the amount received by his lordship is one-third, and in many cases two-thirds more than I receive (cheers).†

Then there was next published the letter of the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, and have they attempted to contradict a single word of it (hear).‡ It is too flattering to me not to make me hesitate before mentioning it, but this is a case in which all delicacy must be thrown aside in personal vindication (hear, hear).—And what does the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, my parish priest, say of me? That whenever distress appeared in the country he always relied upon me as a certain resource for assistance—that when, in a particular season of distress, he wrote to me, I immediately sent him one hundred pounds for relief of the people, and desired him not to spare me as long as I had a shilling (cheers). What we suffer for Ireland! That I should be buffeting with these badgers on account of my property is really ludicrous (cheers). Remember also that it is not asserted that I ever proceeded against a tenant by ejectment or turned one out of possession (hear, hear).§ I am not charged with evicting—on the contrary, the charge is otherwise. I am found fault with because I do not turn away my tenants—some of them are poor—but I don't think poverty a crime—the cruelty is in turning people out to starve—and I have, thanks be to Heaven, 134 lot-holders paying me a nominal rent of from one shilling to a pound, and I have 134 families rescued from starvation by this means (cheers).—Now that is my boast and my pride. Yet these two London rival correspondents, whom I will designate only as vagabonds, set out upon their travels and make the mighty discovery that there are poor people upon my property (hear, hear). I thank my God that there are, and that they have been saved from a worse fate, and so long as the power is vested in me I will continue to protect and cherish those who, mercilessly evicted from other estates, have found a refuge on mine (hear, hear). I was the first who introduced a system of improvements in that part of the county Kerry, and notwithstanding the mass of vituperation, misrepresentation and calumny that has been heaped upon me, I will continue acting up to it (hear). Even according to the admission of Russell himself, which I shall read presently, I have laid the foundation of the tenant-right that will spread through the country, affording protection and security in their holdings to the people, and, consequent on this protection, I have the peculiar gratification of knowing that in the entire of Ireland there are not so peaceable, tranquil, quiet, and loyal a people as the inhabitants of Kerry. There are no,

* We went there to describe what we saw was the condition of the people, and not to answer Mr. Butler's letters, which we did not see, and which, under the relationships and circumstances in which Mr. Butler stands there in regard to Mr. O'Connell are not worth examining into.

† We never found it so, and I do not believe it. See *ante*, as to the fact, p. 540.

‡ I have never seen the letter to this day, and do not know what it is about.

§ See instances of ejectment, *post*, in Mr. Twiss's letter, and in the note appended which I have copied, as Mr. O'Connell chooses to boast. He calculated, of course, because of our forbearance, that nothing was known about his ejectments.

agrarian riots or disturbances among them. My property has become the receptacle for the distressed and destitute tenants of other proprietors. I am their protector. I would be ashamed to think of myself if I had failed to become so, and I thank my Creator that an opportunity was afforded me of acting the part of a protector to the desolate (hear). Those 134 lot-holders, with their families, make upwards of 600 individuals, and that number of human beings who, in any other county in the south might have been left to die of starvation, are on my property alive and well, and I understand part of them, no inconsiderable number either, are prospering. On investigation I have learned that one of those lot-holders obtained no less than 25*l.* for his tenant-right to his lot. Formerly I was under the impression, and I stated, that 15*l.* was the sum received, but having since investigated the matter I am now able to assert that 25*l.* was the amount paid for the right. In order to show that it is not recently I have commenced this system of making allotments I purpose reading extracts from the evidence of Mr. Maurice Colles, given before the Land Commission, for really this is an attempt on the part of those malicious wretches who have concocted this conspiracy against me to endeavour to extinguish the system of allotment. Foster, in his communications to *The Times*, has condemned it over and over again; and, as it has been made to appear that I have really commenced making such allotments, I will read an extract from the evidence of Mr. Colles, an eminent surveyor, engaged by Trinity College. It is to be found in the first volume of the land evidence before Lord Devon's Commission, page 246, queries 71 and 72 :—" When the landlord gives encouragement, or where there is confidence, the tenant will reclaim as readily without a lease as with one; but where there is no confidence or encouragement the increase in the quantity of arable-land has been very trifling. I have been able to ascertain this accurately from a comparison of surveys made of the College estates in the years 1700 and 1775, with the extent of arable-land shown on the ordnance maps." " I am confident that through the country generally the land that has been reclaimed is by no means in proportion to the increase in the population. On the College estate, in the barony of Tirhugh, principally on Colonel Conolly's holding, an extensive tract of coarse land appears to have been reclaimed; also, on that part of the Kerry property in possession of Mr. O'Connell. The great increase in the arable in this property I attribute to the number of persons Mr. O'Connell has holding under him, for the last twenty years, at a nominal rent." In order to give you some idea of the spirit in which I carried on improvements, and the course of advancement made within a very limited period, I take up the first and second reports of the select committee appointed to inquire into the amount of advances made by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland with the minutes of evidence ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in August, 1835 :—" In a report upon a part of Kerry, Mr. Nimmo states, in 1824, that—" A few years ago there was hardly a plough, car, or carriage of any kind; butter, the only produce, was carried to Cork on horseback; there was not one decent public-house, and only one house slated and plastered in the village; the nearest post-office thirty miles distant. Since the new road was made,* there were built in three years upwards of twenty respectable two-story houses; a shop with

* This road was made by a grant of public money.

cloth, hardware, and groceries; a comfortable inn, post-office, bridewell, new chapel, a quay covered with lime-stone for manure, a salt-work, two stores for oats, and a considerable traffic in linen and yarn.' Upon this subject the following communication has been made to us by Mr. O'Connell, a member of the committee :—' The place referred to by Mr. Nimmo is now called the town of Cahirciveen. At the first period he alludes to there were but one or two ploughs in the barony, or certainly only two cars. The quantity of wheat grown was confined to the consumption of a few families amongst the more wealthy classes, not exceeding six; and oats were grown in but a little larger proportion. Since 1824, the date of Mr. Nimmo's report, the houses of Cahirciveen have increased from 20 to upwards of 250. There are several shops, and many persons engaged in the import and export trade. The inhabitants, in 1831, exceeded 1100; they are now more than 1300. There are from 10 to 15 new houses being built. A new and enlarged bridewell, with a petty sessions court, has been built. A well-supported dispensary, and a large and exceedingly well-regulated fever hospital has been built outside the town, affording the greatest advantage to the poorer classes.* There was no medical person resident in 1824; there is now a large and exceedingly well supplied apothecary's shop, and a skilful resident physician. The number of cars has multiplied so much that the writer has in a single day met upwards of 1000 cars employed in various works in that country, in which he *knows* there were but two cars a few years ago. A bolting-mill has been erected near Cahirciveen, at an expense of from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.*; and the quantity of wheat grown in the country has multiplied more than two hundred-fold, and of oats more than one thousand-fold. All these advantages, and they are only beginning to develop themselves, have originated in the making of about seventy miles of new road on a level line.' " Now I stand by the allotment system. I will continue the system in spite of every species of slander and vituperation that my assailants may choose to heap upon me. I have already said that neither Foster nor Russell have attempted to contradict the statements contained in the letter written by Mr. Butler or the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald (hear, hear). If I may take the liberty of using the name of George Alexander Hamilton, and I do so with respect and singular gratitude, I can make a similar statement respecting his testimony. I am happy, though we differ in political matters, to have an opportunity of expressing how deeply and sincerely I respect him as a gentleman. Mr. Hamilton it was who, I believe, communicated to the writer for the *Evening Mail* and *The Times* commissioner, or his colleague could not falsify that gentleman's statement, that my land in Kerry was very well managed.* He gave me a high character as a landlord, and to the

* All this improvement, if correctly stated, is to be attributed to a grant of public money to open roads, and it is very satisfactory to learn that it has effected such an improvement.

† Neither the statement of Mr. Hamilton nor of any other gentleman can alter the fact, that there is no agricultural instruction given, no agricultural knowledge possessed by the peasantry, no draining, no green crops grown, no hedges, no ditches, the most wretched hovels, and a potato-fed population. If such an estate as this is thought to be very well managed, I should be curious to know the condition of one considered to be badly managed.

credit of the conductor of the *Evening Mail*, I announce the fact, that that journal published the communication, thus affording the delightful contrast to the conduct pursued by *The Times* newspaper, and demonstrating that much as Irish journals of a Tory or Conservative caste, differed with me in politics, and much as they had reason to differ with me, for I successfully combated the principles of their advocacy, they could rally round an injured man, and lend their aid in controverting statements respecting my character which they believed were without foundation. There has been, I repeat, no attempt made by Foster or Russell to shake the evidence so promptly and so generously given by Mr. Hamilton, or the other gentleman of whom I have spoken. I am, therefore, well pleased at the new ordeal through which I have had to pass; and I tell those men, the gutter commissioner and Russell, who may imagine that they have triumphed over me in the columns of *The Times*, that they have not heard the last of it yet. As yet no reply to their conjoint fabrications could reach me from Derrynane. The post would not permit such expedition. Indeed, it is highly probable that until the *Freeman's Journal* of this morning, containing Foster and Russell's letters, reaches my son, Maurice O'Connell, he will not have seen their lying reports. I promise them, however, they shall have information on their pettyfogging, miserable, and malignant misrepresentations connected with the commissioner's letter—there is one comfort.* In saying that he visited the houses of several of my tenants at Derrynane Beg, he told an arrant and unprincipled lie. That is a fact beyond the least doubt. When writing to *The Times*, on the 10th of November, he stated—"I entered several of the cottages, at a place called Derrynane Beg, within a mile from Derrynane. The distress of the people was horrible. There is not a pane of glass in the parish, nor window of any kind in half the cottages. Some have got a hole in the wall for light, with a board to stop it up. In not one in a dozen is there a chair to sit upon." Now, this allegation leads to the belief that Foster was in more than a dozen of my tenants' cottages at Derrynane Beg unprovided with chairs. That statement is a lie. I am not at the present period speaking of his story about the absence of panes of glass. I will make him a compliment of that fabrication, and confine myself to the residue of his allegations. There never was a more complete lie—a more untenable assertion—a more unfounded fabrication, than his alleging that he visited several of the cottages at Derrynane Beg. Foster himself cannot deny it is a lie. I am ready to prove that it is baseless and utterly false. I can prove it so by his own subsequent admission, as I can expose the hollowness of the excuse on which he attempts his justification.† Yet this lie, with all the others, has been endorsed by Russell (hear, hear). Everything Foster has written Russell asserts was right. In nothing does Russell admit was Foster

* Regarding this vapouring threat, I need only say, that emissaries were sent to sift out all we did, and contradict us if they could, and they failed.

† The question is not how many cottages I entered, whether five or fifty, but what is the condition of the cottages. It has been proved that my description of Derrynane Beg was literally accurate. I could hardly have dreamed literal accuracy, for I never before saw misery like that at Derrynane Beg. It surpasses alike all imagination or fiction—it is a hideous and almost inconceivable reality.

wrong. Russell sides up to Foster's saddle-skirts. They went in couples like any two ugly beagles (hear, hear, and laughter). I do not mean to say that Foster is personally ugly—I am now told his appearance is in his favour; but mental ugliness is what I charge him with (hear, hear). My son Maurice met those persons on the occasion of Foster's second visit to Derrynane, and I will read the statement he sent me on the subject.—I would not insert it in the newspapers until I laid it before the association, and I have double pleasure in doing so now. “Mr. Russell, the companion of *The Times* Commissioner, having appointed to meet me at Waterville on Thursday, the 18th December, I proceeded thither on the morning of that day. They arrived about two o'clock, and I had some conversation with Mr. Russell about indifferent matters in the parlour of Denahy's hotel before Foster came in. When we were speaking, I asked Mr. Russell, in Foster's presence, if they had been in Cahirciveen? he said yes, and had met Mr. Primrose and seen a good deal of the town, and that a man by the name of Sullivan (Gow), from Aughamong, who had told him a sad story about his potatoes the day before, had come to them offering to make affidavit that what he had told them was false.” The fact is, the man mistook Russell and Foster for Government commissioners sent to inquire into the distressed condition of the people with a view to remedial measures, and he was making out a case of distress for their consideration. That is the amount of what Sullivan did, and I make them a present of it.* “Some observations were made about the Cahirciveen hotels, and Foster said that he was sick the night he came in there first, and that his impressions were tinged by the sickness.” Tinged with sickness. I will tell you what one of these tinges of sickness was. He stated that there was a bull calf in one of the rooms of the hotel at Cahirciveen under his bed-room, and that is what he calls “being tinged with sickness.” “That his object was to tell things as he saw them; that he had no personal enmities—he wished for correct information. I said that he took a curious method of proving that, for he neither sought nor took information from sources likely to give it correctly when he was before in this district; that he had singled out an individual to attack, and had described him in the most atrocious colours without a shadow of foundation. He said he had spoken generally. ‘Why,’ said I, ‘you spoke of my father as a greedy and exacting landlord.’ ‘No,’ said he. ‘Well,’ said I, ‘you certainly put the phrase more poetically, for you said he squeezed the life's blood out of his tenantry.’ ‘Oh! no,’ said he. ‘Why I have your letter at Derrynane,’ replied I, ‘and do you mean to say that that phrase is not applied to my father?’ ‘Oh! no, to middlemen,’ said he. ‘Of whom you only describe him as the very worst,’ said I. ‘I beg your pardon,’ said he, ‘I did not.’ ‘Why,’ said I, ‘I have your letter at Derrynane,† but as we are at issue there, let me ask you why did you say you went into several of the houses at Derrynane Beg, when you did not enter one of them?’ ‘I? Oh!’ said he, ‘when

* It is a pleasant task sifting out the truth in such a locality.

† The reader will find what I said, *ante*, page 397. It will be seen what little reliance is to be placed upon the testimony of this gentleman, when he might even have refreshed his memory before he thus sat down to prove his own inaccuracy, and, curiously enough, my accuracy, as a reference to what I did say will show.

the car was going slowly *up the hill* I got out of it without Hanlon's knowing, and went down to the houses.' I made no reply, as the answer convicted him; the road from Devine's to Derrynane Beg being all down a hill to the bridge near Chuanes (Hartop's tenant), the commissioner backing, evidently, his first falsehood with a second." Was there ever such an absurd statement? The car was going up a hill—Foster got out without the driver's knowledge—went and visited twenty houses, and got back into the car, Hanlon all the time being in ignorance of his movements (laughter).* There is a fellow for you; there is a worthy colleague for Russell to endorse every word uttered by the gutter commissioner. He says that he went up all hill, and does not make any allusion to the necessary descent. Foster unquestionably should be hired as a harlequin for one of the Christmas harlequinades (laughter). With wonderful agility he jumped out of a car into twenty houses, and back again into the car, which was all the time going up what he called a hill, but what was in reality a descent of three-quarters of a mile on the Government made road, where the driver would naturally move along rather rapidly as the horse could drag the vehicle with more ease (hear, hear). Am I not right in saying that this man Foster stands convicted of gross falsehood, and being so convicted how can we have the least confidence in him afterwards? The road is not hilly; it is a gentle declivity. That is the way the lie about his visiting several cottages at Derrynane Beg fails him. He had but one leg to stand upon, and that leg now falls from under him:—"We came out of Denahy's to get into the carriage; outside I saw Denis Sullivan (Cossure), of Ightercore; I called him over; I begged Mr. Russell to attend to his answers to the questions I should put. I asked—'Where do you live?' 'At Ightercore.' 'Whose tenant are you?' 'The Liberator's.' 'Is that Mr. Hartop's property?' 'Yes.' 'What lease has the Liberator?' 'His own life—long life to him.' 'Have your family any and what lease?' 'We have—the same as the Liberator has.' 'What rent do you pay?' 'I pay 16l. 12s. 4d. yearly; my brothers' families pay the same.' 'Is that the rent in your lease?' 'No; the Liberator reduced the rent for us.' 'Though you have the same tenure as himself?' 'Yes.'—[Not one word of this is mentioned by Russell. He avails himself of every opportunity of suggesting falsehood, and studiously avoids stating the truth.] 'Have you a good house, and are you allowed for it?' 'I have a fine house, finished last year, and you are allowing me for it; you began this gale.' Mr. Russell then said that he saw the houses on that farm, and that they were very good. [Not one word of this does Russell report.]† I asked—'Were your brothers' families allowed for houses?' 'They were.' 'Was there a road

* In precisely the same manner both Mr. Russell and myself got out of our carriage and walked down towards Derrynane, as we went there. The stupid driver drove on for *two miles* without us—in fact out of sight; and we had to run till out of breath to overtake him. We might have visited all Derrynane Beg and have entered every house—in fact we might have got knocked on the head and the driver would have known nothing of it—for he was driving away at a jog trot *up a hill*, when by dint of running and shouting we got him stopped and came up to him.

† Mr. Russell went to state what he saw, and not to repeat as fact whatever Mr. Maurice O'Connell might choose to tell him.

made for you, and who paid for it?' 'There was, at great expense, and the Liberator paid for it. Have you and your co-partners been treated in regard to allowances, as if the farm was fee-simple?' 'We have; God bless the master for it—we could not expect so much even if it were his estate.' 'Is that the way he deals by his tenants generally?' 'It is.'"

I have certainly to explain why it is that I, having but a temporary interest in this portion of my property, make my tenants the same allowances as I do on my fee-simple estate. I may be the cause of the evil; if evil it be, but I am not of harshness. It is not the fault of the occupying tenant that I am not the proprietor in fee. That is an accidental circumstance. The tenantry should not be punished for that accident, and therefore I make them the allowances as I do on my fee-simple estate, partly for the sake of the tenantry, and partly for the sake of the reversionary interest. I will not be afraid to appear before my God to account for that conduct. I am happy to be in a condition to show that I deal with the property of others precisely as I do with my own. "I then saw James Fennaghty of Baslien, and called him over. I asked him where he lived? He said Baslien. 'Whose tenant are you?' 'Mr. Butler's.' 'Whose tenant were you before?' 'I was the Liberator's tenant and his uncle's before him, until the lease of Inchies and Barlicon run out.' 'How long were your family living under ours?' 'I am the fifth generation of my family who were tenants of the O'Connell's.* 'Were the other tenants of that land long living under our family?' 'They were, and most of them as long as my family was.' 'Have you a good house, were you allowed for it, and by whom?' 'I have, I was allowed for it by the Liberator.' 'Did he allow for roads, &c., as much as if that were his estate?' 'He did.' 'Was he ever repaid?' 'No, and I don't know he ever will.' Mr. Russell then asked—'Are you a tenant of Mr. O'Connell's now?' 'No, but Mr. Maurice gave me a farm for my son last year on the estate as being the son of an old follower.' 'Where do you live?' 'On Mr. Butler's land.' We then got into my carriage and drove on.—Fennaghty followed us. I asked Russell to make a note of these conversations; he said he would not forget them" (but he has omitted noting one of them in his letter). "When we came to James Sullivan's (Martin's) house at Inchies, I stopped the carriage, and said, this is the first house on the farm, of which Mr. Foster spoke as having being held under Butler—let us speak to this man. I called out James Martin. I asked him the same questions I asked Fennaghty; he made the same replies. I further asked him if the tenants on the farm were not in arrear when the Liberator got possession at his uncle's death? Answer—'Yes; they all owed rent, and some a year's, some up to two years', except James Fennaghty and myself, and the arrears were forgiven by the Liberator.' 'Were you allowed anything?' 'Yes; he gave us a year's rent each as being good tenants; we had paid up our rent, and never asked or expected anything, but he made us a present of a year's rent out of his own pocket.' 'Were you allowed for the house you live in besides?' 'Yes; I got a year's rent, and I'd have got more if I wished it.' 'How long were your family living under ours?' 'I am either the sixth or seventh generation.† 'Did you make money under the Liberator?' 'I made money under both his uncle and him;

* As to this, see the next following Appendix, which contains a history of Mr. O'Connell's illustrious pedigree.

† See last note.

I made 100*l.* while I was his tenant, and I have it safe.'—Fennaghty said also that he had made money in the same time. Foster asked James Martin, 'how many cows have you?' 'I have the grass of six cows' (there is not one word of that in Russell's report)—'but it keeps eight and a horse well—but I have divided with my son.' Foster—'Whose house is that (pointing to a new house opposite to Sullivan Martin's)?' 'My son's widow built it.' 'How long since?' 'It is not quite finished.' 'Is it built in Mr. Butler's time?' 'Yes.' 'Is it not a better house than yours?' 'It's a newer house, but mine is far better.' 'Why, the new house is higher?' 'No, it is not, and it's not so roomy.' Fennaghty here said that the old house was much better. I proposed that they should examine both, and Russell said the old house was evidently larger and as high as the other, and asked Martin if he had good furniture; he said he had, and to come in and see. They declined, and we drove on to Alderagh. They asked whose farm that was? I said my father's, held under Mr. Crump Bland, the lease his own life. Foster, seeing the old houses of Alderagh close to the road, proposed to examine. I said they were some of the worst houses on the land, being old, but to examine them by all means. We got down; they went into the house of Edward Swiney, a tenant; asked his rent, he told them 2*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* a gale; how many cows had he? Three. They examined his furniture; the house is long and pretty good; he said he had plenty of potatoes; lived principally on potatoes and fish, and was comfortable. They then went into the house of a squatter named Reardon; Foster gave her a shilling to *speck English*. She told them her husband was a labourer; had no cow; never paid rent for that house, had no land, and would get acre ground for working for the neighbours; had been told that she was to pay a shilling a year for the house in future, but had never been asked for it; was living there these many years. They went into another cabin which was wretched enough. Foster was in great glee and very witty upon a cracked iron pot (calling it the *biler*) but was quite silenced when the poor woman who was in the house said that she was a travelling beggar, and that one of the neighbours gave her the use of the house as she had a sick child, until it recovered; that the pot was given her by a neighbour, and she was supported by their charity. They then went into Humphrey Donnelly's house; a small old house. I did not go in there as the place was crowded; but understood the people said they had nothing to complain of; that they might have a better house if they were industrious; then into James Sullivan Leigh's house—a large house, but neglected—His answers were, that he was comfortable. I asked him had he not being allowed for his house? he said he had—a gale's rent (2*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*). I find on referring to the book, that I allowed him 10*s.* 2*d.* last September in addition. They then went to examine some houses at the other side of the road, when Fennaghty came up and said they were on Butler's land, and pointed out the boundary. We then drove on. I pointed out to them the new houses of Ardarah, asked would they examine them? Russell said it would be too late, and that he would make a note that they were good and comfortable houses. I remarked that they had examined the worst houses on the farm, and he said he should state that. I pointed out the houses of Lober, along the old road, and said—'there are the tenants' houses of this farm.' Russell said he saw they were good." [I beg of the Association to recollect that Russell has not kept his word in any one of those respects.] "I showed him Mark Duggan's new house, which he remarked as an excellent one." [It is slated, and two stories high.] "I

told him what I have stated in my letter to *The Times* about the lots at Lober, and said that the houses along the new road all belonged to lot-holders. They examined three of these houses, M'Carthy's, Connor's, and Feahon's; the two former were not very good, the latter a good house. I pointed out the bounds of each lot to them, and said that Feahon had bought out the former holder of his lot. They asked one of the people in the house what Feahon gave for it? He said *five in-calf cows*. I remarked that Feahon told me he only gave *three*, and that the value of an *in-calf cow* at the time was about six pounds. Mr. Russell remarked—why this is tenant right. 'Yes,' said I, 'and you will observe that this man is only a *lot-holder*.' Mahony (the pound keeper) was present. I said, here is another lot-holder. Mahony said he was—that he had a lot of his own, and had bought two others from the former holders, that he paid 2*l.* 16*s.* for the three; that he had bought another, but that I had decided that the daughter of the seller and her husband had a better right to it, as he had so much land before, and that I had settled that they were to repay him the purchase-money by instalments, which they were doing; I think Mr. Russell made notes of all these matters. [If he did he has avoided publishing them.] We then went on to Farineraah, which Foster was constantly enquiring for; we got out of the carriage and went to some of the houses; Foster pointed to the first, a very poor-looking house; we went in; the owner was an old man, named Donoghue; he said he got the house and garden rent-free for his life, from the the Liberator (long life to him)—that he had potatoes enough, and got help from his daughters, who were all comfortably married; that when he furnished them off he asked for and got his cabin; they then went to another house, a labourer of Martin Connell's; they did not stop there, but went on to old Paddy Sullivan and his son's holding; the son showed them his house; said he had plenty of everything, the grass of two cows, plenty of potatoes and fish, and a good 'camp bed,' &c. Russell asked had he a feather bed? 'No,' said he, 'good straw bed, plenty of clean bed-clothes.' Russell examined the bed. Martin Connell met us here and pointed out his own house; they said it seemed comfortable, that they need not examine it; they asked his rent, he said he had the grass of six cows, but that it reared eight—that he only paid eleven pounds—that his house was good, but that he would soon have a slate house, as his master allowed lime, slate, and timber, to whoever wished for a slate house. Foster said, 'you are the principal tenant here?' 'No,' said he, 'I have only a quarter of the land, Gallivan's, White's and M'Carthy's have the rest.' We went then to Darby Gallivan, the carpenter's holding; they went into his father's house and asked several questions; there were tailors at work; Foster attempted to be witty on them as they had one of the doors off the hinges and laid down near the door-way for a shopboard; I think it was Russell remarked that it was the most convenient one they could have, as they had more light than they would have on a higher board. I said that it was invariably the custom when tailors were at work for the people to take down the door, as they had thus better light and shelter.—Darby Gallivan then took them to see *his new house*, an excellent slated house with an upper story; I asked him why he had not it finished, he said the weather prevented his finishing it; it was covered in and lofted; they asked how much he paid for it; he replied that all he had to do was to build the walls, and that his master gave him lime, slate, and timber. How much? asked they. 'Two thousand

six hundred of slate, and three ton of timber,' said he, 'and I don't know how much lime, for I drew what I wanted from Derrynane, but I got as much as I wanted of each, and if I wanted more I could get it.' 'Who paid the tradesmen?' asked they. 'The man is a carpenter himself,' said I; 'the slates were sent from Derrynane.' They asked was the house between him and his father? 'no', said he, 'if my father wants a new house he would get it the same way I did.'

We then came on towards Derrynane Beg. Foster once or twice pointed out houses as we came along through Lohar and Arderagh that looked old and not very good. I always offered to go down and show them, but Russell said that the houses looked good but weather beaten, and that he should note that they appeared comfortable. He (Russell) asked me if there was a national school at Waterville? I said no, that there was at Spountrane, on the Marquis's property. 'Was there one at Derrynane Parish?' 'No, but there was a free school founded by our family, and that the master's salary was paid by us.' 'Did we intend putting it under the national board?' I said, 'I was in favour of so doing, but that there were difficulties in the way—that the money was left by my grand-uncle Count O'Connell, and by my grand-uncle at Derrynane, to found the school; and that there were some legal difficulties as I understood, as the board did require the absolute control to be given to them—that my father keeps the school in repair and paid the greater part of the master's salary; that there was also a difficulty as regarded the master who was a long time in office, and a very worthy and competent person, as the board did require that a master of their training should be put in and the present master should go up to Dublin to be trained, and then perhaps would not get back his school, which would be an injury to him, as he would not be likely to be so comfortable elsewhere, and we could not do an injustice to an old and faithful servant; but if there was a vacancy that I thought we should put it under the board; that the school was well attended and no complaints of the master; that Mr. Hartop was about building a school on his property, but that I understood he had also an objection to giving up the control to the board. Russell asked 'where was the free school?' 'Near the chapel, you will pass it on your way to Kenmare.' 'On whose land?' 'On Ballycomhian, a farm of my father's, held under Mr. Hartop.' 'Is not this parish very populous?' 'Not particularly so; you see most of the population, as they build near the roads; but the census of 1841 gives, I think, 600 houses to this parish, which reaches from beyond the White Strand to Waterville Bridge, over twelve or fifteen Irish miles in length, by an average breadth of about six, and that does not show a very great population; it is *dense*, as they live in clusters, but not very great.' Foster asked if the *people* grew any turnips or mangle wurzel? I said no—that they thought the potatoe a more profitable crop, as they were skilful in the managing thereof and knew little of the others; that I offered them seed, and would be glad to instruct them, but that they did not like leaving their old ways, and it would take time to effect any changes, and there was no use in trying to force anything upon them." Notwithstanding Foster's statement that no green crops of any kind are grown or cultivated at Derrynane, there is as large a crop of mangle wurzel and turnips on the Derrynane demesne as on any demesne at Munster. 'Do they drain well?' 'Indeed they do,' said I, 'after their own fashion.*' I remarked to them, when leaving Gallivan's house, that that was the

* That is, at the whiskey bottle.

first built under my direction, as I was not long in charge of the property. We drove on to Derrynane Beg; on the way through Cahir-na-Geehy, Russell remarked a new house near the road; I told him that the other houses of that farm were similar, as the houses were rebuilt within the last three years, and asked, would he like to see them; he said he should make a note of the houses being good. As we passed Divine's I said that is my steward's house. They asked his name; I told them, and that he was a Tralee man. Foster kept constantly saying—there's 'Derrynane Beg!' 'No,' said I; 'I will point you the boundary as soon as we come to it, but you are a long way yet from Derrynane Beg.' He evidently did not know where he was, and seemed afraid of being taken too far. I pointed to the boundary when we came to it, and the first houses as we approached them. It was then getting dark; we got out at the end of a bohreen leading down to Derrynane Beg; I said the best houses are along the new road as they are new houses and most of the others a long time built. Russell said he would note that. The first house we came to was Batt Brennan's; I said that is a tenant's house—we went in—Old Brennan and his wife were within; it was milking time, and there were four good cows in the house. They asked Brennan their usual questions; examined his bed and furniture; Russell said this man is very comfortable.' 'Yes,' said I, 'he is an industrious man—but why have you the cows here, Brennan? Have you an out-house?' 'I have,' said he, 'but it is not large enough.' When we came out Paddy Sullivan (Puch), who was with us as interpreter, said the next house beyond is Mick the tailor's. 'Is it as good as this,' asked Russell. 'Much better,' said Paddy. 'Well,' said Russell, 'I'll make a note of it.' 'You won't see the best houses this way,' said Paddy, 'as the tenants have their houses on their holdings; and you'll only see the lot-holders here, and one or two old tenants' houses. 'I'll note that,' said Russell. Foster tried to get into one or two cow-houses and out-houses as we came down; but was told what they were and desisted. There is a small old house belonging to John Sheehan. 'Let us examine this house, there is a light in it,' said Foster. We went in—when they went in the first thing they saw was a large tub of meat, just salted. 'What's this?' said Russell. 'My pig,' said Sheehan. 'What are you going to do with it?' 'To eat it to be sure,' was the answer. 'Have you any more?' 'Two, but I sold them.' 'What land have you?' 'The grass of a cow.' 'Is this the cow,' touching a very fine cow which was being milked. 'It is.' 'What rent do you pay?' '2l. 2s. 6d., but seldom pay anything, for I have a son every day in the work, and the master has to pay me.' They made some remarks on the house. Sheehan said he thought it good enough. That he might have a better if he liked. (Sullivan was interpreting, as Sheehan speaks no English). Sheehan then said to me that his was a fine cow, but he thought her too large, and that he would exchange her with me for a light, young cow—I said, that he had time enough for that, that I supposed I should have to give him boot, and that that should be settled first. They then went into the house of a lot-holder, named Kelly, and asked his wife where he was? She said at work at the 'Big house.' 'What rent do you pay?' 'No rent, but we are well paid—for my husband is employed 'every day' in the year.' They left that at once. When they came out I was speaking to old Daniel Sullivan. They heard me call him 'Uncle Dan,' a nick-name given him by the people, and asked who he was? He said an old tenant." Let me here remark

that Foster has asserted my father kept a huxter shop in Cahirciveen. Now, my poor father died in 1808, thirty-six years ago. It is time that he should be left to rest in his grave. I scorn to defend him from the accusations made by Foster—a purer, a better, a more affectionate or charitable spirit was never embodied in the human frame. He is now dead. Foster makes him a huxter in Cahirciveen. He died in 1808. Now, the commencement of the building of Cahirciveen was in 1818, ten years subsequent to the death of my father. See what a truth-telling gentleman we have to deal with.* “I asked him was his house far off? (it was by this time very dark)—he said close by, and asked would the gentlemen like to see it? They asked was it a good one? It is, said he, and a very good one. Russell said it was getting too late, and that he would make a note of it. Foster turned into Tim Shea’s house; they were told he was a lot-holder; his wife said they paid no rent; that he was always in the work—in charge of a draught bullock and cart, and earning good wages. We then came down the road, and on to the Abbey. As we went along, I asked Russell if they had examined any other properties besides my father’s; he said they had been on the Marquis’s, on Spotteswood’s, and Mr. Fitzgerald’s.—‘Did you see Crumpe Bland’s?’ ‘Indeed we did,’ said he, ‘and such a sight I hope never to see again,’ or something to that effect. I then said there is one thing to besaid of my father, which I believe no other landlord in Ireland can say, namely—that since he got possession of his paternal property, in the year 1800, to the present day, there has not been a single instance of the sale of a distress for rent. ‘Have no cattle been distrained?’ asked he. ‘Yes,’ said I, ‘but no sale.’ The practice in the South of Ireland is to use the ‘pound,’ as a species of ‘compulsory’ process. You will find it stated in Wiggins’ *Monster Misery of Ireland*. It has grown so much into a habit that tenants scarcely believe a landlord or agent is in earnest, unless their cattle are driven. It is an old, almost universal, and vicious practice, which I have set my face against, and I hope to do away with altogether. It strikes me as illegal, said he. Why simply of itself it would be—but there are generally arrears due, which give the right to distrain, and it is used as I tell you. I referred him to Wiggins’ book for details of the practice, and then said that Twiss’s story was a falsehood—that he alleged he was staying at Butler’s at the time, and that Butler was ready to prove that there was no such distress at any time as that Twiss spoke of—that cattle certainly had been sometimes pounded on my father’s property, as elsewhere; but that they were never sold.† I repeated it was a bad practice, and that I discouraged it, and hoped to do away with it. When we arrived at the Abbey, Foster called for his car—the man was feeding his horses, and I said I would not let Mr. Russell go until I gave him some documents, and I asked them in; Russell came in at once; Foster hesitated, but came in at last; I showed them into the parlour, ordered wine and lunch; Russell took some wine, and sat down to lunch; Foster declined any refreshment; I gave Russell a statement of the number of lot-holders (copy of

* See the next following Appendix. No. 14.

† Mr. Twiss, of Cork, has written a letter addressed to the editor of *The Times*, which has been published in *The Cork Constitution* newspaper regarding this statement, proving its falsehood. The letter will be found, *post*, p. 693.

that I sent my father), a statement of his college and fee-simple income, and that from leases for ever, a statement of the sums expended on agricultural labour at Derrynane, between the 1st November, 1844, and 1st November, 1845, and particularly of the portion paid to the tenants and lot-holders at Derrynane Beg.* He asked how many men are employed? I said, on an average, fifty at constant labour; that is, said he, say for 300 days in the year; for every working day, said I; there are broken days and days on which the weather prevents work. There are also about twenty women and boys constantly employed. They left this about six P.M., for Sneem, on their way to Killarney. Russell appeared pleased with the favourable appearances of what he saw. Foster was as sulky as 'a bear with a sore head,' and is as thorough a specimen of a Cockney as ever clipped the 'Queen's English.† He appeared very anxious to get away from this. Russell inclined to remain so as to get as much information as possible. As we came out, we met Father Patrick O'Connell, the parish priest. I introduced Russell to him, and he was about entering into conversation, when Foster hurried him into the car, and Russell had only time to say, 'I am sorry, sir, our interview is so short.' I omitted above to mention that at Touhmeragh something was said about fishing. I called one of the Whites, who are good fishermen, and asked him how many boats are there belonging to this farm and Coonaclocune; he said two, that sixteen men were employed on each. 'What was the cost?' 'The two boats cost 14*l.*;' he was then calculating the price of the nets. I said that the

* Mr. O'Connell made use of that statement in a previous speech, in Conciliation Hall, by reading his son's letter containing it. It stated that his "tenants" at Derrynane Beg "are *comfortable*, because they pay their rents in *labour* at Derrynane, and not in money." So does every farmer's wretched labourer in Ireland "pay his rent in labour," and never sees the colour of money, but exists on the potato patch, for which he labours. This is precisely the manner in which I have said his tenants live. He is candid by mistake. He says on the authority of that letter—"I find that 40*l.* actual wages for labour were paid to them over and above the amount credited in their rents." By the *addenda* to the census of Ireland for 1841, it appears that there are in this parish of Derrynane 124 inhabited houses and two building; this is the parish in dispute, of which he is the landlord or middleman. By the ordinary rules of arithmetic, 40*l.* divided amongst 124 tenants would be about 6*s.* 6*d.* a year each, or about *three halfpence a week a family!* Happy tenantry to be so well paid! How luxuriously his labourers must live on *three halfpence a week over and above the produce of their potato patch, for which they give their labour as rent!* Mr. O'Connell only wants "rope enough," and he will himself prove all I have said about his wretched tenantry.

† This paragraph has greatly amused both myself and friends. I do not know that a cockney is not as good a man as any other county man. But it does so happen that I was born in Yorkshire, educated in Yorkshire, and did not leave Yorkshire till I was twenty-one years of age; and though I have had a residence in London seven years, I have lived a great part of each year out of it. Mr. Maurice O'Connell is unfortunate. His perceptive powers and estimation of character are as valueless as his memory is treacherous.

oat was generally calculated at over 50*l.* for the whole apparatus, nets, boats, rope &c. 'Do you take much fish?' said Russell; 'we generally do, but the fishing has been bad these two years back. Salt it and sell some, and eat the rest.' 'Do you have much of it?' 'Plenty generally.' 'The people everywhere said they were comfortable, had plenty to eat and drink, and if they wanted anything their master would give it to them. The above is the substance of what took place. I may have omitted some trivial matters, but the 'bone and sinew' is preserved. MAURICE O'CONNELL. Derrynane Abbey, December 20th, 1845."

I have read the entire of this letter (hear). Every word of it was written long before Maurice could have received *The Times* report, for it was written the very day that the commissioner's letter appeared in *The Times* in London—so that so far from its being a statement to meet a case, Maurice seemed to have a good opinion of Russell at the time, and Russell appeared to be very well satisfied with everything he had seen (hear, hear). I have now done with them for the present, and there is not a single charge against me in their report which I shall not be ready to meet *seriatim*. I throw myself not on the bitter enmity of *The Times*, but on the good sense and good feeling of the people of Ireland (cheers). I heartily rejoice at the generous manner in which my political enemies have behaved towards me on this occasion. It has made me a grateful, and I trust, a better man. I never shall allow the least exasperation to exist in my mind with respect to any course that may be hereafter taken by my political opponents, and the generous manner in which they have behaved towards me during this controversy, shows how much disposed we are to agree with each other if we are only let alone (cheers). I call on the people of Ireland to see the generosity, and candour, and justice, which the Orange and Conservative party have manifested towards me. Let it go through the country—let every peasant repeat it to his neighbour, that when the Saxon vilified and calumniated me, the Orange and Conservative press of Ireland stood by me and vindicated my character, as a landlord, although they disliked me as a politician (hear, hear, and cheers). I stand here the first person who introduced improvements at the landlord's expense, in a great district of this country (hear, hear). I stand here the person who was principally instrumental in changing the order of things in that district to such a state as this—that whereas there were but two cars in the entire barony when I commenced my improvements, there are now 1200 to 1500 cars in it. (hear, hear). I stand here the person who first introduced the system of landlords paying for the improvements of houses. I began that practice myself, and I continue it at present (cheers). I stand here also the refuge—I am not flattering myself too much when I say so—of the poor and distressed, because when men are driven by other landlords from their property they find a refuge on mine, whenever I can give it to them at the time (hear, hear). I have upwards of 600 persons paying me a nominal rent, who were ejected by their former landlords, and who are now in comparative comfort—all of them having food and shelter. I stand here the protector of those 600 persons, and for this I am subjected to the calumnies of every man who can traduce me, because he may have the use of the public press for that purpose (hear, hear, hear). I stand here the proud advocate of the poor and afflicted. I will say that I stand here the protector of the poor—the refuge of the poor—the support of those who

would have perished but for my timely aid, and standing here in this position, I leave my character to my country and my conduct to my God (tremendous cheers). I have nothing more to say, I was going to fasten the lie more closely upon Foster as to what he has said about Derrynane Beg, but I care not for him; he is self-convicted, and if he cannot feel it, and if his indorser cannot feel it, what is the use of human language as applied to them? Words have no point for those whose feelings are so blunted as not to see the infamy of supporting a man convicted by his own confession of having propagated a deliberate falsehood (hear, hear). But I thank those who stood by me. I thank my friend, Mr. Butler, though we differ widely in politics, and alas! too widely in religion. I thank my revered pastor who came from a distance to defend me (hear, hear). What kind of warfare is this which is now taking place between the English newspapers and the people of Ireland? An investigation into the transactions of private life, an inquiry into the management of private property, an investigation into the private dealings between landlord and tenant (hear, hear). I do not complain of this investigation. I invite them to inquire, and I am able to stand the brunt of it. Who ever heard of me turning out a tenant, (loud cries of no one)?* No, I never ejected my tenants, but if I were convicted of that cruelty—if I were convicted of having driven out my tenantry to perish in the fields I would have the support of the English press, as those landlords had who were in the habit of evicting their tenantry; but I felt the duty which property has imposed on me—I trust that I have discharged it properly—I know that I have done so with the conscientious belief that I was acting for the benefit of my tenantry, and consoling myself with that reflection, I sit down, not triumphing over others, but satisfied that in what I have done I have acted for the best.

The Liberator resumed his seat amid the most enthusiastic demonstrations of applause.

* See following Letter, as to this.

MR. O'CONNELL'S TREATMENT OF HIS TENANTRY.

The following letter has been addressed to the Editor of *The Times*, by Mr. Geo. Twiss of Cork, and was published in the *Cork Constitution* of Jan. 20th.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

No. 10, Belgrave Place, Cork, Jan. 13, 1846.

SIR,—As the eldest son of Mr. Twiss, whose name has been again brought forward by the Messrs. O'Connell, and who is still labouring under the effects of very serious illness, and which for a time endangered his life, I am compelled, however unpleasant it is to me, to appear before the public on behalf of a parent, now in his seventieth year, who in the year 1802 filled the office of High Sheriff

for Kerry, his native county, and from that time to the period in which he ceased to reside there, in 1821, performed the relative duties of magistrate and grand juror. Since then he has resided in the counties of Tipperary and Cork, and sustained during his whole life the character of a gentleman universally esteemed and respected; nor was there ever the least attempt to impugn his character until Mr. O'Connell and his son Mr. Maurice O'Connell, in their usual style, charged him with being a calumniator and conspirator, hoping thereby to divert the public attention from the *exposé* by your Commissioner of the wretched state of his (Mr. O'C.'s) tenantry. On my return from Dublin, where I had been detained some time by business, I proceeded on Thursday last to Waterville, Mr. Butler's residence (a distance of over one hundred miles from this) to require from him what was his object in introducing my father's name in the following parenthesis in his letter to Mr. O'Connell ("brother-in-law to Robert Twiss") as it appeared to the public by this remark that he thereby implied it as a reflection on Mr. Twiss, there being no necessity for it to explain who Mr. Atkins was, he being, as Mr. M. O'Connell states, "a sojourner in the country of four years' standing," and was well known to the O'Connells. Mr. Butler at once replied, in the presence of his son, that he had done so inadvertently, without due consideration, and that now, seeing the view it was taken in, he was very sorry for having written it, as he had no such meaning as that attributed, nor would he do anything to injure Robert Twiss. While conversing on the subject he admitted having had a personal interview with Mr. M. O'Connell, and a long letter from Mr. O'Connell before he wrote his letter, from which I conclude it was under their direction my father's name was introduced. I then showed Mr. Butler the following passage in Mr. M. O'Connell's letter—"That it was a pure calumny, can be proved by the evidence of Mr. Butler, at whose house Twiss asserted he was staying at the time," and asked Mr. Butler was that a fact. He at once denied it, and said he never authorized Mr. O'Connell or any other person to make such a statement, nor could Mr. M. O'Connell have any grounds for doing so, except from a letter written by Mr. Butler to Mr. Twiss, 29th June, 1841, in reply to two letters of my father's in which he strongly urged Mr. B., as a matter of common justice, to corroborate his statement relative to the distress by O'Connell, in which reply Mr. Butler pleads "he had no recollection of the circumstance alluded to." Even this reply was not received until after

ne had visited Dublin, and communicated with Mr. O'Connell, but the following letters will set the matter at rest, as it appears by them he was not so cautious in a conversation he had with Mr. Twiss's brother on the subject :—

“ Tralee, December 29, 1845.

“ MY DEAR JAMES,—Having seen a letter of yours in the *Tralee Chronicle* of Saturday last to Mr. O'Connell—as you are proverbial for having a very strong memory, I have no doubt but you recollect what I now state to have occurred in the Court-house here during an assizes, when you told me you had two letters from my brother, Robert Twiss, who was annoyed with you for not verifying a statement made by the present Judge Jackson in the House of Commons, when he was member, in which he mentioned the name of Mr. O'Connell, and gave my brother as his author. You said you could not do so, living so near Derrynane, and the intimacy which always existed between you and every member of the O'Connell family. I said, under the circumstances you mentioned, he ought not to be displeased. You told me that what my brother stated was *true*, and it was not the first time it occurred to your knowledge. If your letter had not appeared, I should not make this communication.

“ I remain, dear James, yours faithfully,

“ To James Butler, Esq.”

“ FRANCIS TWISS.”

“ Tralee, January 6th, 1846.

“ DEAR JAMES,—I did hope I should have got an answer to my first letter from you, in which I have been disappointed, and trust this will be more fortunate, and that I will receive one to it, particularly as both may be answered in one. Should you not do so, I think it right to inform you I shall send copies of both to Robert Twiss to do as he pleases, and have no doubt on my mind but he will publish them, to vindicate himself from the vile calumnies Mr. O'C. has so repeatedly heaped upon him.

“ I remain, dear James, yours faithfully,

“ FRANCIS TWISS.”

“ To James Butler, Esq., Waterville.”

Mr. Butler not replying to those letters, especially after the notice given him, clearly shows he cannot deny Mr. F. Twiss's statement.

At the close of my interview with Mr. Butler he stated that, being on intimate terms with my father for over fifty years, and from what he knew of him, he was certain he was not capable of *intentionally misstating* anything to the injury of an individual, and that he (Butler) had so expressed himself to the priest and a number of persons he spoke to on the subject. This, coming from a man circumstanced as

Mr. Butler is with Mr. O'Connell, and, as I understand, under the strongest personal obligations to him, will exculpate my father from the Messrs. O'Connell's charge of Calumniator; and the fact that he or any member of his immediate family never had, directly or indirectly, any communication with Mr. Foster, must free him from that of Conspirator. Although the statement made by Judge Jackson in the House of Commons on my father's authority must have made Mr. O'Connell more cautious in his dealings with his tenantry, still the following facts will *substantially* corroborate that statement, and render Mr. O'C.'s claim to the character of *exemplary landlord* more than questionable.

The Rev. Edward Flaherty, Roman Catholic clergyman, held the farm of Middle Killoe from Mr. O'Connell, and at his death left it to his relative, Denis Dooling, to whom Mr. O'Connell executed a lease for his (Dooling's) life, dated Sept. 7th, 1840. Dooling died in a few months after, in July, 1841, and left the farm to his son, Edward Dooling, who held it undisturbed until March, 1843, never supposing that any landlord, much less the boasted advocate of *fixity of tenure and tenants' right*, would take advantage of such a casualty as so sudden and unexpected a termination of a tenure, one life being always considered in this country as equivalent to 21 years, and generally mentioned in leases one life or 21 years concurrent, but, unfortunately for Dooling, not so in this instance. Dooling is of that class of respectable yeomen that any landlord would be anxious to have as tenant on his property, being under-agent to, and a large landholder under, Mr. Staughton, and who, except Mr. Butler, had the only crop of turnips I saw in that part of the country, and intending this farm for his eldest son, a young man of about 20 years of age, kept it in his own hands—therefore, this could be no plea of alienation or subletting; but if report speak truth, Mr. O'Connell, having borrowed a large sum of money from a person named Murphy, wanted to give him this farm as part of the consideration for the loan, and therefore required Dooling to give it up without any legal or regular notice. This the man naturally enough refused, and because he dared to disobey the order of the *Liberator*, his cattle were *distrained and put into the pound of Cahirciveen on the 25th of March, 1843*, for the rent due on *that day*, and it was by the intercession of Mrs. O'Connell, the wife of the then hotel-keeper, the relative of both landlord and tenant, that the stock were liberated until the sale day; but Dooling, not wishing to leave himself in the power of this *excellent landlord*,

paid his rent on the *first of April*, 1843, and thereby freed his cattle from the danger of being sold for rent, *due only seven days previously*. I send a copy of Dooling's pass-book for that year, taken by myself from the original, in the handwriting of Mr. Primrose, the agent of Mr. O'Connell:—

	£	s.	d.
September 29th, 1842 . . . a gale due	14	0	0
25th March, 1843 a gale due	14	0	0
	£28	0	0
January, 1843, by cash	6	0	0
Dr. to Dan Connell	5	0	0
April 1st, 1843	17	0	0
	£28	0	0

J. PRIMROSE, April 1st, 1843.

Dooling, continuing to hold the farm, was served with notice to quit for March 1844, when, finding Mr. O'Connell determined to dispossess him, and exact the pound of flesh, he was obliged to accept the terms Mr. John Mahoney of Cork, his butter merchant, who is married to a relative of Mr. O'Connell's, could obtain for him—*63l.*, in lieu of all his improvements and right of a way-going crop; whereas, if Dooling had got what any other landlord under the circumstances would and ought in justice to have given him, *viz.*,—either his own life or 21 years, he would have got considerably more. He is convinced that even this he would not have got, but he threatened to put the entire business in the Conservative papers. Here we have a tenant's stock, and that tenant a most respectable person, who always paid his rent punctually, *distraigned and impounded*, by which he was obliged to pay his rent in *seven days after it became due*. John Sullivan of Tarmans' stock, *viz.*, three cows, an ass, and four sheep, were distraigned on the 23rd of May, 1845, for the sum of *17. 18s. 4d.* for rent alleged to be due the *first day of May*, 1845. He, not owing the rent, although his cattle were distraigned, lodged a replevin on the 26th of May, three days after the distress. Here we have another distress made 23 days after Mr. O'Connell alleged the rent was due, but the tenant, denying owing any rent, replevied. Another feature in this case is, that the sum claimed was only *17. 18s. 4d.*; yet *three cows, an ass, and four sheep* were taken. They must of course have been of *five* times the value of the rent

claimed, therefore it was *oppressive* in the extreme. Besides being *excessive, it was illegal*, as Messrs. O'Connell, being both barristers, must have known. Michael Kelly of Killoe, some time since having been threatened with distress for the sum of five shillings due for rent, although he had a load of potatoes ready to take to Cahirciveen to dispose of, and promised to pay when he sold them, was refused this indulgence and obliged to borrow it from a neighbour (my informant), to prevent the distress. Mr. M. O'Connell prides himself on his father not resorting to legal measures for the recovering of his rent. Even this is a statement which they must know is quite devoid of *truth*, as by the civil bill book for the Quarter Sessions of Cahirciveen, 31st of March, 1843, there were no less than *six actions* brought at the suit of Mr. Daniel O'Connell against tenants for rent, and the cases proved by his agent, Mr. Primrose. Again, at the last March Sessions, in the same place, there were two actions brought at his suit against tenants for rent, and the cases proved by John Connell ; and, further, at the Killarney Sessions, 20th June, 1845, there were two actions against tenants, Mr. Primrose, his agent, being witness, and even one of those against Timothy Fogerty, being disputed, was left to the award of Keane Mahony, Esq., who reduced Mr. O'Connell's demand nearly one-third ; besides a number of other cases of older dates. So much for the Messrs. O'Connells' denial of oppressive conduct towards their tenants, and resorting to legal tribunals for recovering their rents. Bad as the above cases are, the following is worse, with which I became accidentally acquainted on the day I went to Mr. Butler's, being my only visit to that country, and it will throw additional light on Mr. O'Connell's dealings with his tenantry. John Sullivan (Dreen) and his father, now deceased, held the farm of Cummands South, for over 60 years, up to last May, when he, his wife, eight children and decrepit mother, over 70 years of age, were turned out without a house to go to, and only for the humanity of a respectable tenant on an adjoining property (who, on the circumstance being stated to him, and pitying their destitution, allowed them to occupy part of an empty house), this miserable family of eleven persons would have passed the night near some rock, in the open air, in the month of May last. Sullivan owed no arrear, having paid three shillings, the balance due of his November rent, to John Connell, and offered to pay his May gale, due that day, if allowed to keep his farm. This being refused, he was obliged to quit, and all the remuneration he got was the May half-year's rent,

three pounds, for all the trouble, expense, and labour his father and he had in reclaiming this wild mountain; as, when the father got it from the uncle of Mr. O'Connell, there was not half an acre on it fit for tillage; he was promised to be paid for building the house on it—even this he has not yet got. My authority for this is Sullivan himself, corroborated by his wife, in the presence of a very respectable person, under circumstances which could leave no doubt of their veracity, and I saw their wretched old mother, an outcast from the home she lived in for over half a century, availing herself of the shelter which the humanity of a neighbour had afforded her. In addition to those, I was informed of the summary ejecting from their farms of Daniel M'Gillicuddy (or Gow), James Dennehy, of Upper Tarmans, and others, but supposing those already mentioned sufficient, I do not like occupying your columns with them. I did not apply to a single cottier tenant of Mr. O'Connell's, being unwilling, as a greater part hold their farms as tenants-at-will, to involve them with their indulgent landlord, on account of the specimen of Sullivan Gow, mentioned by Mr. Foster, who, having told a plain, unvarnished tale, of how he really was circumstanced, was afterwards obliged to come forward and falsify himself. Satisfied of your anxiety to do justice to Ireland, and vindicate the characters of the calumniated, I will not apologize for the length of this letter.—I remain, Sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

GEORGE TWISS.

P.S.—I send you the certified copy, taken from the public records, of John Sullivan's replevin, and of the Civil Bill actions brought by Mr. O'Connell against his tenants.

GEORGE TWISS.

CERTIFIED COPY.

County of Kerry
to wit.

By the Assistant Barrister at the Sessions for
said County.

John Sullivan of Tarmons
in the County of Kerry,
farmer, *Plaintiff*;
Maurice O'Connell, of
Derrynane Abbey, Esq.;
John O'Connell of
Carkan, and Michael
Sullivan of Eighternagh,
both farmers,
and all in the County
of Kerry, *Defendants*.

The Defendants are hereby required personally to be and appear before the said Assistant Barrister at Kenmare, on the 17th day of June next, to answer the Plaintiff's bill for the sum of 4*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, sterling, for that the following goods and chattels, to wit, three Cows, an Ass, and four Sheep, Plaintiff's property, were distrained on the 23rd day of May, 1845, on the lands of Tarmons, in the said division, in the said County, by the Defendants John, and Michael, as Bai-

liffe, on behalf of the defendant Maurice O'Connell, Esq., for the sum of 1*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* sterling, alleged to be due to the defendant Maurice O'Connell, Esq., aforesaid, for rent of said lands of Tarmons, due and owing on the 1st day of May, 1845; and the said John Sullivan doth not owe the said rent or any part thereof, nor is the same or any part thereof due to the said defendant Maurice O'Connell, Esq., and the said plaintiff has sustained damages by reason of such distress having been made. The defendants are therefore required to appear at the time and place above stated, or in default thereof, the said assistant barrister will proceed as to justice shall appertain.

Dated this 26th day of May, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-five. Signed in behalf of the plaintiff.

Copy.

MORGAN MCSWENEY, Attorney.

The foregoing is a copy of a replevin process lodged in the Peace office, Tralee, County Kerry, which I certify this 9th day of January, 1846.

FRANCIS MCCARTHY, for F. CROSSIE,
Clerk of the Peace, County Kerry.

CAHIRCIVEEN SESSIONS, 31ST MARCH, 1843.

Daniel O'Connell v. Michael Kirby.	}	Decreed for use and occupation.	2 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	John Primrose proved case.
Same v. Rickard O'Connell,	}	like.	9 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	Same proved case.
Same v. Cornelius Leary.	}	like.	8 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	Same proved case.
Same v. John Galvin.	}	like.	3 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	Same proved case.
Same v. Michl. Connell.	}	like.	2 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>	Same proved case.
Same v. Mich. Donoochoo.	}	like.	Nil.	

CAHIRCIVEEN SESSIONS, 31st MARCH, 1845.

M'Leary, Dan. O'Connell, v. Michl. Connell.	}	rent.	John Connell proved case. 13l. 15s. 0d.
Same v. Same.	}	rent.	13l. 15s. 0d.

KILLARNEY SESSIONS, 20th JUNE, 1845.

D. M'Sweeny, D. O'Connell, Esq. M.P. v. Timy. Fogerty.	}	rent	Award made for 7. 0s. 0d.	John Primrose. 9l. 19s. 6d. subject to award of Keane Mahony, Esq.
Same v. John Crimmeer.	}			6l. 10s. 0d.

Private remarks to explain.—"M'Sweeny" over the plaintiff's name means his attorney in the case. "Use and occupation" is when there is no lease, the tenant holding as tenant-at-will. "Rent" is when there is a lease; so, in the above list, only four had leases and six had not.

OPINIONS OF THE IRISH PRESS,

In reference to the preceding controversy regarding the condition of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry.

(From the *Kerry Evening Post*, January 7.)

We resume this curious subject with the long and elaborate letter of Mr. Maurice O'Connell to the editor of *The Times* newspaper, in which he enters very fully into detail of his father's management of his property or properties; abuses—"pretty considerably" Messrs. Twiss and Atkins; offers to submit the whole case to re-examination, to give free access to books and papers, to attend the enquiry himself; and, anticipating a triumphant contradiction to the Com-

missioner's former reports, calls upon the editor, as an honest man, to "drive the convicted calumniator and libeller" from his establishment, and give full publication to the vindication of his father's character. Upon the whole, a dashing, free spoken letter, written with a seeming truthfulness, and a proper son-like anxiety for his father's reputation. A son always looks graceful when standing up for his parent, and great allowance is to be made for the feelings which guide his pen or dictate his words on such occasions; but, oh, Maurice! Maurice!! don't be offended with us, if we compare your letter to *The Times*, to Lord John Russell's unlucky, ill-timed declaration about the Corn Laws. Could Lord Johnny but have known, when he was making this new bid for popularity, that a Queen's messenger was taking a "first class ticket" to carry him as fast as rail could run, to Edinburgh, thence to summon his lordship to take the reins of Government in hand again, we doubt not he would as soon have cut off his little finger at the first joint, as published his aforesaid free trade declaration. So in like manner, could you, Maurice, have divined that when you posted your letter to *The Times*, the *Times* was posting to you a new hand, fresh from English cleanliness and comfort, to put your positions to the test—to analyse, with curious eye, the squalid filth of Oughermong, Ardara, Tarmons, and last, not least, of the redoubted Derrynane Beg; had you but a glimpse of this fact, friend Maurice, we do not say you would not have written at all; but, this we *do* say, you would probably have qualified your statements somewhat, and lowered your tone of defiance a note or two.*

* To my mind, it is difficult honourably to explain the rendering of that letter and Mr. Maurice O'Connell's subsequent conduct. It is unnecessary to print the letter, as all its statements are reiterated in Mr. O'Connell's speech—in this Appendix, and all of them have been refuted. But when I visited Derrynane with Mr. Maurice O'Connell, that letter had been posted by him a day or two before, and was not then published, and of course I could know nothing about it. But how any man could use such language regarding myself for the purpose of publication, and with the knowledge that he had done this, and that I could not know of it, could meet me civilly, say nothing about this letter, and ask me into Derrynane House with an exhibition of courtesy, shows an amount of duplicity which it is difficult to conceive. Though ignorant, however, of the letter, I was not deceived by the man. I had a thorough distrust of him, and on that ground I declined his proffered hospitality, or in any way having any communication with him, beyond what was absolutely necessary under the circumstances. It is my belief that even the hospitality was a trap, and that had I accepted it, it would

We have read with attention the fresh report of the second *Times* Commissioner—very lengthy, as the case required—precise as to names, minute, truthlike, and, we must add, apparently dispassionate in details; and we here repeat, what local knowledge enables us to do, that while we feel persuaded of its correctness, that while it corroborates the first report, it also tells truly the state of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry, and that they are in fact not better or much worse than those of the estates around them. If Mr. O'Connell and his adherents were content to take their share of blame for the miserably low social state of these people—a state which we believe no effort of the most attentive landlord could speedily remedy, a state arising from deep-rooted and multifarious evils, which neither grew in a day, nor can be cured in a day—if Mr. O'Connell and his defenders would honestly own this, and oh! if he would apply his vast influence to the discovery of real remedies for such a state of things, then might better days in earnest be hoped for Ireland; but, no, Mr. O'Connell has been ever the defamer of the landlords of Ireland—the destroyer of those ties which united them to the occupiers of the soil. He has brought about a state of things in this country which subjects any man who would seek to remove the peasant's "darling dung-heap" from his threshold, to the charge of being "a Conservative oppressor, or a Tory tyrant;" and while he has been doing this to others, he has ever ambitioned the reputation of "the best of landlords" himself, which he seems to have obtained at the easy rate of surrounding himself with hordes of "squatters," whose condition, when looked into, exhibits the shocking spectacle now presented to the public in the reports of *The Times* Commissioners, No. 1 and 2. As was fit on the present occasion, Commissioner No. 1 left to Commissioner No. 2 to make his own report on the facts which came under his knowledge, and confines

have been used as an argument against me. Though faint with exhaustion and want of food, as it was then six o'clock at night, and I had breakfasted at eight o'clock in the morning, I preferred telling the driver to pull up on the road at the first cottage out of Derrynane with a light in it, and to ask for a potato for me, to having it said, as I am certain it would have been in Conciliation Hall,—“The scoundrel! he ate of my bread, drank my wine, partook of my hospitality, and abuses me. That's Saxon conduct for you!” As it was, the paltry glass of wine which Mr. Russell drank was duly recorded; but inasmuch as though one of us did partake of the “hospitality” the other did not, no point could be made of it.

himself to a summary of the perfect shower of abuse and vilification which has followed him ever since he touched the *Liberator's* reputation as the "best of landlords," occasionally introducing some graphic touch on the things passing. Nothing can be richer than his description of Mr. O'Sullivan "backing up" the *Liberator* against a whole mass of misery, squalor, filth and wretchedness, by throwing in "*Didn't he, Pat Sullivan, give 6s. a perch for making that road?*" to which Pat's ready and expected reply followed, "*to be sure he did, your honour.*" If *The Times* Commissioner knew as much of Mr. O'Sullivan's "honour" as we do, he would be better able to estimate his independent testimony. This is the man, if we mistake not, who came up to the hustings, some eight or ten years since, *pledged* to vote for the Knight of Kerry, and who has ever since been a monument of the power of the *Liberator's* "*cough*;" for that honourable friend to freedom of election, sitting in the booth, merely gave this *independent* voter a look! cleared his throat slightly, and sent him down after having voted contrary to his intentions, to his promise, and to the obligations he owed to his best friend who, to use a common phrase, "had made a man of him." Ever since then there is no manner of doubt that if "the *Liberator*" declared that Derrynane Beg was an improved copy of the Groves of Blarney, "Mr. O'Sullivan" would echo with him with "Not a doubt of it, your honour."

Not the least effective part of this picture is "*the huntsman!*" a dead hand, as we hear, at "running a drag," and who led the way over bog and moor into every cabin, always "*speaking three or four words of Irish in an under tone.*" According to the Commissioner's shrewd guess, these meagre words must have been "*nil bearlath*" (no English), being the *Irish* way of expressing "Open Sesame;" and no doubt this *civil* fellow must have smoothed the difficulties of these "furriners" in getting at the truth amazingly; at all events Mr. M. O'Connell's word of promise was fulfilled to the letter—"he gave every facility to the proposed examination."

The poor people themselves must have been completely puzzled, or as their American neighbours say, "most catawomponously obfuscated" by these domiciliary visits. Very probably no rumour of the "wordy war" raging between "*The Master*" and *The Times* Commissioner ever reached their ears, and therefore no wonder that they sometimes should fail to "catch the cue of a leading question."

How naturally, for example, the following comes in between "John Connell," the Liberator's driver—(where 's the great O?)—and one of the "strong farmers" of the district. "*I,*" says the farmer, "*pay £25 a year for the grass of seven cows, and get nothing but potatoes and milk all the year round.*" Here Mr. Connell interposed, and asked in a tone of great surprise, "*Do you mean to say, Corny, that you never eat beef or bacon?*" The stupid fellow failed to catch the hint, for he replied, "*Oh! sure you know yourself, John Connell, that I can't kill a cow or a pig for myself—that all goes to the rent.*" This is all capital, and, as we said before, bears the stamp of truthfulness on the face of it. Not less truth-like is the incident of one of these fellows, who, it appears, had been making what is called "a poor mouth" the day before, under the idea that the enquiry was "*directed by Government to enquire into the state of the potato crop*"—on which supposition he thought it dutiful and patriotic to tell as many lies as he could venture; but finding out his mistake, and getting, perhaps, a "wiggling" from the driver for his *unseasonable* complaints, actually took a walk of sixteen miles to make himself out a "misrepresenter of facts" before "the magistrate, Mr. Trant." Poor, poor Paddy, under such tutoring and influences as you suffer it is only wonderful that you are not worse morally than you are—worse socially you can scarce well be to exist.

We shall not analyse the Commissioners' reports further; but dismiss them by saying, that they will most satisfactorily inform the English public on a point on which they generally express much curiosity—namely, the real position of Mr. O'Connell.—Hitherto, anything like the *facts* of the case has been set down as Tory prejudice. The humbug description of Prince Puckler Mascaw—the no less humbug title of "Derrynane Abbey"—the kind of open-house hospitality occasionally practised (paid by other "rent" than Derrynane Beg produced) by O'Connell—all this combined to invest this coarse democrat with an air of demi-feudal pretension, at which old people, who remembered his origin, used to laugh and hold their tongues about matters which the Commissioner has rather freely exposed. Now, however, the truth is spread through the world without disguise. Mr. O'Connell has about 1,200*l.* per annum, *estate*—most of it, we believe, fairly purchased by his respectable and prosperous uncle—and for all the rest of his property he is a middleman, holding under the neighbouring proprietors by various tenures, chiefly for his own life. There is nothing discreditable in all this—

the real discredit lies in the attempt to puff him into a feudal chieftain, enjoying his long-descended patrimonial estates; when in fact he is a middleman for the chief part of his income, and *what a middleman!* We must here return to Mr. Maurice O'Connell's letter, and observe, that the grossest cases of misery and wretchedness, the densest population, the tendency to "squatting," is chiefly observable on those lands which Mr. O'Connell, drawing large profit from them, holds as tenant, and, we might almost say, trustee for others. Take the case of Mr. Hartop's estate, under whom Mr. O'Connell derives from the land a rent of 677*l.* per annum. On this land exist 600 individuals, liable to increase by "squatting" without limit. On Mr. O'Connell's death this land reverts to the possession of the head-landlord, who thus becomes morally accountable for this miserable mass of human beings, whose congregating on his property he had no power to prevent. The same remark applies to the property held under Mr. Crumpe Bland. Should Mr. O'Connell's representative apply for a renewal of these leases, what answer should he expect? We will not suggest this; but we *will* observe, that if Mr. O'Connell's *own brother*, Mr. James O'Connell, were the landlord in such case, we know what answer he would return to such an application.

There is one passage in Mr. Maurice O'Connell's letter which, if unqualified by explanation, would speak volumes in his father's favour. "*If*," he says, "*there is an individual badly housed on my father's property, it is his own fault; he might have had lime, timber, and slate for the asking.*" This sounds generous—is generous in the abstract; but to a tenantry sunk in such social degradation as Mr. O'Connell's are represented to be, such an offer is like telling a starving, penniless beggar that there is abundance of beef in the market. If Mr. O'Connell—lording it over these districts "in a state of nature," as his son described—were the really good super-excellent landlord he wishes to be thought, he would use his mighty influence beneficially, by creating a *taste* for comforts—he would take the lead in improvements—show the people how to make themselves comfortable; but (and gladly would we say otherwise if we could) instead of performing these duties of his station as a landlord, his life-long employment and endeavour has been to make or keep the Irish poor man restless, feverish, and discontented, with his thoughts diverted from his rags to Repeal—from improving his condition by industry, to expecting some wild convulsion which

is to "make him a man at once." Until the mind of Ireland is allowed rest from unnatural excitement, it is vain to expect an improvement in its social condition through the only course by which fallen man can ever raise himself from the penalty of the curse, we mean patient industry, and steady energetic labour.

(From *The Northern Whig*.)

MR. O'CONNELL AND HIS TENANTRY.—As Mr. O'Connell declined to meet the challenge of *The Times* Commissioner, the latter requested that the Editor of *The Times* would send over some gentleman to examine the state of the tenants on Mr. O'Connell's estates, and note the facts on the spot. This has been done: for three days, the Commissioner and the other gentleman went over Mr. O'Connell's property, part of the time accompanied by Mr. Maurice O'Connell, and part, also, if not the whole, by Mr. O'Connell's collector; and we publish the result from *The Times* received last night. The tale is one of such misery and degradation as to excite mingled feelings of compassion and horror. We are surprised that Mr. O'Connell ventured to raise discussion upon the subject, but we are not now surprised that he was unwilling to meet the Commissioner's challenge.

(From *The Dublin Warder*.)

It is but justice to *The Times* Commissioner to point especial attention to the letter of that functionary, addressed to the editor of the *Limerick Chronicle*, as well as to the report of the gentleman despatched from the office of *The Times* for the purpose of testing by ocular inspection the accuracy of the statements contained in the Commissioner's letter with respect to Mr. O'Connell's property in Derrynane and its neighbourhood. In this corroborative report there is a minuteness of detail and a circumstantial fulness of narration indicative of precision and truth, and the results of which, we are bound to say, were given fairly and without exaggeration in the letters of the Commissioner, and all which go to prove the prevalence of squalor and destitution in their most repulsive and horrible extremes in the average condition of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry. The report is furnished from the notes of the gentlemen despatched by *The Times* upon Mr. O'Connell's declining to test the truth of the Commissioner's statements by the result of a commission of inquiry, consisting of gentlemen to be appointed by mutual consent, as suggested by Mr.

Foster. These notes were taken upon the spot, and in the presence among others, of Mr. Maurice O'Connell, who accompanied these gentlemen (*The Times* Commissioner and reporter) upon their tour of inspection from cabin to cabin; and we are bound to say, that the detailed account of the scenes of filth and misery which he there visited transcends, in the extremity of degradation which it depicts, any idea which, from an acquaintance with the state of the peasantry of Limerick, Tipperary, and Clare, we could have formed respecting that of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry. In England, we have little doubt the effect of the Commissioner's revelations will be to ruin whatever influence Mr. O'Connell may have commanded with the Liberal party there. English society, throughout all its grades and parties, is permeated by a strong sense of right and by habitual independence of judgment, but among the old Popish party of Ireland of whom O'Connell is the type, there exists no such thing as public opinion. Convict O'Connell every day in the year of the vilest baseness and barbarity and he will not be one degree less the idol of the besotted and miserable people, or one hour nearer the end of his political autocracy.

(From *The Belfast Chronicle*.)

"THE TIMES" COMMISSIONER AND MR. O'CONNELL.—We have given in our preceding columns the reply of Mr. O'Connell to the late letter of *The Times* Commissioner, and of Mr. Russell, the gentleman deputed to accompany him on his second visit to the Kerry property. We leave the matter now in the hands of our readers, to form such judgment upon it as they may see fit; but we cannot do so without expressing it as our opinion, that Mr. O'Connell has completely failed in disproving the allegations of the Commissioner. On one or two minor points he makes a tolerably good defence, but on the great and prominent charge—that a large proportion of his tenantry are in a wretchedly pauperized condition, and that no effort has been made to improve their circumstances, he contents himself with launching out into a torrent of abuse, to the uproarious delight of his subservient listeners in Conciliation-hall. The two "rival Correspondents," as he calls Messrs. Foster and Russell, are stigmatized as "vagabonds," their letters as "calumnies not fit to throw at a dog," and almost every sentence is ornamented with the graceful epithets of "liar," "slanderer," "fellow," and such like elegant figures of speech. There is no replying to arguments of this nature, but they, at all events,

serve one good purpose, namely, to show how deeply Mr. O'Connell has been stung by those memorable letters, and how sorely the wound given to his self-love rankles in his breast.

(From *The Londonderry Standard*.)

"THE TIMES" COMMISSIONER AND MR. O'CONNELL.—We suspect that even the friends of Mr. O'Connell will admit that it would on his part, have been an act of wisdom, had he passed by *The Times* Commissioner in silent civility. The truth is, it did not suit Mr. O'Connell's policy to allow the Commissioner to pursue, without molestation, his career of practical amelioration of the state of Ireland. If the abuses of Irish landlordism were effectually removed, whether by means of Government interference or through the agency of public opinion, the peasantry would become tranquillized and contented, and political agitation would soon lose its character as an article of profitable speculation. The visit of *The Times* Commissioner to this country might by possibility, have had some indirect relation to a prospective plan of Government arrangement for effecting a permanent improvement in the condition of the agricultural population; but, at all events, it was sure to bring to a bearing upon the question all the omnipotence which belongs to public opinion. It revealed to the people of England the mysterious secret of Ireland's discontent, and for the first time in our national history, it promised a practical instead of a merely speculative amendment in the essential relationships of our social system. The gigantic evils of Ireland—the absenteeism of its landed proprietors, and the horribly abusive management to which that absenteeism is immediately conducive—were about to be exposed and eradicated, and hence O'Connell and his associates were likely, at no distant period, to be literally sent upon a begging pilgrimage in search of a grievance. This was a calamity not to be endured, and, consequently, every engine of factious malignity was sedulously put into requisition in order to blacken the character of the Commissioner, as well as to defeat the objects with whose fulfilment he had been specially intrusted. The imputation of motives so base to men, who boast of their own patriotic transcendentalism, and who are anxious to go down to futurity with the reputation of disinterested sincerity, may seem to be uncharitable; but the conduct of Mr. O'Connell and his party, in reference to the present question, has been such as to leave no other rational construction of the motives by which they have been

covertly actuated. From the now corroborated statements of *The Times* Commissioner there can be no doubt as to the amount of wretchedness to be found upon Mr. O'Connell's own estates; and this condemning fact, when viewed in connexion with the mysteriously fierce hatred which he evinced towards the Commissioner, long before the latter had done anything personally offensive towards himself—in fact, when he was exclusively engaged in the exposure of aristocratic misrule—is an *a priori* demonstration that he had, on his own account, something serious to be dreaded. The labours of the Commissioner were certainly calculated to give to Repeal its *quietus* by the effectual removal of felt grievances, and it would now appear that Mr. O'Connell had anticipated from the first a visit of inspection to his own mountain dens of popular misery, and hence instinctive sympathy drove him at once into the ranks of those who can see in negligent, and even oppressive landlordism, only one of the diversified phases of that social beauty by which the British constitution is pecuniary illustrated. Hence, we suppose, the premature advocacy of Mr. O'Connell by the *Evening Mail*, in whose political creed the landed aristocracy are identified with royalty itself in the same convenient category of impeccability. The system of society at large is one vast concentration of humbug, and he who can act his part with most adroitness is invariably the greatest character in his own as well as in the world's estimation. It is no wonder that Count Oxenstiern should have sent his son to travel, preparatory to his entering upon public life, for the avowed purpose of seeing “with how little wisdom the world is governed.”

(From the *Derry Standard*.)

“THE TIMES” COMMISSIONER AND THE IRISH PRESS.—We had intended this day to notice in fitting terms, the conduct of a portion of the Irish press, which absurdly calls itself Conservative, towards *The Times* Commissioner, together with its monstrous advocacy of Mr. O'Connell's landlordism; but a pressure of temporary matter has compelled us to postpone, for a few days, our observations on this subject. The Dublin *Evening Mail* and the *Evening Packet* have, in this department of public honesty, earned for themselves a fame, which their very enemies need not grudge them, and from our own report of the proceedings of the Repeal Association on Monday last, it will be seen, that we have now to add the *Newry Telegraph* to his list of Protestant (!) worthies, who have enrolled themselves

under the banner of Mr. O'Connell. The *Telegraph*, it will be observed, was most fulsomely bepraised and bespattered over with thanks and caresses, and most cordially do we wish its conductors joy of all their newly acquired honours, which honours, we fervently hope they will endeavour to "wear meekly" like good Christians and sound Protestants as they doubtless are. To ordinary Conservatives, however, the query would naturally suggest itself—what outrageous "evil" had they been engaged in, which had thus brought upon them the infliction of special thanks from Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal Association.

(From the *Coleraine Chronicle*.)

Our readers are familiar with the reports which, for some months past, *The Times* Commissioner has been laying before the country, regarding the state of Ireland. His unmasking of the Liberator is unquestionably not the least of his achievements. Europe and the world will be amazed at the revelations he has made. Never were tenantry more impoverished, more wretched, more oppressed or rack-rented; and all the while their landlord pretends to be the personification of freedom, patriotism, and benevolence. He talked and wrote about the liberties of Ireland at the very time that he was exercising a heartless tyranny, and degrading to the lowest condition of serfdom thousands of his countrymen. The disclosures that have been made will provoke the indignation of Europe; and, unless he has arrived at an invincible insensibility to the opinion of his fellow men, the storm of censure and admonition which it will bring may correct his conduct, and prevent ignominious results. To us there is nothing more revolting than hypocrisy, especially when exhibited on so great a scale; and if it bring not its appropriate punishment along with it, the moral sense of the country must be extinct. Will Irishmen continue to impoverish themselves to fill the coffers of Repeal and revolution? Will oratory, remarkable chiefly for its flowers culled from St. Giles and Billingsgate, have the same thrilling effect upon the million whom it has duped into the victims of cupidity and ambition?

(From the *Drogheda Conservative*.)

We are not amongst those of the Irish press who, through notions of jealousy, behold the work performed by *The Times* which should have long since been effected by themselves, and, therefore, wish to

mar the operations of the Commissioner. How stands the case? Did we, or any other Irish journalist, dare to expose the hard-hearted cruelty and grinding oppression of tyrannical landlords, an action for libel was forthwith instituted, and ruin or retraction became the consequence. Therefore, we look upon the people of Ireland as immensely indebted to the spirited proprietors of *The Times* for sending over their Commissioner, to spread abroad on the wings of the press the praise due to good and resident landlords, and the condemnation and exposure of neglectful ones—and nobly has he performed his duty. We have heard it urged that the “Landlord and Tenant Commissioners’ Report” was quite sufficient. True, but this report, from its voluminous extent, is a sealed book to the people. But the report of “*The Times* Commissioner” is easy of attainment—each letter comprehensive in itself, and discussed with interest by all classes of people from the peer to the peasant. From this commission we augur the happiest results. First, it will reveal to absentee landlords the real condition of their tenantry. Secondly, it will mitigate the cruelty and exaction of the middlemen. Thirdly, it will afford the English people a condensed view of the condition of Ireland—the evils under which she suffers—her advancement in agriculture, science, and the arts, her vast resources and capabilities. Fourthly, it will tend to call the attention of Parliament to the absolute necessity of immediate legislation for her amelioration.

(From the *Kerry Evening Post*.)

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION AT DERRYNANE BEG.—Our cotemporary, the *Chronicle*, has given us on his last broad sheet four letters respecting the now famous merits or demerits of Mr. O’Connell as a landlord; had time and space permitted him to add the two other letters, which occupy a full monster page of *The Times*, we should have had before us at one glance as pretty a specimen as could be selected of the difficulty of coming at truth—Irish truth—on any subject where party or prejudice interfere; and alas! what subject can be found in Ireland, from the “mangold-wurzel crops” (?) on Mr. O’Connell’s farms to the Lord Lieutenant’s Christmas charities to the beggars of Dublin, with which party will not meddle for its own vile purposes. We should be glad to give an opinion on this matter as honest as we can arrive at, and yet, no doubt, prejudice will come in to colour it. We must do the best we can, premising that until this “Ugly Commissioner” came to pry into the pot and

glass window statistics of Mr. O'Connell's "manor and hunting-ground" in Iveragh, we had always considered the latter as an easy, indulgent, if not, in strictness of terms, a good or encouraging landlord. But now to the evidence before us. The first letter of the series is a short growl from the Liberator himself: abusive it is, of course. Abuse of any one who crosses his path is become too much a part of old Dan's nature to give rise to a remark; but from the extra quantum of attention he bestows upon *The Times* Commissioner, returning to him again and again after he had "done with him" for ever, we opine that Daniel feels that it is not so easy to "take the fight out" of this Saxon as he has usually found it with his opponents. There is but one noticeable bit of this letter, where he speaks of "his old friend the Gutter Commissioner stealthily proceeding, with another whelp of the old mother of lies, *The Times*, to the neighbourhood of Derrynane Abbey." Now, on the face of it, this is an incorrect statement. Give every one his due, even "*The Times* whelp himself," he has gone back in the open day, like a plucky fellow as he is, to re-open his commission. He has gone his rounds under the inspection of Mr. Maurice O'Connell himself, and within lash of the very huntsman's whip which in ordinary cases is so notable a cure for babbling. It must have been a rich scene to behold "the Gutter Commissioner" looking up with unparalleled audacity in Mr. O'Connell's face, while he desired his companion to note down, by the "light of bogdeal splinter," the "no bed"—the "one pot" furniture! of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry. We should like to have heard the triumphal chuckle with which, in the heart of Derrynane Beg, "the impudent fellow" demanded to be shown "a single hovel with a glass window," preparatory to his reiterated assertion that "in the sixty-four hovels it contains there was not a single pane of glass." All this was done, not indeed in open day, but in such "darkness visible" as the hovels of Derrynane Beg afforded. No, no, Dan, that same charge of yours will not silence the Commissioner nor ruin *The Times*. Whatever objection there may be to this proceeding of "the Commissioner," it is not obnoxious to the charge of "stealthiness." Mr. O'Connell's letter ushers in one from "my friend James Butler, a rigid Protestant and high (?) Conservative." It is curious to remark, how amazingly fond Mr. O'Connell is of bringing forward a Protestant witness to his sundry and manifold virtues. Poor Tom Steele's spaniel-like fidelity—the thorough dedness of conviction with which he lauds and applauds the al

unutterable virtues of his patron and chieftain are well known. Far be it from us to class Mr. Butler's and the "Head Pacificator's" testimony together. Mr. Butler is a gentleman who is, doubtless, as independent of Mr. O'Connell's influence as any Iveraghman can well be, and we have no doubt in essential matters that he is so, but it is no libel or imputation on that gentleman to say, "that he lives on the wrong side of Droumhill" to take a perfectly unbiassed position as respects Mr. O'Connell. And then what does his evidence amount to? A general statement that Mr. O'Connell is "an indulgent landlord"—"a hospitable entertainer"—"a pleasant companion." In all this, we have no doubt, he speaks the simple truth. We have heard the same from various independent sources; but we must remark, that while Mr. Butler's is "a general character," the Commissioner's is a "particular description," and that while the former gives his friendly opinion, formed on such grounds as long general knowledge afforded, the latter descends to facts, derived from personal observation, real or pretended. Above all, it never should be forgotten that Mr. Butler, in forming his estimate of Mr. O'Connell's qualities as a landlord, measures him by the standard of others about him; while the Commissioner, on the other hand, coming to judge with probably as much bias against, as Mr. Butler has a natural prejudice in favour of, "Dan," subjects him to an unfair comparison, not to the other landlords in his immediate neighbourhood, but to others of a higher class, and whose duties are performed in a social state altogether different. And this we are disposed to think is the clue to the flat contradictions passing between these parties. Mr. O'Connell is no worse, possibly a shade better, in his dealings with his tenantry than the proprietors around him; his tenantry are not more miserable than their neighbours; but neither are they more comfortable; and here it is that his own imprudent boasts, the balderdash defence of his son Maurice, the lick-spittle lies of "an apothecary named Fitzgerald," and of Mr. Edward Carrol, who "found in the Month of May, on Mr. O'Connell's land, mangold-wurzel and Swedish turnips which would do credit to the National Model Farm, or a London market gardener!" all encouraged by Mr. Maurice O'Connell: this same Mr. Maurice O'Connell being forced to confess that "there never were either mangold wurzel or turnips grown on his father's estate." These are the fabrications, the puffings, the flounderings which, when subjected to the severe and unfriendly investigation of a clever, persevering and "ugly customer" like *The*

Times agent, have now arrived at a result which may well make Mr. O'Connell exclaim—If flatterers and foolish friends had held their tongues and kept their pens out of ink, I might have kept a tolerable character as a landlord still. We must reserve for another publication our remarks on Mr. Maurice O'Connell's letter, which his father was sure *The Times* would not print, which, however, *The Times* did print, and which, with the two letters from the Commissioner and his companion, will furnish ample matter for another notice.

OPINIONS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS.

(From the *Newcastle Journal*.)

"THE TIMES" COMMISSIONER.—In the social economy of Ireland, as in the tales of its novelists, from the pure page and instructive lessons of Miss Edgeworth, to the light, humorous, and dashing scenes of Harry Lorrequer, there is no character painted in such dark colours, no creature described in such hateful terms, as the rack-renting, upstart, and bloated *Middleman*. Look through Baynim's gloomy pictures of rapine, whiteboyism, and murder, or linger over Griffin's sad and sweet tales, or, with Carleton, (as he was, not as he is), dive into the recesses of the Irishman's heart, and hold converse with him at wake or wedding, at fair or faction fight, by his own fireside, heroically devoting himself to labour for the widow and the orphans, or in some dark den planning deeds of blood, and in some part of one and all these varying phases of Irish life, you will meet with the repulsive figure and swollen features of the middleman. If there be anything of peculiar heartlessness to be done—any broken-hearted father of a family to be flung out of house and home—any son's vengeful arm to be provoked, you will be sure to encounter the cunning leer and loathsome carcase of the middleman. And truly those best acquainted with Ireland are, and have been, the first to recognize the fidelity of the picture thus presented; for, if there be any truth in connection with the working of the social machine in that country better established than another, it is this, that middlemen have been the bane and curse of Ireland. Standing between the owner and the occupier of the soil, they cheated the one and oppressed the other, and kept both at enmity with, or in ignorance of, each other. Such was the character, such the conduct of the middleman. And here let us pause; for, who three months ago could have supposed, that with all his other blemishes, failings, and offences, the great Repeal chief should have turned out to be one of that class—

and nothing less. The British empire owes the discovery, or rather the promulgation of that important fact, to *The Times* Commissioner, and, undoubtedly, it will help us much to a proper appreciation of Mr. Daniel O'Connell's real character to know that we are dealing with a huge, overgrown middleman, who has as miserable and pauperized a set of under-tenants as any grinding land-jobber that ever provoked the novelist's pen, or the assassin's pistol. Strenuously did he and his sons labour to lessen the damning weight of the facts so industriously collected, and so fairly related by *The Times* Commissioner; but, as truth was not to be gainsayed by abuse, or put down by bullying and falsehood, the more the O'Connell brood shouted and vituperated, the clearer and the more convincing became the statements of the Commissioner, supported and confirmed as they subsequently have been, by a special reporter, deputed to the spot for the purpose of seeing, with his own eyes, the state of Mr. O'Connell's tenantry. But it suffices for us to know that he is a middleman to be assured that his tenants are as wretched and as badly off as the gentlemen from *The Times* office found them.

(From the *Sheffield Mercury*.)

"THE TIMES" COMMISSIONER.—Mr. O'Connell has got himself into an awkward quarrel with a gentleman who is pretty well known to newspaper readers as "*The Times* Commissioner." The latter is a writer of considerable force and clearness, and if he fall into some minor errors in describing the people and the places he visits for the first time, he will only do just what every traveller has done, however honest his intentions. The "Commissioner" has visited parts of the United Kingdom to make personal observations on the peculiar condition of the people. He was in Wales during the Rebecca riots—in Scotland more recently, whence he sent some not very flattering descriptions of the Highland cotters, and he is now "pursuing his vocation" in the Green Isle. The descriptions of the misery and wretchedness of the poor in the agricultural parts of Ireland are most vivid. These are to the mind's eye cabinet pictures of wretchedness; and there is a truthfulness about them that renders them almost appalling to look upon. In one thing at least "fact is more strange than fiction," and that is in the chronicles of human wretchedness in Ireland. Well, "our Commissioner"—as *The Times* designates the gentleman in question—visited the estates of Mr. Daniel O'Connell at and in the neighbourhood of Derrynane, and

described what he found there. The descriptions would not be the less forcible because the conduct of Mr. O'Connell at home was the reverse of his pretensions when discoursing upon the finest peasantry in the world. In Derrynane where they boast about the comfortable condition of the poor, and at which place he had been taught to expect much, the condition of the people was one scene of squalor and wretchedness, and there was not a pane of glass in any cabin in the whole parish. In short he had not seen, in the same extent of population, so much physical degradation in all Ireland as he found on the estates of Daniel O'Connell. What he saw he described, and *The Times* gave publicity to his communication. As might be expected, this act of moral courage, in a country where Dan plays the despot more than any absolute monarch in Europe, brought upon "our Commissioner" the whole pack of repeal beagles, with Daniel at their head. The neatest epithet that they could invent was "liar," and with this he was pelted on all sides so fiercely that he must either proceed to exculpate himself or stand convicted of the most shameless mendacity. It would appear that not only as a landlord was Mr. O'Connell below the average of Irish landlords, but in other respects his conduct squared very oddly with his public life. He delights to vilify that class of whom he is himself an inferior sample, look at him in whatever light you will. He denounces wholesale that he may not be suspected. He is in society what a king's evidence—so called—is in a gang of thieves, but he stands a fair chance of having his heartless hypocrisy and his moral deformity exposed. For years has Mr. O'Connell denounced the landlords of Ireland, and when examined he is one of the worst of bad landlords. For years he has denounced the middleman, and the subletting system. He is himself a middleman, and sublets to such a frightful extent, that the poor wretches on his estates pay him three times the rent for their patches that he pays the proprietor. The consequence is that the land, the cabins, and the poor people, are alike wretched. Perhaps "our Commissioner" was surprised at this, but he had no right to be so. There are no oppressors equal to your pretenders to liberalism, no knaves so thoroughly incurable as your patriotic knaves, who are for the good of the people. There may be exceptions, but this is the rule, and Daniel O'Connell is a disgusting illustration of it. As we stated, "our Commissioner" was placed between the horns of a dilemma. He must cast back again the imputation flung at him by all the cringing knaves who live upon the rent, or he

must come home branded as a "liar" of the first magnitude. He set about the matter like a man who had truth on his side. He proposed to appoint six gentlemen, who should, with six of Mr. O'Connell's friends, walk over the estates, and he would abide by their award. Mr. O'Connell skulked from the investigation, and reiterated his charge of "liar." "Our Commissioner" subsequently suggested that *The Times* should send down a gentleman to go over the estates leased and sublet by Mr. O'Connell, and report thereon. The suggestion was adopted, and the parties were three days investigating the facts stated in *The Times*, and as flatly contradicted by Mr. O'Connell. One day they were accompanied by one of Mr. O'Connell's friends, another by Mr. O'Connell's bailiff, and on a third by Mr. O'Connell's son—Mr. Maurice O'Connell, and his huntsman. The mass of evidence there brought together, and published in *The Times* of Thursday last, more than establishes the statements previously vouched for, and raises Mr. O'Connell to the dignity of being one of the most heartless of oppressors of the poor, and one of the vilest of impostors the world ever saw.

APPENDIX XIV.

(Referred to in page 551.)

MR. O'CONNELL'S ILLUSTRIOUS PEDIGREE.—ADDRESSED TO MR. O'CONNELL.

(From a Letter signed "M. Burke," addressed to Mr. O'Connell, and published in *The Times* of May 26, 1836.)

"The English think that you are descended from some noble and ancient Irish family; nor do they dream that your name, instead of being O'Connell, is simply Connell, and that you are the son of one of the beautiful peasantry."***

How was Derrynane Abbey got? How was all the rest of the property acquired? Was it not got by exhibiting for sale spade-trees, quarters of soap, penny candles, salt-herrings, pipes, and half-penny worths of tobacco, which your noble ancestors kept in their hucksters shops." The writer then states that bog deal lights were held out on the coast to cause the wreck of vessels, and that the Connells were "the sole purchasers of the plunder."

GENEALOGY OF DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. OF DERRYNANE.*

(From *The Times*, Jan. 22, 1839.)

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

Sir,—One of those Billingsgate philippics of Mr. O'Connell against Lord Oxmantown, quite in the style of that learned gentleman, having appeared in *The Times* of the 18th inst., it appears surprising that Mr. O'Connell should continue the hardihood of casting publicly in the teeth of his opponents those detractions upon which he is himself so vulnerable. He has been heard to upbraid Sir Francis Bardett in the House of Commons with his age and dandyism: Sir Francis is the younger man of the two, and no dandy. Sir Francis has all his life been used to the offices of a fashionable tailor, and has always dressed himself as a plain country gentleman; not so Mr. Daniel O'Connell, for when he first came to London as a Catholic delegate, his appearance, as far as dress and figure went, was like that of an Irish parish priest; and he hastened to a fashionable tailor and hatter in Bond-street to get himself done as expeditiously as possible into the appearance of a gentleman; and since that time he has assumed a peculiar dandyism in wearing an Italian mantle, lined with ermine, and a particular shaped hat: but hopeless pursuit! all the fashioners in London would not make him look like a gentleman. Mr. O'Connell is not, according to the common acceptation of that word, a gentleman, either in dress, address, look, manners, thoughts, or acts; nor is he, except in public, in the habit of associating with gentlemen; and that he is not a gentleman by birth this letter will prove.

Lord Oxmantown he attacks upon the parvenuism of his family. He asks, who is he, or what is he? Who were his ancestors, or how did he get his property? Gracious powers! can this man so forget his own rise and progress as to ask those questions which may be so forcibly asked of himself?

If he had not provoked the inquiry by such unmeasured insolence, we should never have descended so low as to drag any man's genealogy before the public, for such a proceeding we look upon to be the most

* I heard the whole of these facts in Kerry whilst there; but finding them already published in a convenient form, I simply reprint them. I am also acquainted with the name of the gentleman who wrote this letter. He is a magistrate of Kerry, but I have no authority to name him.

blackguard, and in the worst of bad taste; but, as he has provoked it, the public shall know who, at least, Mr. O'Connell was. His father's name was Morgan Connel, who lived in the little village of Cahirciveen, in a bay on the west coast of Ireland, and therein kept a small huckster's shop, wherein he sold pennyworths of tobacco, snuff, soap, candles, ounces of tea, tape, spades, shovels, reaping-hooks, thread, needles, &c. Morgan was a portly, sleek-headed man, with his hair combed flat upon his forehead, with small, cunning, twinkling eyes, and a constant leer in them, like his son Dan's. He was a pains-taking man, and wore a gray frieze coat, corduroy breeches, yarn stockings, and hob-nailed shoes—what in Ireland are called brogues. Towards the latter part of his life, when rising in the world, he ascended to top-boots, well greased with a bit of fresh butter, as an appendant to the corduroys. Morgan was educated at a hedge school, where among the accomplishments the boys picked up a smattering of "the Latin tongue" and a knowledge of backgammon in their "hours of idleness." An old servant, a native of Cahirciveen, who lived with the grandfather of a gentleman of my acquaintance, told me that he was a fellow schoolboy with Morgan, and that he afterwards often saw the young Liberator running about the bogs with his feet unconscious of shoes or stockings. Morgan had an elder brother named Dan of Derrynane, who went by the name of O'Connel—why, I cannot say. He always wore a hunting cap, and was called Hunting-cap O'Connel. Old Hunting-cap in those days of no coast-guard took advantage of what by the beautiful waves of the great Western Atlantic was shed in Ballinskilly Bay, in the shape of wrecks, and what they generously bore upon their bosom in the shape of tobacco,* brandy, gin, &c., all which were transported up the country through Hunting-cap's kind aid, and sold to his jovial countrymen at anything but an *ad valorem* price. Whether Morgan joined in these speculations we cannot positively say, but he certainly was getting on little by little; taking small farms and growing comfortable until he came to the boots. He was tenant for one of these farms to the late Lord Glendore, and went one very rainy day to Ardfort Abbey in the corduroys and boots to pay the rent to his Lordship. The weather being very tempestuous he was asked to stop to dinner, and Lady Glendore, who was very fond of play, and knew that backgammon was a favourite amusement with the peasantry of the

* The feats of Old Hunting Cap in the tobacco trade and in conveying tobacco into Cork in butter firkins, with a layer of butter at each end, are still related.

county of Kerry, asked Mr. O'Connell if he knew the game of backgammon; to which he replied, "A little, my laidy." When the evening was ended Morgan returned for the night to his public-house, with the rent in his breeches' pocket, folded up in Lord Glendore's receipt for it. It was before this period that the aspiring Liberator was sent to France to be educated for a priest, whence he was obliged to return unpriested; and being a smart intelligent youth, Hunting-cap, who was a bachelor, became his patron, and sent him to the bar. Dan's rise at the bar was rapid. He was an excellent *nisi prius* lawyer, indefatigable and diligent, and abstemious from wine. He was a favourite with the bar for his broad humour and Irish wit. Soon after this he took up the cause of emancipation, which he never abandoned either through "evil or good report." He used to hold his great meetings at assize times in the chapels of the different towns through which he went the Southern circuit, and at this time was always funny and good-humoured, and never indulged in that gross Billingsgate which he has since so liberally adopted. No; he was then all flattery, blarney, and conciliation, and when his "quick eye in frenzy rolling" caught sight of an unlucky Protestant who went from mere curiosity to his meeting, he bespattered the unhappy culprit with the most fulsome adulation. I believe when he first joined the bar he did not take the name of O'Connell; which gave rise to a witty equivoque of Jerry Keller, a brother barrister. Jerry hated Dan's politics, and, being chairman at the bar dinner, called out, "Connell, will you drink a glass of wine?" To this there was no answer, upon which Jerry repeated the invitation in a loud bawl. "Sir," said Dan, "if you are addressing me, my name is O'Connell." "By J—s, my dear fellow, you just put me in mind of my prosody," replies Jerry—"O datur ambiguis;" and if I had my will, you should have the other part of the sentence executed upon your head—"prisci breviare solebant." Old Hunting-cap lived for many years, and by successful enterprises from the sea and land (for he was a farmer and maker of butter as well as a s—r), and frugality, became possessed of Derrynane under a lease for a term of years, and which he bequeathed to his favourite nephew, the great emancipator, who has swelled the humble dwelling of his uncle into a great, small-windowed, square-walled, manufactory-looking edifice, without taste or fashion, wherein, if you are caught by the present proprietor, you will find yourself encumbered with hospitality, priests, and whisky punch.

The O'Connells of the county of Clare deny any relationship or

consanguinity with those of Cahirciveen or Derrynane; they are an old and respectable family. I have said nothing of Mr. O'Connell's mother, for of whom little is known little can be said. She was a good strong lump of a common personage, of the common peasantry, who reared a fine strong set of healthy children, which children afterwards rose into notice, and married into respectable families of their own persuasion, and hence comes the best blood which dignifies Mr. Daniel O'Connell. The unblushing effrontery of this inimitable ruffian, in attacking the hereditary respectability of a distinguished nobleman, and wearing supporters upon the panels of his carriage as large as the panels themselves, may be judged of from the foregoing true sketch of the family and origin of that ostentatious demagogue.

A FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

(From *The Times*, Jan. 31, 1839.)

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—The account given in your paper of this morning of the descent of the notorious Connell, *alias* O'Connell, is perfectly correct. Any member of Lincoln's-inn can inform you, on reference to the books for the year 1794, that he was entered of that society as "Connell, Daniel," though it is also certain that he was called to the Irish bar as Daniel O'Connell in 1798. It is also quite true that the mendacious mendicant is in no way connected with the O'Connells of Clare. The late Mr. Connell O'Connell, solicitor of Dublin, who was a junior branch of that family, and who died only about three years ago, never either in speech or in writing addressed O'Connell otherwise than as "Daniel Connell." There is not a peasant in Kerry who does not know that Connell, *alias* O'Connell, does not possess a foot of fee-simple property.* He is tenant to the college of Dublin, to Mr. Serjeant Goold, and, if I mistake not, to Mr. R. Day, formerly one of the justices of the King's Bench in Ireland. It is also notorious that Lakeview, the residence of James Connell, *alias* O'Connell, the agitator's brother, is a residence rented on lease, and though John Connell, *alias* O'Connell, another brother, is possessed of some fee-simple property, yet he has it "*jure uxoris*." There is now resident in England a gentleman who remembers Derrynane Abbey! (God bless the

* This is not the case now. Mr. O'Connell is possessed of a small fee-simple property by acquisition and purchase. See *ante*, p. 530.

mark!) a thatched farmhouse within a period so recent as forty years. All this were unimportant and trivial touching the history of any well-conducted man, who had risen by his own honest exertions to fame and fortune—nay, it were illiberal and unjust to reflect on the humble birth of such a character; but when a fellow, whose origin is not only mean but ignominious, dares to asperse the first men in the country, it is fitting that his own pretensions should be sifted. There was a time when he had a purpose to serve, when Daniel Connell (*alias* O'Connell) used to recommend his cousin Jeremiah M'Carthy, tailor of Dawson Street, Dublin, to public patronage; but now we hear no more of this relationship, as Daniel wishes to be taken for a modish and well-born person. In Tralee, however, they know better. About ten years ago the article which I send you was published in a newspaper in that town. It was to-day handed to me by a near relative of the writer, a gentleman of one of the most ancient families of Kerry, who I believe could bring witnesses on oath to prove all, or nearly all, the allegations contained in it. I pray you to give it your readers *in extenso*, and oblige your constant reader,

A WEST BRITON.

“O'CONNELL'S FAMILY HISTORY.

“The account given of the Counsellor and his parents in the *New Monthly* is in many instances inaccurate, and in some parts quite deficient; to correct the one or supply the other would occupy more time than I am willing to devote to it, and even did I enter upon the task, “the thing,” to use an expression of his *Malafidus Achates*, Cobbett, would be still incomplete. I therefore think it the more eligible plan to give to you, and through you, sir, to the public, such recollections of Dan's early life and that of his parents as may from time to time flit across my memory. To commence in the usual style—a place called Ca——, situate on a small creek on an arm of the sea, near the village of Cahirciveen, in the semi-barbarous and barren district of Iveragh, and the county of Kerry (I like to be precise when treating on an important subject), had the honour of giving birth to Daniel Connell. His parents, with some account of one of whom I purpose filling this letter, were Morgan and Mauneen Connell, for such was the name the latter was known by in the country. The only particulars I can remember about her are, that she spoke her vernacular tongue, the ‘Gaelic,’ in its native purity, had a most invincible contempt for the ‘Sassenachs,’ or English, so

much so that she was never known to utter a syllable of their language, and seconded the experimental exertions of her helpmate in realizing an 'unconfiscated property' in the most indefatigable and spirited manner. Morgan, the sire (for he must not be called father), was, as I recollect him in my boyish years, a smart, bustling, intelligent chap, holding that amphibious place in society which may be conceived but not drawn, and which can only be described by a series of negatives. He was not a gentleman, nor a farmer, nor a mechanic, nor a wholesale merchant, nor a retail dealer, nor a peasant, nor of any one of these classes *per se*. You may then perhaps ask me what was he? He was, in fact, a compound of all these, and such as at the present day you may happen to meet with in some parts of North America, but in no other part of the habitable globe. His son has happily hit him off in his very classical and gentlemanly description of her Majesty's Ministers, whom he speaks of as being neither 'fish, flesh, nor good red-herring,' but a kind of 'olla podrida,' or 'toss-up of the whole.' To the casual observer the countenance of old Morgan presented an honesty of expression which might lead to the supposition that its possessor was at least simple if not absolutely idiotic, but should he have had the occasion to engage in any intercourse with him, deeply would he feel his own simplicity in coming to so hasty a conclusion; for, though uncouth and vulgar in his manners, 'Morgan had that within which passeth show,' and the shrewd physiognomist at once perceived a certain cut of visage, and a Machiavelian arrangement of features, which expressed, as plainly as could the bumps and prominences of the celebrated Doctors Gall and Spurzheim, the intriguing and money-getting propensities of their possessor. Often have I seen him sitting on a small rudely-formed chair, at the end of the bridge of Ca——, near the road leading into the village, clothed in what the fashionables of modern life call a Waterloo-coloured suit of frieze, with an ink-bottle appended to his button-hole and a goose-quill betwixt his finger and thumb, taking orders from the peasantry for the various contents of the store (for such was the high-sounding name bestowed upon a quondam stable), be it a bit of soap, a yard of tape, a naggin of whisky, a metal button, a pound of iron for the spade or horse-shoe, or any other little article, almost from an anchor to a needle—old Morgan could accommodate all, and at all times, from the various and chaotic articles with which his repository abounded; his only charge was the moderate profit of cent. per

cent. on the first cost, and, should the purchaser not have the specie at hand, why he was ready to adopt the bartering principle of the early ages, and take either the firkin of butter or porkeen pig in lieu thereof. But enough of his appearance and primitive mode of doing business; his employments were as numerous as they were diversified, and some of them of so contradictory a nature as to puzzle the mind of an ordinary man to reconcile them; but Morgan was not an ordinary man; he was in truth a most extraordinary character, and much I fear the village of Cahirciveen 'ne'er shall look upon his like again.' Cahirciveen considered him as its Caleb Quotem, and though he may not have drawn the teeth of its inhabitants, they all admit that he shaved them closely, bled them profusely, and critically filled all the ordinary functions with which that dramatic personage is usually invested. Though his ambition was rather of an encroaching kind, I never yet heard that he allowed it to take such possession of his faculties as to lead him to the imagination of his being of feudal or princely descent; nor even have I heard it whispered that he supposed there was any connexion between him and the visionary monarchs of Iveragh. His good sense may, perhaps, have prevented the assumption of the theoretical part of royalty, but the same good sense it was, no doubt, if we can believe 'common fame' (who is frequently deemed a common liar, and which from my own knowledge I will not take upon myself to say she is not in the present instance), which dictated to him the exclusive exercise of one of royalty's most valuable prerogatives—the importation of his goods duty free. This prerogative he and his brother Maurice, better known by the name of 'Hunting-cap' (if the assertions of that romancing damsel I have before alluded to are to be depended on), carried to the greatest extent, and to this, and the principle of free trade, which these 'Adelphi' brought into so early and extensive operation—that to them I believe, and not to Messrs. Canning and Huskisson, we must give the credit of its invention—is Daniel indebted for that 'unconfiscated property' which he spoke of in his evidence before the House of Peers as being solely in his possession? His assertion at the time, I know, puzzled many; but it may so happen that, with the clue which I have now furnished, the learned gentleman's evidence will not appear so problematical, and any doubt they may have entertained will be removed; for if, by a form logicians call concession, we only substitute the means whereby a thing is procured for the thing procured,

then Daniel's testimony is quite reconcilable, and he really is in possession of property that never yet was confiscated. In the eager pursuit of his favourite theory, that of free trade, the principles of which he had not, at the time I am about to speak of, fully tested by such extensive experiments as at a subsequent period, old Morgan did not quite overlook those accomplishments which refine the human mind, and elegantly dissipate the *ennui* which will at times beset even the most industrious of mortals. No man in the country round could handle a 'dock of cards' with more dexterity than old Morgan, and few persons, if any, could calculate with a nicer accuracy, not even Counsellor L——k of gambling notoriety, and Morgan's countryman, the proper moment to lay down the ace of hearts, the five fingers, or jack of trumps. An instance of the height of perfection to which he attained in this accomplishment it may not be inopportune to give you, especially as to it, and the sound discretion he then used, his after accumulation of wealth, and consequent power of performing those experiments I have before alluded to, is mainly attributable. Old Morgan held in early life a farm from the late Earl of G——e, and on the gale-day went to that nobleman's residence at A-d-rt abbey, in order to pay his rent. After its payment and getting a receipt, a ceremony he never overlooked, 'fast bind, fast find,' being his favourite aphorism, he was about proceeding homeward, when the day turning out extremely wet, his noble landlord, with his usual condescension, requested him to remain. Morgan hesitated, but at length Lord G—— being seconded by his fascinating countess, he succeeded in detaining him. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that everything was done to make his visit comfortable, and render him quite at home. A difficult task you, sir, will admit, when there exists so great a disparity of rank, and a lively feeling of insignificance on the part of the guest; their endeavours, however, were crowned with success, and after dinner, his noble hostess, still anxious to add to the tenant's amusement, asked him if he played cards? Morgan then, in a hesitating manner, and as if afraid to refuse, replied, 'A little, my lady,' and a game was selected, such as was considered would best suit itself to the extent of his acquirements in that polite accomplishment. The event, however, was not that which her ladyship anticipated, and the game terminated with Morgan having won the entire sum which he had paid that morning as rent. Lady G——, like other losing gamblers, attributed her ill luck to an unfavourable run of the cards,

and not to old Morgan's superior experience, and requested him, in expectation of retrieving her loss, to change the game. Morgan was all complaisance, at the same time prefacing each successive change with a profession of his 'knowing but little of any game, my lady.' Not to detain you too long, suffice it to say, that almost every game, from one end of Hoyle to the other, was gone through, and old Morgan proving successful in all, won so large a sum of money as left him rent free on his lordship's property for many years afterwards. But if he was successful, he was by no means importunate, and on the settlement of the night's accounts, he signified to her ladyship, that as in all probability the largeness of the sum he had won might make its immediate payment inconvenient, he would feel himself fully satisfied, and indeed thankful, by his lordship's giving him receipts in advance for the growing rent. Her ladyship thanked him for his kind consideration, the arrangement proposed was at once entered into, and old Morgan rode home the next day, chuckling in his sleeve, and exclaiming at the interval of every three or four miles, 'a little, my lady.'

"I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

"A KERRYMAN."

APPENDIX XV.

Referred to in page 564.

TABLE showing the probable quantity of Unimproved Pasture and Bog Lands in the several Counties of Ireland, &c. &c.
From Part IV. of the Land Commissioner's Inquiry, Appendix to Evidence, &c. &c., p. 290.

COUNTIES.	Coarse Pasture above 800 feet over sea level.	Coarse Pasture below 800 feet, in- cluding flow bogs, &c.	Improvable for Cultivation.	Improvable for Pasture.	Unimprovable.	Total.
LEINSTER.						
Carlow	16,500	15,500	17,000	6,000	9,000	32,000
Dublin	19,000	1,500	1,500	6,000	11,500	19,000
Kildare	8,000	44,000	16,000	31,000	5,000	52,000
Kilkenny	18,000	3,000	7,500	6,000	7,500	31,000
King's County	9,000	137,000	40,000	94,000	7,000	148,000
Loughford	3,500	55,500	18,000	38,000	3,000	50,000
Louth	11,500	3,500	3,000	5,000	7,000	15,000
Meath	3,500	12,500	6,000	8,000	2,000	16,000
Queen's County	39,000	30,000	18,000	26,000	25,000	69,000
Westmeath	3,000	53,000	18,000	37,000	1,000	56,000
Wexford	16,000	20,000	16,000	18,000	11,000	45,000
Wicklow	164,500	36,500	20,000	70,000	111,000	201,000
Total	311,500	419,500	186,000	345,000	200,000	731,000
ULSTER.						
Antrim	108,500	68,500	40,000	70,000	67,000	177,000
Armagh	22,000	13,000	13,000	13,000	10,000	35,000
Cavan	45,000	27,000	20,000	28,000	24,000	72,000
Donegal	263,000	516,000	150,000	250,000	369,000	769,000
Down	45,000	38,000	20,000	30,000	28,000	78,000
Fermanagh	34,000	81,000	40,000	50,000	25,000	115,000
Londonderry	60,000	112,000	50,000	60,000	71,000	181,000
Monaghan	14,500	6,500	7,000	8,000	6,000	21,000
Tyrone	127,000	185,000	80,000	120,000	112,000	319,000
Total	718,000	1,042,000	419,000	620,000	712,000	1,769,000

CONNAUGHT.		619,000	160,000	250,000	298,000	708,000
Galway	.	95,000	160,000	250,000	298,000	708,000
Lettim	.	55,000	80,000	38,000	60,000	116,000
Mayo	.	168,000	170,000	300,000	380,000	800,000
Roscommon	.	2,000	40,000	80,000	10,000	180,000
Sligo	.	55,000	30,000	60,000	68,000	152,000
Total	.	370,500	480,000	728,000	760,000	1,906,000
MUNSTER.		267,000	60,000	100,000	186,000	596,000
Clare	.	28,000	100,000	150,000	216,000	468,000
Cork	.	170,000	150,000	250,000	327,000	727,000
Kerry	.	917,000	30,000	40,000	51,000	121,000
Limerick	.	41,000	80,000	60,000	86,000	178,000
Tipperary	.	111,000	30,000	30,000	55,000	105,000
Waterford	.	66,000	20,000	30,000	879,000	1,888,000
Total	.	684,000	380,000	680,000	879,000	1,888,000

ABSTRACT.

PROVINCES.		419,500	186,000	345,000	200,000	731,000
Leinster	.	311,500	419,000	629,000	712,000	1,760,000
Ulster	.	718,000	419,000	728,000	760,000	1,906,000
Connaught	.	370,500	480,000	728,000	879,000	1,888,000
Munster	.	684,000	380,000	680,000	879,000	1,888,000
Total	.	2,084,000	1,425,000	2,380,000	2,535,000	6,990,000

RICHARD GRIFFITH.

General Valuation Office, Nov. 1845.

APPENDIX XVI.

APPENDIX XVI.

Referred to in page 565.

TABLE of the Division of Land, showing the Extent in Acres, and the Distribution of Cultivated and Uncultivated Surface.
From the Census of Ireland, 1841.

DIVISION OF SURFACE.	PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.													
	Carlow.	Drogheda Town.	Dublin.	Kildare.	Kilkenny.	King's.	Longford.	Louth.	Meath.	Queen's.	Westmeath.	Wexford.	Wicklow.	Total.
Arable-land .	184,069	"	196,063	356,787	470,102	397,256	191,623	178,972	547,391	342,422	365,218	510,702	280,368	3,961,188
Uncultivated .	31,249	"	19,312	51,854	21,126	145,896	58,937	15,803	16,033	69,289	56,392	47,501	900,754	731,886
Plantations .	4,227	"	5,519	8,288	13,889	8,253	4,610	5,318	12,767	11,630	8,803	14,325	17,000	115,844
Towns .	602	472	5,220	480	1,549	902	364	728	464	1,117	628	2,392	341	15,589
Water .	505	"	"	1,017	3,056	1,733	13,675	813	3,244	386	22,427	9,668	1,090	51,694
Total .	231,243	472	226,414	418,490	609,792	496,965	269,409	201,434	579,899	424,854	453,468	576,588	500,178	4,876,911

TABLE of the Division of Land, &c.—continued.

DIVISION OF SURFACE.	PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.							PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.						GENERAL TOTAL.
	Clare.	Cork.	Kerry.	Limerick.	Tipperary.	Waterford.	Total.	Galway.	Leitrim.	Mayo.	Roscommon.	Sligo.	Total.	
Arable-land .	455,008	1,306,882	414,614	596,876	843,887	825,345	3,874,613	742,805	249,360	487,487	440,583	290,686	3,280,960	13,464,300
Uncultivated .	286,083	465,889	726,775	121,101	178,183	106,408	1,868,477	708,000	116,868	800,111	180,289	151,723	1,906,002	6,885,735
Plantations .	8,304	59,180	11,166	11,575	23,779	23,408	130,415	23,718	3,366	8,360	6,732	6,134	48,340	374,482
Towns .	728	6,516	807	2,750	2,359	1,525	14,693	1,801	"	848	768	460	3,877	42,983
Water .	67,990	12,867	32,761	18,531	13,523	5,779	151,981	60,080	23,748	56,376	29,370	12,740	212,864	680,825
Total .	827,994	1,846,333	1,186,126	680,842	1,061,731	461,553	6,064,579	1,566,354	392,963	1,363,882	607,661	461,753	4,392,049	20,808,271

APPENDIX XVII.

Referred to its page 566.

TABLE, showing the relative size and number of Farms, and density of Population of different Counties.
 From Appendix to Evidence before Land Commissioners, Part I. p. 197.

1. NAME OF COUNTY.	2. Number of acres, statute measure, capable of cultivation.	3. Number of farms above one, and not exceeding five acres.	4. Total number of farms of all sizes.	5. Proportion which the number of farms of one to five acres bears to the whole arable acres.	6. Average size of farms, dividing the number of arable acres by the number of farms.	7. Rural population.	8. Arable acres to each head of rural population.	9. Total population, rural and arable.	10. Number of arable acres to each head of the population.
Armagh, . . .	258,430	11,632	23,798	1 to 22	11	211,793	1½	232,908	1½
Down, . . .	475,170	13,753	31,117	1 to 34	15	323,807	1½	361,446	1½
Meath, . . .	505,120	5,330	13,501	1 to 94	37	171,726	3	188,898	2½
Tipperary, . . .	800,080	113,032	33,717	1 to 62	24	364,261	2½	435,553	1½
Cork, . . .	1,549,000	13,683	45,526	1 to 113	34	669,919	2½	854,118	1½
Galway, . . .	1,361,240	27,992	44,330	1 to 48	30	403,746	3½	422,923	3½
Mayo, . . .	1,067,570	38,780	46,531	1 to 31	23	369,128	2½	388,897	2½

APPENDIX XVIII.

Referred to in page 566.

TABLE showing the Extent of each Class of House Accommodation occupied by the People in the several Counties in Ireland.
From the Census of Ireland, 1841.

COUNTIES.	Proportion of 100 Families who occupy each Class of Accommodation.				COUNTIES.	Proportion of 100 Families who occupy each Class of Accommodation.				COUNTIES.	Proportion of 100 Families who occupy each Class of Accommodation.			
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	4th Class.		1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	4th Class.		1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	4th Class.
Down . . .	1.4	29.6	44.3	24.7	Longford . .	.9	14.4	50.	34.7	Donegal . .	.7	12.3	39.9	47.1
Dublin . . .	7.	27.4	36.8	28.8	Wicklow . .	2.4	24.9	37.7	35.	Leitrim . .	.5	10.1	42.2	47.2
Wexford . .	2.2	31.9	46.5	29.4	Tyrone . . .	8	19.2	43.7	30.3	Roscommon .	.5	8.	44.2	47.3
Kilkenny . .	1.9	25.	42.2	30.9	Cavan . . .	.6	15.5	46.1	37.8	Sligo . . .	.4	9.2	39.9	50.5
Monaghan . .	.7	19.2	48.6	31.5	Waterford .	1.6	20.	40.5	37.9	Galway . .	.6	9.	37.6	52.8
Armagh . . .	1.	18.9	48.5	31.6	Westmeath .	1.6	17.3	43.1	38.	Limerick . .	1.1	10.4	33.	55.5
Carlow . . .	2.2	25.	40.4	32.4	Londonderry	1.	21.3	39.7	38.	Cork . . .	1.4	12.	29.9	56.7
King's . . .	1.8	18.6	47.2	32.4	Louth . . .	1.5	13.5	46.7	38.3	Clare . . .	.7	10.8	31.7	56.8
Queen's . .	1.6	17.8	47.6	33.	Meath . . .	1.8	10.6	48.7	38.9	Mayo . . .	.3	4.2	32.7	62.8
Antrim . . .	1.3	21.5	43.0	33.3	Fermanagh .	.5	19.	40.	40.5	Kerry . . .	.6	6.5	26.2	66.7
Kildare . . .	2.8	14.2	48.4	34.6	Tipperary .	1.4	15.8	41.	41.8					

Extract from the Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the Census of Ireland for the Year 1841 (page xlv).

"We adopted four classes, and the result was, that in the lowest, or fourth class, were comprised all mud cabins having only one room; in the third, a better description of cottage, still built of mud, but varying from two to four rooms and windows; in the second, a good farm-house, or in town a house in a small street, having from five to nine rooms and windows; and in the first, all houses of a better description than the preceding classes.

APPENDIX XIX.

Referred to in page 567.

TABLE showing the comparative order of the Amount of Property invested in Live Stock in each County, in proportion to its extent.
From the Census of Ireland, 1841.

COUNTIES.	VALUE		COUNTIES.	VALUE		COUNTIES.	VALUE	
	to 100 Acres.	Total.		to 100 Acres.	Total.		to 100 Acres.	Total.
Meath .	155	901,671	Louth .	110	238,854	Cavan .	102	487,102
Dublin .	198	750,820	Limerick .	118	802,304	Londonderry	101	524,662
Wexford .	131	304,040	Monaghan .	118	377,986	Wicklow .	100	503,593
Down .	130	795,119	Armagh .	113	371,393	Clare .	94	781,061
Kilkenny .	128	640,400	Queen's .	112	477,186	Antrim .	94	698,900
Kildare .	124	521,008	Westmeath .	111	505,105	Fermanagh .	93	426,209
Carlow .	122	270,334	Cork .	108	1,065,324	Sligo .	93	420,418
Waterford .	119	540,226	Tipperary .	106	1,128,517	Leitrim .	92	363,535
						Tyrone .	92	745,498
						King's .	88	436,455
						Rooscommon .	88	535,410
						Longford .	88	237,674
						Kerry .	84	908,988
						Donegal .	73	878,287
						Mayo .	69	945,104
						Galway .	67	1,044,748

APPENDIX XX.

Referred to in page 586, as No. 22.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

(From the *Belfast Northern Whig*.)

CONDITION OF IRELAND AND IRISH PARTIES.—We publish to-day, *The Times* Commissioner's impressions with respect to Belfast and its neighbourhood. His statements are sufficiently precise; and his remarks are offered with calmness and candour. His estimate of this town and district is favourable; and we presume we are entitled to say, without incurring any risk of being charged with partiality, that it could not in fairness have been otherwise. There may be much to be improved, and which we hope will be improved; but, when we compare this part of Ireland with any other, we are satisfied that we have cause to indulge a feeling of pride.

We must not forget—and “the Commissioner” should have remembered—that the Irish people have had to contend against great difficulties. The long dreary ages of political servitude and tyranny under which the great mass of the population had to groan stood in the way of improvement; and traces of this injustice have been left behind which it may require ages altogether to efface. But the causes of these evils having ceased, it is now for the people to assume something of the dignity of independent enterprise.—We shall not undertake to say, whether differences of race have anything to do with present differences of condition. This we know, that the Repeal orators claim for the Celtic stock natural superiority over the Scotch and English, the despised “Saxons.” Now, in this they may, for aught we care to contend, be perfectly right; and if they be, it only behoves them the more to prove their superiority by their deeds. If it could be demonstrated, that we have an unfavourable soil and climate, and that our people are, by an irresistible law of Nature, weak of body or feeble of mind, then would we be well entitled to extraordinary aids, and to the sympathies and compassions of our fellow-citizens. But if, instead of alleging any such thing, we plume ourselves upon our vast superiority in race and soil, with what face can we hold up our miseries, as beggars expose their sores, craving for the relief of others, without making an effort to benefit ourselves? We may be entitled—and we are—to every facility which the Government and the Legislature can afford us for exerting our energies most profitably for ourselves; but beyond this we do not know that we have much to demand, or any right to receive.

Political claims we are bound to make, wherever we can do so justly, and we have a right to demand for the industrious, whether he be manufacturer or labourer, every fair security, that he will be enabled to enjoy the fruits of his honest industry. The farmer is entitled to "protection"—not that which is commonly and falsely so called—but protection in the quiet possession of his farm, and in the permanent enjoyment of the improvements which he may create. After this, and with these securities, every man must lay his shoulder to the wheel and do his own work.

What advantages, we would be glad to learn, have we, in this part of Ireland above all others? We live in the "Black North," with an ungenial climate; and, as far as Belfast is concerned, there has been a not favourable port. Nor have we obtained extraordinary assistance from the Government. On the contrary, though they draw large revenues from us, they will not give us a decent Custom House; and they refuse to provide any house, good or bad, for a Post-office! Lately, it was proposed to improve our harbour, and the Government were expected to at least lend the requisite funds, at a moderate rate of interest; but they refused to do so, agreeing to lend only half, and that on terms so unfavourable, that the port authorities found it more advantageous to borrow from private individuals, and throw back the contemptible and huckstering offer of the Government.

How different has been the case in Dublin, where they have got their public buildings erected, and their harbours made, out of the public funds! And yet, the sounds of beggarly wailing from Dublin patriots are constantly ringing in our ears. Here, we make little of all Government relief. We go upon the plan of facing difficulties ourselves, and we succeed. Nor do we claim for the people of Belfast any intellectual superiority over their neighbours. Out of their own departments in business, they are, in general, far from distinguished by shining abilities: but, in business, they do their work, as becomes business men; they act with integrity and energy; and they thus rise into unassuming prosperity, whilst a set of Dublin men are perhaps spouting, or exhibiting their little property, and waiting on Providence to cast pearls before them, or send them Repeal.

Though the Northern agriculturists have yet much to learn and to do, they, too, afford examples which the Southern would do well to imitate. "The Commissioner" refers to the linen trade and the growth of flax, and the subject is one of the utmost interest. Most people are well aware, that flax is an unprotected article. Our Irish flax has come into competition with the flax of all other countries, there being only a nominal duty of a penny per hundred weight upon foreign flax when imported.

We have, in Ireland, two parties, whose labours are peculiarly well calculated to divert the minds of a large portion of the people from advancing their own interests, by attending to their various duties. At the head of one is Lord Roden.

The other party are the Repealers. We would thank any one to point out Mr. O'Connell's labour for the practical amelioration of his country. He has not done it. He cannot afford time to do it, and does not seem inclined:—it would interfere with "the agitation," and with something else which renders the agitation so fascinating. If the Repealers be determined to prosecute their vain work, let them at least advise the people to endeavour to improve their condition, in the mean time. As it is not very likely that Repeal will come upon us in haste, the people should be told to set about improving their cottages, cultivating their lands better and so forth. As they can do much for themselves, without Repeal, they should be exhorted to do what they can, until Repeal comes. We are making advances in the North, and will, we hope, go on advancing; and we trust and treat with scorn those who, from indolence, or other causes, continue to clamour about their difficulties, and look for external aid, whilst they have themselves the power to improve their condition, but would rather agitate and lament and play the parts of beggarly patriots, than exert that power, like honest and independent-minded men.

(From the *Belfast Chronicle*.)

"THE TIMES" COMMISSIONER.—We have given in our preceding columns, from *The Times* of Saturday, the letter of this gentleman, in reference to his late visit to Belfast. We were prepared to expect that his impressions of its character, intelligence, and business importance, would be of a favourable nature; and we are gratified to find that our anticipations are correct. He does us, we are bound to say, full justice; and, however much we should have liked to have seen him urging upon the Government the importance of those local improvements which, as in the case of the Post-office and Custom-house, are absolutely necessary, we must at the same time, admit that they were beyond the range of his inquiry, if not altogether foreign to the great object of his mission. The Commissioner seems to have made good use of his time while here, and to have seen everything for himself. He trusts nothing to others, but forms his opinions and collects his facts from personal observation, and is thereby enabled to bring together a body of practical information, which is alike creditable to his discrimination and his spirit of painstaking inquiry. He may depend upon it, too, that he has hit the nail on the head when he affirms that the prosperity of the North is mainly owing to the "Saxon" population. They have been, and are, its life-blood, the sources of its industrial energy, the workers-out of its commercial success, the persevering creators of its wealth and greatness, and they are, above all, and before all, the staunch, steady, and loyal subjects of a constitutional Government, and the firm friends of a Protestant State. They have made Ulster what she is—an enterprising, intelligent, and prosperous province; and we say it advisedly, in despite of the frothy verbiage and silly declamations of the

orators of Conciliation-hall, that there is more real patriotism, in the genuine sense of the word, in the province of Ulster than in the other three put together. We have no wish whatever to underrate the Celtic population, nor to speak lightly of their talents, kindly dispositions, and moral qualities—far from it—but when we look to the north and see what it has done and is doing, to the south, east, and west, and see what they are not doing and are capable of, we cannot wish them a better wish than that they should have a large infusion of that “Saxon” blood which has worked such wonders in the least naturally-favoured portion of the country. With these few observations we beg to refer our readers to the very interesting letter of *The Times* Commissioner.

(From the *Jersey Times*.)

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.—The last letter of “*The Times* Commissioner” contains an interesting sketch of the state of trade in the sister country. It is dated from Belfast, in many respects by far the most valuable portion of our Irish empire. Belfast is the great stronghold of Irish Protestantism. The province of Ulster may be styled the complete nucleus of the Scotch and English population of Ireland. Partaking to a large extent of the energy and industrious spirits of their fatherland, while most Irish towns in situations equally favourable for prosperity have remained stationary, the mixed races of the north in the course of half a century have raised Belfast to a pitch of amazing prosperity. The inhabitants of the great bulk of Ireland of the midland counties of the south and of the west—those of pure Irish extraction, have hitherto had so much of listless apathy, of indolent indifference, of enduring contentment with any deprivations in their constitution, that in order to improve them it has been necessary to urge them on, shame them on, instruct, and, if necessary, compel them to exert themselves for their own advancement. The case has been different with the mixed inhabitants of Scotch and English descent in the northern and eastern counties of Ireland. Partaking of the energy and industrious spirit of the country from which they sprang, they have required but to be left alone to achieve their own prosperity. We extract the description of the trade of Belfast from “*The Times* Commissioner’s” communication of Saturday last.

APPENDIX,

Return showing the Number and Ages of Persons who Emigrated direct from
From Census of

PORTS OF EMBARKA- TION.	YEARS.											
	1832.			1833.			1834.			1835.		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
Dublin .	5,040	3,995	9,044	2,724	2,053	4,777	3,801	2,832	6,723	655	459	1,114
Drogheda .	74	36	110	44	22	66	131	80	220	..	..	..
Ross .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wexford .	98	92	190	14	12	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cork .	1,078	1,215	2,293	1,404	925	2,329	2,324	2,324	5,000	884	603	1,582
Limerick .	1,352	1,020	2,372	539	361	900	1,201	911	2,202	301	280	580
Tralee .	82	38	120	35	16	51	90	61	150	126	93	219
Waterford .	1,206	732	2,048	525	339	864	1,131	717	1,848	403	243	706
Youghall .	231	116	347	207	103	310	101	46	147	..	..	..
Belfast .	5,065	3,095	8,760	2,844	2,194	5,038	2,604	2,234	4,838	1,400	1,222	2,622
Londonderry	100	52	152	2,026	1,535	3,561	2,189	1,502	3,740	722	557	1,279
Newry .	768	534	1,302	342	329	671	302	58	360	280	235	515
Galway .	456	270	726	251	73	324	244	102	406	126	90	216
Sligo .	2,160	1,808	3,977	784	685	1,469	1,737	1,420	3,157	621	505	1,126
Westport .	427	260	687	..	..	..	204	176	440	87	49	156
Total .	19,145	13,862	33,007	11,730	8,678	20,417	17,562	12,603	30,165	5,815	4,500	10,315

AGES.													
Under 10.			10 to 30.			31 to 50.			Above 50.			Ages unknown.	
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.
2,494	2,306	4,790	11,341	9,377	20,718	4,918	2,580	7,498	475	291	766	..	..
30	26	56	166	95	261	48	22	70	5	4	9	..	..
54	54	108	140	123	263	105	49	154	4	3	7	..	..
37	26	63	54	44	98	92	52	144	2	..	2	..	..
8,275	3,082	11,357	13,150	10,350	23,500	4,912	2,492	7,404	926	148	1,074	..	..
1,600	1,538	3,138	6,034	4,985	10,219	1,243	777	2,020	48	52	100	..	..
140	156	305	690	477	1,167	123	71	194	11	6	17	..	..
739	703	1,442	5,097	3,505	8,602	985	489	1,474	87	70	157	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	581	284
5,169	4,708	9,877	10,730	8,868	19,598	6,254	4,704	10,958	602	563	1,165	..	..
3,353	3,203	6,556	7,416	6,283	13,699	4,907	4,061	8,968	729	611	1,340	..	..
393	293	686	1,124	842	1,966	548	536	1,084	393	323	716	..	..
155	153	308	1,099	716	1,815	478	150	628	69	50	119	..	..
1,905	1,767	3,672	80,11	8,257	17,168	3,021	2,082	5,103	133	125	258	..	..
270	237	507	1,246	778	2,019	366	155	521	35	23	58	..	..
10,625	10,192	20,817	60,807	53,065	113,872	38,242	28,210	66,452	2,864	2,249	5,113	581	284

No. XXI.

Ireland to Colonies and Foreign Countries during the ten years ending 6th June 1841.
Ireland, 1841.

YEARS.																	
1836.			1837.			1838.			1839.			1840.			1841		
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
2,131	1,806	3,937	1,808	1,389	3,197	..	..	..	335	291	626	1,447	1,237	2,684	1,008	60	1,068
..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	303	29	332
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	29	76	26	..	73
3,165	2,181	5,346	5,076	2,832	7,908	194	122	316	1,010	757	1,767	3,137	2,356	5,493	3,293	2,65	5,948
554	327	881	1,008	603	1,611	230	234	464	490	306	796	1,496	1,107	2,603	1,644	1,31	2,955
133	106	239	163	84	247	4	12	16	52	41	93	64	53	117	217	20	237
940	620	1,560	1,600	713	2,313	156	113	269	214	148	362	919	568	1,500	781	53	2,281
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	11	53
1,402	1,216	2,618	1,531	3,463	5,002	409	1,061	1,470	1,132	2,424	2,325	2,145	4,470	3,179	2,97	6,149	8,619
1,734	1,247	2,981	2,071	1,646	3,717	851	781	1,632	1,839	1,818	3,657	2,456	2,327	4,783	2,444	2,62	7,427
286	227	513	20	45	65	..	..	..	78	30	108	300	268	568	384	19	582
253	150	403	110	51	161	..	..	..	..	..	..	122	99	221	232	15	237
1,420	105	1,525	1,559	1,162	2,721	351	385	736	1,026	971	1,997	2,022	3,308	4,085	1,731	1,76	5,816
53	22	75	180	123	303	..	..	..	5	4	9	418	250	668	417	29	687
12,161	8,630	20,791	15,113	10,209	25,322	2,278	2,146	4,424	6,277	5,528	11,805	15,328	12,822	28,148	15,701	13,35	41,049

TO WHAT COUNTRIES.																	
British America.			United States.			Australian Colonies.			West Indies.			Other Countries.			Total.		
M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
18,253	13,712	31,965	613	482	1,095	562	320	882	..	..	..	..	..	..	19,228	14,514	33,742
240	147	387	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	240	147	387
308	229	537	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	308	229	537
138	93	231	47	29	76	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	185	122	307
21,709	14,616	36,325	608	630	1,238	805	706	1,511	..	..	..	..	..	..	22,514	15,316	37,830
8,539	6,273	14,812	64	52	116	249	267	516	73	61	134	..	..	..	8,925	6,652	15,577
975	710	1,685	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	975	710	1,685
7,353	4,625	11,978	29	13	42	123	127	250	3	2	5	..	..	..	7,508	4,767	12,275
581	384	965	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	581	384	965
17,924	15,075	32,999	4,363	3,368	7,731	266	269	535	216	131	347	..	..	..	22,755	18,843	41,598
12,206	9,857	22,063	3,682	3,527	7,209	509	474	983	8	..	8	..	..	..	16,405	14,158	30,563
2,553	1,066	3,619	107	78	185	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,700	1,064	3,764
1,569	915	2,484	225	114	339	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,794	1,029	2,823
13,605	11,881	25,486	325	350	675	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,030	12,231	26,261
1,675	1,081	2,756	182	107	289	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,857	1,188	3,045
107,792	81,433	189,225	10,725	9,050	19,775	2,300	2,053	4,353	300	194	494	..	..	..	121,117	92,586	213,703

APPENDIX XXII.

I. RETURNS RELATIVE TO THE GROWTH OF FLAX IN IRELAND.

Extracts from the 5th Annual Report of the Irish Flax Improvement Society,
—Paper presented to the House of Commons by command of Her Majesty.
1846.

THE Society estimate the quantity of this year's flax crop in Ireland "at about one-fourth less than last year, say 28,000 tons. Although there has thus been a considerable deficit in the quantity, the value of the crop being greatly enhanced by the scarcity of the produce, both here and on the continent, is about equal to that of last year. At 45*l.* per ton, average, the value of the crop of 1844 was taken at 1,782,495*l.* Calculating the advanced price of all qualities of flax at 12*l.* per ton, average, the value of the crop of 1845 would be 1,596,000*l.*; and adding the value of the seed saved for all purposes, the entire amount realized in Ireland, for the flax crop of the present year, may be estimated at 1,750,000*l.*, being about the same amount as last year."

This deficiency in the crop the Society attribute to a deficiency of good seed, and to the fraudulent sale to the Irish farmers of inferior seed.

With regard to the saving of seed, the Report states that "the saving of flax-seed for feeding cattle, or to be sold for the oil mills, has always been recommended by the Society, as enabling the farmer to realize an additional 3*l.* to 4*l.* per acre, which was formerly, and even yet is, in many instances, thrown away. Under the instruction of the agriculturists, this practice has been yearly gaining ground; and a very large quantity of the flax-seed crop is now saved." And the Society regarding this home-grown seed, reports that "they can now fairly say, that excellent crops of flax may be grown from the seed which has been saved, in this country, by the Courtrai method, from the growth of foreign flax-seed. As soon as the result of the present crop confirmed them in this opinion, they circulated, extensively, full instructions, recommending every farmer to save a portion of his crop, in this way, and thus secure, for the following year, fresh and genuine seed. * * * If this plan were fully carried out, it would be only necessary to import, annually from the continent, the quantity required to rear seed for the following year's sowing. One-sixth of the present importation would thus suffice, and a saving to the country be effected of 150,000*l.* to 160,000*l.* per annum, now expended in foreign flax-seed, besides the

very important advantages of being rendered almost independent of foreigners for the extent of our crop of flax, and of being secured from any chance of the failure of that crop from the use of spurious or inferior seed."

With regard to the advantages of cultivating flax, the Society reports that "they have no hesitation in recording their opinion that, great as have been the benefits resulting from the culture of the flax-crop in Ulster, these benefits will be greatly enhanced in the poorer districts of the other provinces, whose soil and climate are generally much superior, and the rate of wages considerably less. The introduction of a crop into the farmer's rotation, which is so highly profitable, and which, succeeding best when grown after grain, does not interfere with that staple product, and produces, in the seed, a most nutritive food for all kinds of stock, will be justly estimated; while the people, having no old prejudices to overcome, will receive, with full benefit, the agriculturists' instructions, and will commence at once the management of the crop on the most approved system."

The Society reports that "there is little question that the future increase and prosperity of the linen trade will be regulated, to a great extent, by the quantity of flax which may be grown in Ireland. It is now candidly acknowledged by the spinning trade of the United Kingdom, that Irish flax, for the great majority of fabrics, is of very superior quality to that of foreign growth; and that, therefore, the yarn made from that flax, and the linen woven from that yarn, cannot be excelled, for appearance and durability, in any market in the world. * * * Independently, then, of the claims which flax culture has, on the ground of profit to the farmer and employment to the labourer, it has to add the very important one of mainly contributing to uphold and increase a manufacture which employs thousands of hands in its prosecution, has distributed wealth wherever it has settled, and is, in fact, the most flourishing and important of the industrial resources of Ireland."

In conclusion, the Society justly say, "It would not then be too much to expect, that a wonderful increase of the linen trade would result, and that the manufacture of linen might stand in the same relation to Ireland which the manufacture of cotton has done to England; with this important difference, that, whereas, in the latter case, millions are expended in foreign countries for a raw material, which our climate does not permit us to grow; in the former, these millions would be expended at home, for the produce of Irish soil, the labour of Irish hands, and wealth and industry spread happiness and comfort through the land."

"An account of the quantity of foreign flax imported in 1843 and 1844, and in the first nine months of the present year (1845) :—

*Quantities Imported into the United Kingdom.—Flax and Tow, or
Codilla of Flax.*

	Cwts.
Year 1843	1,437,150
1844	1,588,494
Nine months ended 10th Oct., 1845 .	1,049,121

"The imports of flax during the last six years are as follow, respectively:—

1840	62,649 tons.
1841	67,368 do.
1842	55,113 do.
1843	71,857 do.
1844	79,424 do.
1845 to 10th Oct. .	52,456 do.

Total quantity in six years, 388,867 tons, worth £19,443,350

"The consumption of another part of the flax crop is very great—viz., the seed, and the oil cake which is manufactured from it, both of which are used most extensively for fattening cattle, in Great Britain."

"The following returns of the quantities imported of these articles, are furnished in a statement from the Board of Trade, bearing date 24th Nov., 1845:—

Statement of the Quantities of Flax-seed, and of Oil Cakes, Imported into the United Kingdom, in each of the Years 1843 and 1844, and also in the Nine Months ended 10th October, 1845.

	Flax-seed. Qrs.	Oil Cakes. Tons.
1843	470,539	63,267
1844	616,947	85,890
1845 to 10th Oct.	428,292	Returns not yet received.

"From these tables may be learned the value of the different products of the flax crop annually imported from foreign countries:—

1843.			
71,857 tons flax,	at £50 0 0	. . .	£3,592,850
470,539 qrs. seed,	at 2 5 0	. . .	1,058,713
63,267 tons oil cakes, at	7 10 0	. . .	474,622
			£5,126,185
1844.			
79,424 tons flax,	at £50 0 0	. . .	£3,971,200
616,947 qrs. seed,	at 2 5 0	. . .	1,388,131
85,890 tons oil cakes, at	7 10 0	. . .	644,175
			£6,003,506

"Thus we find that from five to six millions sterling are annually drained out of the country to pay foreign nations for the produce of a crop which can be grown at home, with profit to the farmer, affording great employment to the labourer, and benefiting the community at large."

VALUE OF WELL-MANAGED FLAX.

"The following instance will show the value that may be realized on flax, by judicious treatment:—

"Model Farm, Caledon, Nov. 29th, 1845.

"SIR,—In answer to yours of the 24th, I have much pleasure in furnishing you with an account of the flax crop, and expenses thereon, grown on the Earl of Caledon's model farm. Crop, 1845.

Produce of 1 acre 1 rood 39 perches, sold at			
11s. 9d. per stone	.	.	£55 19 7½
Tow	.	.	0 8 0
130 bushels bows, which I consider well worth			
8d. per bushel	.	.	4 6 8
			<hr/> £60 14 3½

Expenses of Crop.

5 bushels seed	.	.	£3 16 6
Weeding	.	.	0 10 0
Pulling, rippling, and steeping	.	.	4 3 8
Taking out of steep—spreading	.	.	2 1 4
Lifting and tying	.	.	1 2 8
Scutching	.	.	4 9 4½
			<hr/> 16 3 6½

Leaving a balance of . . . £44 10 9

"Or at the rate of 29l. 13s. 10d. per acre, after deducting all expenses.

"It is but fair to add, that we had to carry the flax to and from the steep, on barrows, eight perches, as the steep was in a bog, and the carts could not get near it—consequently, had the carts got close to the steep, there would have been at least 1l. 10s. saved.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

'J. MacAdam, jun., Esq.'

"JOHN BARR, Manager.

APPENDIX XXIII.

Referred to in page 593.

Abstract of Evidence taken before the Land Commissioners as to the evils created by the class of 'Middlemen.'

Richard Samuel Guinness, Esq. land-agent of Dublin, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 46, is asked,—

" 219. Is there a great proportion of the property in the county of Tipperary in the hands of middlemen? More, I should say, than in most other counties.

" 220. From your own observation, is the treatment of the tenants by middlemen, generally speaking, different from that of the head landlord, where the tenants are immediately under his control? Yes, my opinion is, that they are much more severe landlords than the owners of the soil would be.

" 221. Do they generally exact higher rents? Yes, they generally exact higher rents.

" 224. Have you had occasion, in your capacity of agent, to eject middlemen for non-payment of rent? Yes.

" 225. Has that happened in those cases where the occupiers of the land have paid the rents, for which you have been obliged to eject the middlemen? Yes; that is a case which has occurred frequently. I know many cases of that sort."

Joseph Kincaid, Esq. land-agent of Dublin, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 66, is asked,—

" 86. Has it occurred to you in your experience in different counties, to see cases in which the middleman has managed to reserve to himself the last year of the term, so that he might set up a claim as tenant in possession to a renewal? There are several cases of that kind, where the tenant reserved a year; and there are also cases where the middleman having a lease, and his tenant not having a lease, he has taken steps for getting rid of some of the occupying tenants, so as to be in the possession of a part of the land himself at the expiration of the lease."

James Lennox William Naper, Esq. of Meath, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 124, is asked,—

" 75. Do you find that the system of middlemen has operated against the introduction of a system of drainage? Yes; it has destroyed the whole property where the middleman has introduced a large body of tenantry, or has found it introduced; he has sometimes nothing left but to take the highest rent he can, and the landlord cannot renew with him. He could not turn off the tenantry—he is a mere annuitant at a rack-rent, and it is his interest to be so."

Mr. Robert Brown Kildrum, near Ballymena, in the county of Antrim, farmer, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 565, is asked,—

“ 42. Which of the tenants are best off? There is scarcely a question on the subject; those holding under the chief landlord are best off, and those holding under the others are in the height of misery.

“ 53. I do not allude to gentlemen holding town-lands in perpetuity, and setting them out again; we find such persons as good as the chief landlords; but then there is another class who will, perhaps, hold forty or fifty acres at will under the chief landlord, and sub-let to poor people in five or six acres, charging them 50 or 75 or 100 per cent. profit. This is contrary to the feeling of the chief landlord generally, but so it is. It is well known that our chief landlords like as little interference with their tenantry as possible, and they would rather look over it than notice it, but such things do exist, very injuriously to the poor people; and I know that many who hold under middlemen, hold at an exorbitant rent: and that they are deterred from making any improvements, knowing they have no tenant-right in their little holdings, and knowing if they make any improvements they will be taken advantage of by the man they immediately hold under, and that checks them from actually improving the land, and benefitting themselves.

“ 54. I hold a field under a middleman convenient to myself; it was a barren moor, you might call it; but I held it as convenient to my own house, and I knew as well then as I do now, that it was in great need of being drained, dug, and cultivated; but such was my feeling, believing that if I would improve it, that upon the first opportunity this middleman would pounce upon me and charge an extra rent, I neither did the one nor the other, but kept it for my ducks and geese, and kept it in that way till I bought the tenant-right; and now I hold under the head landlord that same field, and I have drained it and dug it at an expense of from 8*l.* to 9*l.* per acre, and had a splendid crop of turnips off it last year; and had I been holding it now under the middleman, I would neither have dug it nor drained it, nor had such a crop of turnips.

“ 60. Does that middleman who refuses to acknowledge the tenant-right of the person holding under him consider he has a tenant-right under the landlord? Indeed he does, and would think it a very great hardship any person saying he had not; and I have been tickled a good deal with the two-sided stories I have heard middlemen make use of, if Lord Mountcashel will not allow them the tenant-right, they are loud in their complaints, though they do not admit it at all.”

Edward Houston Caulfield, Esq. of Drumkan, Stewartstown, in the county of Tyrone, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 654, says,—

“ 6. Those who hold under the large landlords have nothing to complain of in this country; but wherever a farmer has land to dispose of he lets it at a most immoderate rent. All the small occupiers, with a very few exceptions, have their land at a very high rent.

“ 7. Do you mean tenants holding under middlemen?—Yes, under middlemen; but if holding under the large proprietors, they have nothing to complain of, and, as a proof of it, they never require leases.”

Andrew Spoteswood, Esq. of Millbrook, in the county of Londonderry, magistrate, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 666. is asked,—

“3. Do the tenants hold generally through the country immediately under the proprietor or under a middleman, and what is the relative condition of the tenants under each class?—They hold very much under both, but those under the large proprietors are much better off in every respect than under the middleman. Upon the Bellaghy estate they hold under the middleman, and they are in great poverty.”

Thomas Douglas Bateson, Esq. of Linsford House, near Buncrana, in the county of Donegal, land-agent, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 720, says,—

“14. I consider the tenants in a far worse condition under middlemen than if they were under the direct landlord.”

John Stratton, Esq. Dundalk, in the county of Louth, land-agent, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 869, is asked,—

“30. What is the state of the tenantry under the middlemen compared with those holding under the head landlords?—The tenants holding under middlemen are in great poverty and misery generally.

“54. I think no man in the rank of a landed proprietor would put the law of distress into force in such a way as I have seen it. I have seen the bed taken from under the wife and children, and great harshness used by middlemen.”

Mr. Patrick Corfield, of Farravathy, Monaghan, farmer, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 875, says,—

“18. The middlemen are the greatest curse the country has.”

Charles Horatio Kennedy, Esq. of Henrietta Street, Dublin, estate-agent, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part I. p. 979, says,—

“21. Tenants under the courts or under middlemen are subjected to many and grievous disadvantages as compared with those who hold immediately under the proprietor of the soil; as, for example, in the case of a middleman, it would not be worth his while, in most instances, to take the responsibility, and burden himself with the collection of the rents of his under tenants, and the risk of default in their payments, had he not a profit rent sufficient to remunerate him for doing so; and it is reasonable to suppose that he himself pays to the proprietor the equitable value of the land which he underlets. Thus the under tenants must necessarily be liable to him for an exorbitant rent.”

Thomas Gerrard, Esq. Liscarton Castle, Meath, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 60, says,—

“7. In certain parts of the district there are numerous small holdings, originally sub-let by former middlemen, but from the lease having expired they are now immediately under the proprietor. The object the middlemen had heretofore in view was, that of taking a tract at a reasonable rent, and, by subletting

it in small portions to needy persons, thereby to make a considerable profit (as it would not be given without it). The general effect of this was the destruction of the ground and ruin of the occupier, from his inability to improve or even pay the rent, unless through the assistance of partial labour. The system is not countenanced by landlords, and is practised contrary to agreement, at the same time it is seldom that any course is adopted to prevent it. The effects of the above system are the great increase of population and pauperism and no introduction of capital."

Pierce Crosby, Esq. of Bullyheige Castle, Kerry, in his evidence before the land commissioners, is asked,—

"8. Do the tenants hold in common?—Mostly; very much, indeed. The whole extent of my property is under very old leases, made by my grandfather, and there is an amazing number of tenantry brought in. It is sub-divided to a dreadful extent. At the death of every parent, all the children get an acre or two, and there is no possibility of stopping it.

"9. Are there any covenants in those leases against it?—No, not in those. Any of those made by my father or myself have covenants against it; but it is almost impossible to enforce them.

"10. Are the occupiers in those cases you have referred to generally tenants at will under the middlemen?—Yes, generally speaking.

"Does he interfere in any way to prevent sub-division?—*No, he encourages it, decidedly.*"—(*Evidence, Part XII. p. 837.*)

David John Wilson, of Belvoir, near Sixmilebridge, Clare, in his evidence before the land commissioners, is asked,—

"7. Do the tenants hold immediately under the landlord, or are there many middlemen in this district?—The tenure is derived in various ways, but, generally speaking, so little attention has hitherto been paid by landlords (myself among the number) to the state of their tenantry, that but little difference is perceptible in the state of their houses or farms. Persons deriving immediately under the landlord, however, do not pay such high rents as those deriving under middlemen and sub-middlemen, for I have almost invariably found that as the grades descend the rents increase. They have also the advantage of having no more than one person to claim rent from them. I have known tenants distrained, and their stock (in three or four instances) impounded by *five* several claimants within the course of ten or fifteen days." (*Evidence, Part II. p. 753.*)

Thomas Hughes Grayden, Esq. of Ardcar, near Galway, land-agent, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 503, is asked,—

"25. Do the tenants hold immediately under the proprietor, the middlemen, or under the courts, and what is the relative condition of the tenants under each class?—Those holding under the proprietor are in far better condition than those either under the courts or middlemen. In some cases those under the courts

* Is not this precisely the course taken by Mr. O'Connell as a middleman, and by him plausibly taken credit for?

are in a very wretched state, from their rents being at a rack rate, in order to increase the rental to raise money on, previous to its going into the courts, and the want of power to re-let or reduce their rents; those under the middlemen are in a similar state, as he invariably extorts the highest rent that can by possibility be got."

Mr. Hugh Porter, of Clubbock, near Ballyjames, Cavan, farmer, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 98, is asked,—

"30. Which tenantry are the best off, those under the proprietors or under the middlemen?—Under the proprietors. The middlemen grind them to powder; they only care to get all they can."

Arthur John Vesey Lindsey Burchell, Esq. of Blackrock House, Drumshambo, in the county of Leitrim, magistrate, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 247, is asked,—

"Are there many middlemen?—There are.

"What is the state and condition of the tenants under them compared to the tenants holding under landlords in fee?—They pay higher rents generally, and they are greatly harassed in general."

Robert Bowen, Esq. of Graham, near Hollymount, in the county of Mayo, magistrate, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 464, is asked,—

"30. Do the tenants hold generally under the proprietors, or are there many middlemen?—Yes; a great many.

"31. What is the condition of the tenants holding under them?—Most wretched, in many instances."

Robert D'Arcy, of Woodville, county of Galway, farmer and agent, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 554, says,—

"The middlemen, we found, destroyed everything they had to do with. They were not satisfied with the profit from farming, but they covered the land with poor tenants; and it is easy to explain to any one acquainted with the country the desire they have to sub-divide. Every man who has twenty acres of land, if he has a good house, and a barn, and a cow-house, and stable, the first thing he does is to put his son into the barn. The son says, "I am not satisfied to live in that manner with you, and I will put up a chimney in the stable; and they never stop till they cover the little farm that was once a comfortable thing, and bring the greatest possible misery upon themselves."

John Moylan, of Redwood, in the county of Tipperary, land-holder, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II, p. 582, is asked,—

"38. Are there any middlemen in your part of the country?—Yes.

"39. Is the rent paid to the middlemen larger than the rent paid to the landlord?—It is larger.

"41. Do you hear any complaints of the middlemen for setting their land too high?—Yes."

James Molony, Esq. of Kiltanon, near Tullagh, in the county of Clare, magistrate, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 662, says,—

“ 13. The tenants who hold immediately under the proprietors are better off than those who hold under middlemen.”

William Monsell, Esq. of Tervoe, in the county of Limerick, landed proprietor and magistrate, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 738, is asked,—

“ 11. Have you found it desirable and practicable to have the labourers holding their ground immediately from you? . . . Yes, decidedly. There was a curious instance occurred at the Petty Sessions, at Patrick's Well, on Friday last :—There was a man who appeared before us, and it happened to come out in the course of his examination, that he paid thirty days' work for four perches of ground, and he built a house upon the ground. The person he held from held eight acres and a half, and he paid 3*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* an acre, the outside value of the land being about 2*l.* an acre. He held it from a middleman, that middleman held from another, and he held again from the head landlord; and I should say that such cases are not rare.”

Mr. John Patrick Sullivan, of Killarney, Kerry, reporter for *The Trales Chronicle*, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 871, is asked,—

“ 8. What is the usual rent of average land of good quality?—If let by the acre, about from 1*l.* to 30*s.* I consider that rents are not too high, under respectable proprietors, if the occupiers had intelligence and capital; but, under middlemen, the rents are disproportionably high; it is principally a lump rent. Middlemen set at enormously high rents, and they seem to be regardless of anything but the collection of the rent.”

Mr. James McLure, Castlevien, about five miles west of Kenmare, in the county of Kerry, farmer, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 909, is asked,—

“ 29. What is the difference in the condition of the tenants?—The land is much dearer under the middlemen.

“ 30. What is the state of the tenantry?—They are poorer under the middlemen.”

William Henry Herrick, Esq. of Shippool, near Innishannon, county of Cork, magistrate, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part II. p. 986, is asked,—

“ 34. What is the condition of the tenantry under the middleman, compared with the tenants under the head landlord?—Those town-lands held under the middlemen are occupied by the greatest paupers, and the most wretched tenantry. I have two town-lands on my own estate, held by long leases, under middlemen, and they are the worst part, the most pauperised, and worst tilled.”

Christopher Galway, Esq. of Killarney, land-agent, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners, is asked,—

“ 1. You reside in Killarney?—Yes.

“ 2. Are you land-agent to the Earl of Kenmare, for his estates in the neighbourhood of Bantry, in the county of Cork? I am, and have acted as such for nearly forty years past.

“ 3. What, in general, is the state of cultivation, and the condition of the tenantry, on these estates?—In general, the agriculture is in a very backward state, for the most part. The lands are impoverished, and badly fenced; draining and green crops are unknown; the tenantry are badly housed, ill fed, and ill clothed; and there are either no roads through the farms, or such as are impassable for the greater part of the year.

“ 4. To what do you attribute this state of things?—To the middlemen's system. For the greater portion of the time during which I have acted as his Lordship's agent, and up to the year 1835, all his Lordship's estates in the barony of Bantry were held by middlemen, at a very low rent, and yielding to them a very large beneficial interest. Those middlemen or mesne landlords, as a class, are men of education and birth, and generally dependent on the profits of the lands they hold on lease for the support of their position in society. The habits of these gentlemen are, in general, those of men of independent income; and the profits of the lands, which were intended by the head landlord as the provision for the permanent improvement of the soil, have, in most instances, been devoted to the supply of the middlemen's extravagance. If, therefore, the farms are now without roads; if agriculture is backward, the soil impoverished, and the resident tenantry ill clothed and ill housed; if the want of punctuality in the payment of rent has become a habit with them, and the accumulation of arrears deprives them of independence, I may justly attribute such evils to the conduct of those middlemen who, deriving a large profit from the lands, returned no part of that profit to the renovation or increase of its resources.” (*Evidence*, Part III., p. 735.)

The Rev. Daniel Kavanagh, of Carnew, Wicklow, Roman Catholic curate, in his evidence before the Land Commissioners, says,—

“ Another cause of the sinking state of the land-holders in this country, is the class of middle landlords; and a great proportion of the lands in or about Carnew is in the hands of middlemen, who have, in my opinion, though I cannot give an accurate account of it, nearly double profits. These men, from their situation in life, aspire to be above the middling order of the people; they aspire to stand amongst the gentry of the land, and they deprive themselves of the means of working the land in their own possession, and so rack-rent their tenantry, that they are in a situation that it is impossible for men, with the present prices, to meet the rents with the calls upon them; therefore the land is deteriorating, and the capital of the tenantry sinking. And the under-tenants I consider, as far as my knowledge goes, and on my oath, are in a most deplorable state; and was it not that our hopes are excited by this commission for the good of the people, and other political changes, and the salutary advice they receive from those placed over them (their clergy), I think it would be almost

impossible to keep the people quiet and in order. At present they wait, in breathless anxiety, to see what can be done for them; but their condition is deplorable, and the lower order of people are famishing. I do not think that a great number of those, who hold small farms under middlemen, can afford themselves more than two meals in each day constantly, and without milk, or any other nourishment but their potatoes; and those potatoes are often sent a mile or two, and they eat them cold, and in the ditches. It is dreadful to consider the starvation they are subject to." (*Evidence*, Part III., p. 543.)

Henry Creery, Esq. of Kilkenny, in his evidence before the land commissioners, is asked,—

"15. What is generally the condition of the tenants under the middlemen? They are rack-rented, and they are obliged to pay the rent punctually to the day.

"16. Is much of the rent paid in labour? Part of it, but much more in money. They have bailiffs always watching, and, when the crop is ripe, they have it seized, and taken away for the rent, immediately." (*Evidence*, Part III., p. 394.)

James Carnegie, Esq., Northesk, near Cork, in his evidence before the land commissioners, is asked,—

"51. Are there any middlemen in the district? Yes, there are.

"52. What is the state of the tenantry under them? Very miserable. In fact, the tenantry in this part of the country have no business with land at all. They would be much better as labourers. They have no capital to cultivate the ground." (*Evidence*, Part III., p. 62.)

Daniel Leahy, Esq. of Shannakiel House, near Cork, land-agent, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part III. p. 11, is asked,—

"36. What generally is the state in which you find the tenantry under a middleman at the expiration of a lease? Very often in a very indifferent state. One of the landlord's great grievances, in my opinion, is, that he lets his farm for a term very usual in this country, of three lives; he lets to a tenant he considers a very industrious man, who goes to live upon it, and at the end of those lives, which may run to sixty years, he finds it covered with a pauper population, and if the fixity of tenure was carried out there would be nothing left for the landlord in a short time, in my opinion."

Mr. John Keefe, of Mongariff, Tipperary, land-agent and farmer, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part III p. 221, is asked,—

"67. Was there much difficulty in getting the rent from the middlemen? Generally the agent or the landlord was obliged to have recourse to the land.

"68. Did it frequently happen that the tenants upon the land had previously paid their rent to the middleman? Generally the agent notices the occupiers to take care not to pay their rents to the middlemen, for fear they should have to pay it over again."

Charles Arthur Walker, Esq. of Belmont, near Wexford, magistrate, in his evidence before the land commissioners, Part III. p. 477, is asked,

" 12. Do the tenants hold in general under the middlemen in the district? Most of this district head proprietor, which accounts for the superior of the universal harmony, peace, and good feeling with tenant, and among all classes in it. Where the the head proprietor he has, in nine cases out of ten. If he does not thrive it is not the amount of rent with of this, there is no tenant so circumstanced that sum of money for his interest. I could give instance. Then as to middlemen—wherever the occupier is there are some cases in this district, he is screwed in his rent. When those middlemen's leases expire he almost invariably becomes the immediate tenant and fair rent."

Joseph Fishbourne, Esq. of Hallymount, in evidence before the land commissioners, 1845.

" 23. Is there much property under the crown?"

" 24. What is the relative condition of the tenants to those under the proprietors? Those under the proprietors are relatively equal in condition. generally speaking, are greatly distressed."

APPENDIX XXIV.

Referred to in page 596.

Summary of Returns, supplied from the Registrar's Office of the Court of Chancery, of Estates on which Receivers accounted to the Court of Chancery in Ireland, during the year 1843, ending 31st December.

From Part IV. Appendix to Evidence before Land Commissioners, p. 292.

Counties.	No. of Causes.	Description of Property.		Rental of Estates.	Arrears of Rent.		Gross amount of Costs paid by Receiver since his Appointment, as allowed in his Account.
		Land.	Houses.		When Receiver was appointed.	When Receiver last accounted.	
Antrim	16	9	7	£ 11,321 9 7	£ 993 6 5	£ 1,860 18 9	£ s. d. 259 17 11
Armagh	4 ¹	2	1	1,600 19 10	338 13 4	284 12 11	143 10 1
Carlow	9	9	..	3,831 3 3	91 15 1	1,709 18 11	80 6 0
Cavan	23	21	2	12,400 17 2	879 15 11	4,992 5 7	428 2 4
Clare	23 ²	22	..	15,658 18 3	2,493 19 7	10,738 10 5	1,394 2 7
Cork	84 ³	74	6	66,188 6 4	9,732 2 11	24,411 9 8	2,087 17 2
Donegal	10	10	..	5,083 6 8	956 4 10	8,994 14 0	477 12 1
Down	12	11	1	22,227 5 5	..	11,763 13 9	390 5 6
Dublin	94	38	55	61,609 2 7	474 13 7	30,157 1 0	1,722 16 3
Fermanagh	7	6	1	7,801 11 6	46 9 2	4,287 0 4	149 5 10
Galway	48 ⁴	45	2	48,888 3 8	435 4 9	29,571 16 3	1,457 19 10
Kerry	17	17	..	30,569 2 8	609 4 10	23,122 9 6	1,760 16 7
Kildare	20 ⁴	17	2	9,035 16 3	..	2,690 3 4	445 4 3
Kilkenny	13	13	..	5,244 1 0	1,013 19 0	3,379 14 2	141 16 7

Laltrim	.	.	.	12	10	..	3,831 8 10	238 14 9	4,106 1 1	564 18 4
Limerick	.	.	.	58 ⁷	54	4	33,159 7 0	1,500 3 7	12,880 5 0	985 17 6 1
Londonderry	.	.	.	9 ⁸	6	1	4,825 0 2	65 13 5	5,270 9 8	366 7 5
Longford	.	.	.	9	9	..	4,118 18 8	6,633 17 5	3,040 11 0	907 8 2
Louth	.	.	.	14	12	..	9,778 6 4	931 5 3	2,002 11 8	396 5 0
Mayo	.	.	.	38	28	1	27,985 11 11	..	17,190 19 10	980 15 6
Meath	.	.	.	28	28	..	20,389 14 0	..	4,199 16 10	722 4 11
Monaghan	.	.	.	11 ⁹	10	..	4,492 17 4	..	2,057 3 8	161 9 9
Queen's	.	.	.	25	24	1	16,928 9 1	6 18 0	7,230 5 3	383 19 11
Roscommon	.	.	.	19 ¹⁰	17	1	12,209 0 5	1,474 15 2	3,821 17 5	474 0 5
Silgo	.	.	.	14	14	..	8,646 17 5	36 16 0	4,076 13 11	501 2 10
Tipperary	.	.	.	36 ¹¹	51	4	32,444 14 1	1,933 18 5	17,089 13 1	1,081 12 9
Tyrone	.	.	.	9	9	..	16,975 8 1	1,198 17 6	19,742 10 2	373 0 6
Waterford	.	.	.	17	17	..	10,659 14 2	469 2 0	2,192 3 10	349 1 1
Westmeath	.	.	.	16	16	..	19,235 15 1	6,591 11 4	15,785 1 7	885 18 6
Wexford	.	.	.	21	20	..	12,052 16 8	158 12 10	4,179 10 2	162 1 11
Wicklow	.	.	.	14 ¹²	13	..	10,347 6 6	..	4,354 15 7	111 13 5
Total	.	.	.	764	653	91	563,022 2 4	39,265 13 1	290,392 4 10	19,741 10 0 1
Average of three years	.	.	.	686	606	72	570,147 3 1 1	37,243 3 5	312,357 16 10	20,209 6 11

(1) 1 Annuity. (2) 3 Bent charge. 1 Interest. (5) 1 Interest on land. (7) 1 Bent charge. (9) 1 Bent charge. (11) 1 Judgment debt.
 (3) 1 Bent charge. (4) 1 Bonds and securities. (6) 3 Bent charge. (8) 1 Interest on stocks. 1 Funds. (10) 1 Bent charge. (12) 1 Interest on funds.

of January thus speaks of the conclusion of the commission I had undertaken for them.

"And now, after quoting this part of his last letter, it remains for us to express a feeling of regret that it is his last. It would be out of place for us to talk of our own obligations to him for his long and most interesting communications. But we think that, without vanity, we may claim for him no slight amount of public gratitude. He has accomplished a mission of delicacy, and difficulty, and not wholly free from danger, with courage, fidelity, and honesty. He has observed, with scrupulous exactness, his faith not only to us, his employers, but to the public. A more honest witness it would be impossible to find. He has stated things exactly as he found them. He has given names, dates, positions, colours, every fact which met his own observant eye, or could provoke the analysis of the most searching critic. He has ever kept his facts and his theories separate; he has never fashioned the one to suit the other; and we believe that he has done more than any one person to fix the attention of the English people on the state of Ireland, and to bring home to their knowledge its real wants and its real grievances. Higher testimony than this cannot be desired; if he look for it, he will find it in the foul-mouthed calumnies, ribald abuse, and tortuous explanations of those Irishmen who have always regarded their country as the prey of their conflicting factions, and its miseries as the food which kept those factions alive."

RETURN of MINES worked by Parties other than the Mining Company of Ireland.
From Appendix to Evidence, *Ibid.*

County.	Denomination.	Power applied to Machinery.	1886.			1844.		
			No. of Men Employed.	Annual produce in Tons.	Value per Ton.	No. of Men Employed.	Annual produce in Tons.	Value per Ton.
Wicklow, ¹	Ballymurtagh Copper Mines, .	Steam.	200 to 300	5,000 to 6,000	£ 4 0	400	8,000 to 10,000 Copper Ore, and Sulphur Ore, 5,000	£3. 25s. to 30s.
Do. ¹ .	{ Cronebane and Tigronev Cop- per Mines, . . . }	{ Water. }	250 to 400	4,000 to 5,000	4 0	400	{ Copper Ore, and Sulphur Ore, 5,000	£3. 25s. to 30s.
Do. ¹ .	Connorree Copper Mine, .	Steam.	100 to 150	1,000 to 1,500	5 0	..	..	£4.
Do. ¹ .	Ballygahan Copper Mine, .	Water.	20 to 30	200 to 300	4 0	150	{ Copper Ore, and Sulphur Ore, 5,000	£3. 25s. to 30s.
Do. ¹ .	Glenmalur Lead Mine, .	Do.	20 to 30	180 to 200	15 0	..	..	£10.
Cork, ² .	Allihies Copper Mines, .	Steam and Water.	1,200 to 1,500	6,000 to 7,000	9 0	..	..	£8.
Do. ² .	Audley Copper Mines,*	Steam.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tipperary, ³	Silverdagh Collieries, .	Do.	200 to 300	20,000	0 10	400	7,000 to 10,000	£1 10s.
Do. ⁴ .	Killaloe Slate Quarries, .	Water.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ⁴ .	Castlecomer Collieries, .	Steam.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cork, ⁵ .	Dromagh Collieries, .	Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ⁵ .	Arigna Iron and Coal Mines,†	Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Leitrim, ⁶	Drumglass Colliery .	Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tyrone, ⁶	Do. ³ .	Horse.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ³ .	Coal Island Colliery, .	Steam.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Clare, ⁷ .	Lead Mines, . . .	Horse.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Down, ⁸	Lead Mines, . . .	Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wexford, ⁹	Barristown Lead Mines, .	Steam.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kerry, ⁹	Valentia Slate and Flag Quarries.	Do.	..	..	..	..	..	..

1 The ores are conveyed on carts to Wicklow, distant ten miles, for shipment. The supplies of timber, iron, &c., are conveyed from Wicklow on carts, unless when a fall of native timber affords a supply.

2 Ore conveyed in bookers to vessels for shipment to Swansea, for sale. Supplies of timber, iron, &c., received by sea.

3 The coal and culm of each district is in general conveyed on carts for supply of a

circuit extending thirty to forty miles from the colliery. Supplies of native timber nearly sufficient in the coal districts.
4 See Note No. 4, in last return.
5 Ore shipped to England for sale. Supplies for the Clare mines received from Limerick, and for the Down mines from Belfast.
6 Now being opened.

† (1844) Discontinued.

APPENDIX XXVI.

Referred to in page 607.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

From the Bristol Mercury.

THE "TIMES COMMISSIONER."—The "Times Commissioner" has brought his arduous and valuable labours to a close—labours which have had the effect of diffusing a larger amount of information respecting Ireland than all the reports of all the Government Commissioners for the last half century. With regard to the able, important, and thorough-going manner in which the "Commissioner" has executed his task, we should think that in this country there can scarcely be two opinions. It was a task requiring a combination of moral and intellectual qualities of no common order. From the state of feeling and parties in the sister island, the "Commissioner" was foredoomed to misrepresentation before ever he put pen to paper; and from this nothing could have saved him except insignificance. Had he written tame, puling, talentless epistles, he might have escaped with a passing sneer; but grappling as he did with giant abuses, and laying bare the sources of existing evils, he was pretty sure of reaping a handsome crop of villification. This was amongst the surest evidence of his usefulness. As soon as the orators of Conciliation-hall commenced giving vent to their spite, by hurling at him low, blackguard epithets, the public began to feel assured that the "Commissioner" was doing his work well; and when some of the Irish Tory papers joined in censuring him, the conviction became general that he was pursuing an honest and independent course. The criminal indifference of landlords—the apathy of the peasantry—the ruinous mode of letting and sub-letting the land—the want of industrial enterprise—the moral and physical blight produced by grasping middlemen, and by hollow, spouting, pseudo-patriots—were all exposed by him in a fearless and masterly style; at the same time that evidence was adduced as to the capabilities of the country for improvement, and of the progress that had been made wherever landlords, fulfilling the duties of their high station, had set to work in earnest to instruct and encourage the peasantry. Amongst the very best of the good deeds of the "Commissioner" was his thorough and complete exposure of the state of affairs on the O'Connell property. The blow told home. Then, indeed, the partially-restrained torrent of virulence and abuse broke forth in all its fury. "Liar!" "blackguard!" "gutter-commissioner!" and we know not what number of congenial epithets

were hurled at the man who had exhibited to the world the not-to-be-forgotten spectacle of the great "Liberator," in the combined character of middleman and landlord of the most wretched tenantry in all Ireland. The "Commissioner" was assailed in every possible way by "Liberator" O'Connell, and family, and their tools and toadies of every variety and degree. But he was not to be baffled. He returned to the attack; piled fact upon fact, and did not quit his work until he had drawn a full and faithful picture of the felicities of Derrynane Beg. That exposure has produced, is producing, and will continue to produce a marked change in public sentiment. Another thing demonstrated by the "Commissioner," is the fact that the misery subsisting in Ireland cannot be owing to the much-abused union; and for the excellent reason that large portions of Ireland are in the most flourishing condition under this very union, such portions being governed by precisely the same laws as the distressed districts. "Like causes produce the like effects;" therefore, the union cannot be held answerable for producing the most opposite effects. The misery of Kerry, and the prosperity of Down have their roots elsewhere. In expressing our satisfaction at the labours of the "Commissioner," we do not feel bound to accept all his conclusions; and think that some of his recommendations savour too much of the high hand. Some irritating expressions, too, might have been better avoided; but still, all things considered, it can scarcely be denied that he has discharged difficult and important duties, with energy, ability, and impartiality; and, in short, in such a manner as to have succeeded in making a strong impression on the public mind. An opinion has been created that the grand panacea for Ireland is "less talk and more work;" and it remains to be seen what measures will be devised by Government to alter the present wretched state of things prevailing in one of the finest islands under the sun. But whatever may be the determination of Government the English public owe a debt of gratitude to "*The Times* Commissioner" (and to the powerful journal for which he has throughout acted), for having placed before it a mass of interesting, valuable, and trust-worthy information respecting the actual state of Ireland. Public opinion once fairly aroused in this country seldom slumbers; and we sincerely trust that England will never remain tranquil or satisfied until real and effectual measures shall have been promulgated and carried out for the benefit of Ireland.

(From *The Times*, Jan. 21, 1846.)

I have at the commencement of my letters quoted the introduction of my commission to the public, given by *The Times*, and have thought it not inappropriate now at the conclusion of that commission to quote also their opinion of the manner of its fulfilment.

After quoting a portion of my last letter relative to the suppression of outrage and crime in Ireland, a leading article in *The Times* of the 21st

of January thus speaks of the conclusion of the commission I had undertaken for them.

“ And now, after quoting this part of his last letter, it remains for us to express a feeling of regret that it is his last. It would be out of place for us to talk of our own obligations to him for his long and most interesting communications. But we think that, without vanity, we may claim for him no slight amount of public gratitude. He has accomplished a mission of delicacy, and difficulty, and not wholly free from danger, with courage, fidelity, and honesty. He has observed, with scrupulous exactness, his faith not only to us, his employers, but to the public. A more honest witness it would be impossible to find. He has stated things exactly as he found them. He has given names, dates, positions, colours, every fact which met his own observant eye, or could provoke the analysis of the most searching critic. He has ever kept his facts and his theories separate; he has never fashioned the one to suit the other; and we believe that he has done more than any one person to fix the attention of the English people on the state of Ireland, and to bring home to their knowledge its real wants and its real grievances. Higher testimony than this cannot be desired; if he look for it, he will find it in the foul-mouthed calumnies, ribald abuse, and tortuous explanations of those Irishmen who have always regarded their country as the prey of their conflicting factions, and its miseries as the food which kept those factions alive.”

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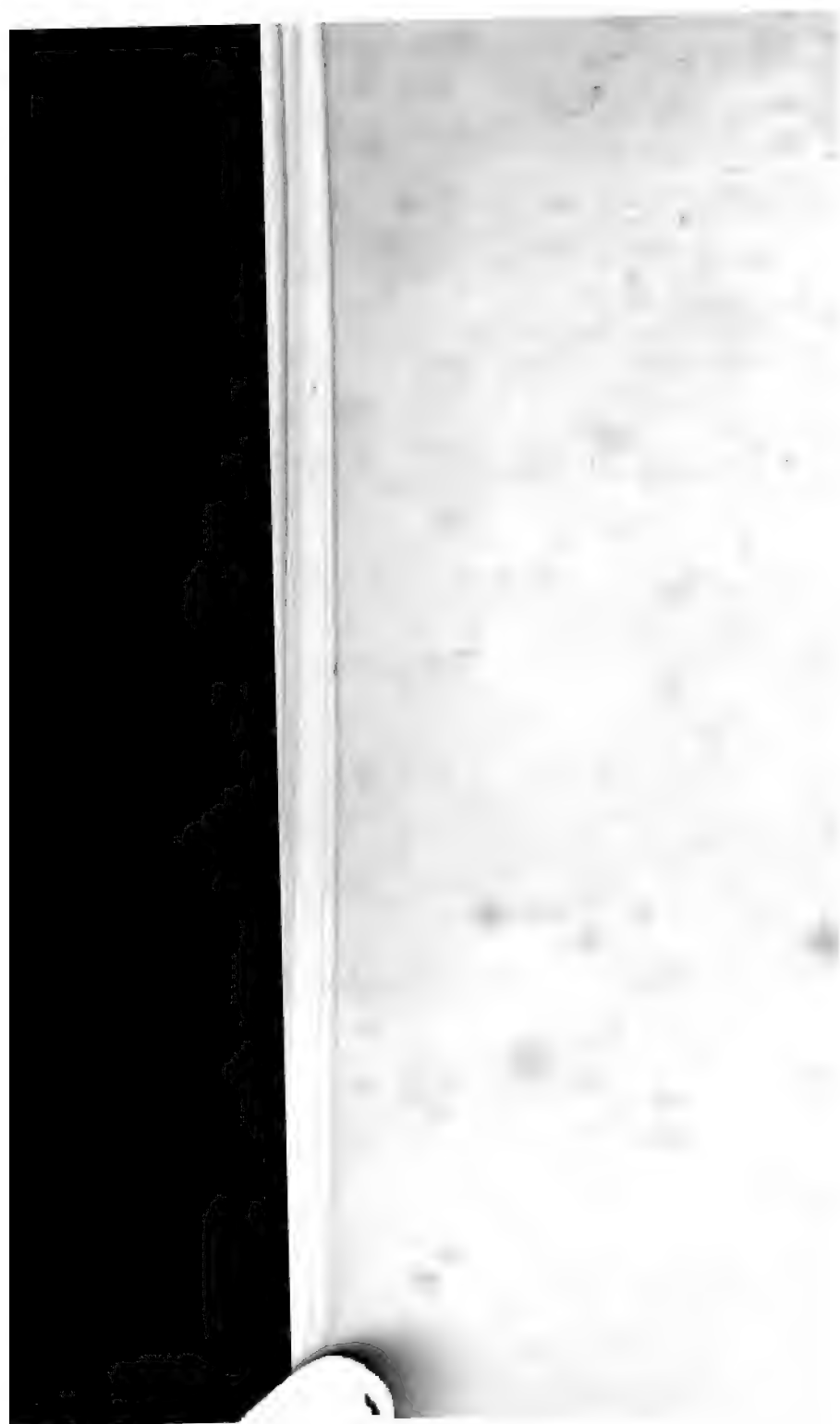
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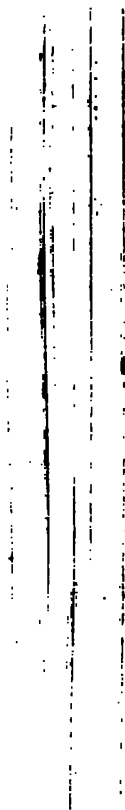
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